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OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

1. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows:—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15*s*., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1905, shall pay on election an entrance fee of two guineas.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may, at their discretion, elect for a period not exceeding five years Student-Associates, who shall be admitted to certain privileges of the Society.

33. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the Election of Members. Every Candidate shall also satisfy the Council by means of a certificate from his teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in an educational body and be a Member of the Society, that he is a *bonâ fide* Student in subjects germane to the purposes of the Society.

34. The Annual Subscription of a Student-Associate shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January in each year. In case of non-payment the procedure prescribed for the case of a defaulting Ordinary Member shall be followed.

35. Student-Associates shall receive the Society's ordinary publications, and shall be entitled to attend the General and Ordinary Meetings, and to read in the Library. They shall not be entitled to borrow books from the Library, or to make use of the Loan Collection of Lantern Slides, or to vote at the Society's Meetings.

36. A Student-Associate may at any time pay the Member's entrance fee of two guineas, and shall forthwith become an Ordinary Member.

37. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

38. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY

AT 19 BLOOMSBURY SQUARE, W.C.

I. THAT the Hellenic Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Hon. Librarian and Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Hon. Librarian, Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c., as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That, except on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on Bank Holidays, the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from 10.30 A.M. to 5.30 P.M. (Saturdays, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.), when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance. Until further notice, however, the Library shall be closed for the vacation from July 20 to August 31 (inclusive).

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions:—

(1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three; but Members belonging both to this Society and to the Roman Society may borrow *six* volumes at one time.

(2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.

(3) That no books, except under special circumstances, be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows:—

(1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.

(2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.

(3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.

(4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian may reclaim it.
(5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.
(6) All books are due for return to the Library before the summer vacation.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

(1) Unbound books.
(2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
(3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.
(4) New books within one month of their coming into the Library.

X. That new books may be borrowed for one week only, if they have been more than one month and less than three months in the Library.

XI. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each week after application has been made by the Librarian for its return, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

XII. That the following be the Rules defining the position and privileges of Subscribing Libraries :—

a. Subscribing Libraries are entitled to receive the publications of the Society on the same conditions as Members.
b. Subscribing Libraries, or the Librarians, are permitted to *purchase* photographs, lantern slides, etc., on the same conditions as Members.
c. Subscribing Libraries and the Librarians are not permitted to *hire* lantern slides.
d. A Librarian, if he so desires, may receive notices of meetings and may attend meetings, but is not entitled to vote on questions of private business.
e. A Librarian is permitted to read in the Society's Library.
f. A Librarian is not permitted to borrow books, either for his own use, or for the use of a reader in the Library to which he is attached.

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Applications for books and letters relating to the Photographic Collections, and Lantern Slides, should be addressed to the Librarian, at 19 Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

* Representatives of the Roman Society.

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†Bernays, A. E., 3, *Priory Road, Kew, Surrey.*
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†Bissing, Dr. von, *Leopoldstrasse, 54, München.*
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Bosanquet, Prof. R. Carr, *Institute of Archaeology, 49, Bedford St. Liverpool.*
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Butler, Prof. H. E. (Council), 98, *Philbeach Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W.*
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Gosford, The Countess of, 22, *Mansfield Street, Cavendish Square, W.*
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Haigh, Mrs. P. B., *Thackeray Cottage, 11, King Street, Kensington Square, W.*
Haines, C. R., *Mazagon, Godalming.*
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Hasluck, F. W., *The Wilderness, Southgate, N.*
Hauser, Dr. Friedrich, *Piazza Sforza Cesarini 41, Rome, Italy.*
Haussoullier, B., 8, *Rue Sainte-Cécile, Paris.*
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Head, Barclay Vincent, D.C.L., D.Litt., 26 *Leinster Square, Bayswater, W.*
Headlam, Rev. A. C., D.D., *Principal of King's College, London.*
Headlam, J. W., *c/o Mrs. Headlam, 1, St. Mary's Road, Wimbledon.*
Heard, Rev. W. A., *Fettes College, Edinburgh.*
Heath, Charles H., 224, *Hagley Road, Birmingham.*
†Heathcote, W. E., *Chingford Lodge, N. Walk Terrace, York.*
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Henty, Mrs. Douglas, *Westgate, Chichester.*
†Hertz, Miss Henriette, *The Poplars, 20, Avenue Road, N.W.*
Hett, W. S., *School House, The College, Brighton.*
Heywood, Mrs. C. J., *Chaseley, Pendleton, Manchester.*
Hicks, F. M., *Brackley Lodge, Weybridge.*
Hicks, Miss A. M., 33, *Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.*
Hill, George F. (Council), *British Museum, W.C.*
Hill, Miss Mary V., *Sandecotes School, Parkstone, Dorset.*
Hill, Miss R. M., 10, *The Manor, Davies Street, Berkeley Square, W.*
Hillard, Rev. A. E., *St. Paul's School, West Kensington, W.*
Hiller von Gaertringen, Prof. Friedrich Freiherr, *Ebereschen Allee 11, Westend, Berlin.*
Hincks, Miss, 4, *Addison Road, Kensington, W.*
Hirschberg, Dr. Julius, 26, *Schiffbauerdamm, Berlin, Germany.*
Hirst, Miss Gertrude, 5, *High Street, Saffron Walden.*
Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., Litt.D., *Barmoor Castle, Beal, Northumberland.*
Hodgson, F. C., *Abbotsford Villa, Twickenham.*
Hogarth, David G. (V.P.), *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*
Hogarth, Miss M. I., *The Red House, Westleton, Suffolk.*
†Holborn, J. B. S., 1, *Mayfield Terrace, Edinburgh.*
Holding, Miss Grace E., 23, *Penn Road Villas, Camden Road, N.W.*
Hopkins, R. V. Nind, *Somerset House, W.C.*
Hopkinson, J. H. (Council), *Warden of Hulme Hall, Victoria Park, Manchester.*
Hoppin, J. C., *Courtlands, Pomfret Centre, Conn., U.S.A.*
†Hort, Sir Arthur F., Bart., *Newlands, Harrow-on-the-Hill.*
Hose, H. F., *Dulwich College, Dulwich, S.E.*
Hoste, Miss M. R., *St. Augustine's, Blackwater Road, Eastbourne.*
Hotson, J. E. B., *c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.*
House, H. H., *The College, Malvern.*
How, W. W., *Merton College, Oxford.*
Howard de Walden, The Right Hon. Lord, *Seaford House, Belgrave Square, S.W.*

Howorth, Sir Henry H., K.C.I.E., F.R.S., 30, *Collingham Place, S.W.*
Hubback, F. W., 28, *The Beeches, West Didsbury, Manchester.*
Haddart, Mrs., *Cudwells, Haywards Heath.*
Hügel, Baron Friedrich von, 13, *Vicarage Gate, Kensington, W.*
Hughes, Reginald, D.C.L., 23, *Canfield Gardens, N.W.*
Hunt, A. S., D.Litt., *Queen's College, Oxford.*
Hutchinson, Sir J. T., *Lorton Hall, Cumberland.*
Hutchinson, Miss W. M. L., 5, *de Freville Avenue, Cambridge.*
Hutton, Miss C. A. (Council), 49, *Drayton Gardens, S.W.*
†Hyde, James H., 18, *Rue Adolphe-Yvon, Paris.*
Hylton, the Lady, *Ammerdown Park, Radstock.*
Hyslop, Rev. A. R. F., *Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, Perth, N.B.*
Image, Prof. Selwyn, 20, *Fitzroy Street, W.*
Jackson, Prof. Henry, O.M., Litt.D. (V.P.), *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
Jackson, Mrs. F. H., 74, *Rutland Gate, S.W.*
Jackson, T. W., 8, *Bradmore Road, Oxford.*
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James, Lionel, *School House, Monmouth.*
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Jameson, Monsieur R., 4, *Avenue Velasquez, Paris.*
Janvier, Mrs. Thomas A., *c/o Thomas A. Janvier, Esq., The Century Club, 7, West 43rd Street, New York, U.S.A.*
Jasonidy, O. John, *Blondel Street, Limassol, Cyprus.*
Jenkinson, F. J. H., D. Litt., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
Jevons, F. B., D.Litt., *The Castle, Durham.*
†Jex-Blake, Miss, *Girton College, Cambridge.*
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Johnson, Miss Lorna A., *Woodleigh, Altrincham.*
Jonas, Maurice, 7, *Northwick House, St. John's Wood Road, N.W.*
Jones, Henry L., *Willaston School, Nantwich.*
†Jones, H. Stuart *Glan-y-Mor, Saundersfoot, Pembrokeshire.*
†Jones, Ronald P., 208, *Caledonia Court, South Kensington.*
Joseph, H. W. B., *New College, Oxford.*
Judge, Max, 7, *Pall Mall, S.W.*
Kahnweiler, Miss Bettina, 12, *Canterbury Road, Oxford.*
Karo, George, 1, *Rue Phidias, Athens, Greece.*
Kenny, Prof. Charles H., *Aldworth, Fernhurst Avenue, Cork.*
Keith, A. Berriedale, D.C.L., *Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.*
Keltie, J. S., LL.D., 10, *Albemarle Mansions, Finchley Road, N.W.*
Kennedy, J., 51, *Palace Gardens Terrace, Campden Hill, W.*
Kensington, Miss Frances, 145, *Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*
Kenyon, Sir Frederic, K.C.B., D.Litt. (V.P.), *British Museum, W.C.*
Ker, Prof. W. P., 95, *Gower Street, W.C.*
Kerr, Prof. Alexander, *Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A.*
Keser, Dr. J., *Grande Boissière, 62, Route de Chêne, Genève.*
Kettlewell, Rev. P. W. H., *St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
Kieffer, Prof. John B., 441, *College Avenue, Lancaster, Pa., U.S.A.*
King, J. E., *Clifton College, Bristol.*
†King, Mrs. Wilson, 19, *Highfield Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.*
Knight, Miss C. M., 18, *Harrington Square, London, N.W.*
Kwegyir-Aggrey, J. E., *Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. Carolina, U.S.A.*
Lamb, Miss D., 6, *Wilbraham Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.*
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†Lansdowne, The Most Hon. the Marquess of, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.M.G. *Bowood, Calne, Wilts.*
Lantour, Miss de, *Oak Leigh, Eastbourne.*
La Touche, C. D., 40, *Merrion Square, Dublin.*
La Touche, Sir James Digges, K.C.S.I., 14, *Gledhow Gardens, S.W.*
Laurie, George E., *Royal Academical Institute, Belfast.*
Lawson, J. C., *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*
Leaf, Herbert, *The Green, Marlborough.*
†Leaf, Walter, Litt.D., D.Litt. (V.P.), 6, *Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.*
Leeper, Alexander, *Warden of Trinity College, Melbourne.*
Lee-Warner, Miss Evelyn, *Lynwode, Godalming.*
Legge, F., 6, *Gray's Inn Square, W.C.*
Leigh, W. Austen, *Hartfield, Rochampton, S.W.*
Lemon, Miss E., 35, *Lauriston Place, Edinburgh.*
Letts, Malcolm H. L., 34, *Canonbury Park South, N.*
Lewis, Harry R., 3, *Argyll Road, Kensington, W.*
Lewis, Prof. J. G. R., *French Hoeck, Cape Colony.*
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†Lewis, Mrs. Agnes S., Phil. D., D.D., LL.D., *Castle-brae, Chesterton Road, Cambridge.*
Lincoln, Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of, *The Palace, Lincoln.*
Lincoln, Very Rev. Dean of, *The Deanery, Lincoln.*
Lindley, Miss Julia, 74, *Shooter's Hill Road, Blackheath, S.E.*
Lindsell, Miss Alice (*Beaston, Hitchin*), *Warden of College Hall, Byng Place, W.C.*
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†Lock, Rev. W., D.D., *Warden of Keble College, Oxford.*
†Loeb, James, *Konradstrasse 14, Munich, Germany.*
†Longman, Miss Mary, 74, *Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, W.*
Lorimer, Miss H. L., *Somerville College, Oxford.*
†Loring, William, *Allerton House, Groft's Buildings, Blackheath, S.E.*
Lowe, Miss D., *Hinton St. George, Crewkerne, Somerset.*
Lowry, C., *The School House, Tonbridge.*
Lumsden, Miss, *Warren Cottage, Cranleigh, Surrey.*
Lunn, Sir Henry S., M.D., *Oldfield House, Harrow-on-the-Hill.*
Lunn, W. Holdsworth, 10, *Alexandra Grove, North Finchley, N.*
Lyttelton, Hon. and Rev. E., *Eton College, Windsor.*
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McClean, J. R., *Rusthall House, Tunbridge Wells.*
McCutcheon, Miss K. H., *Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.*
Macdonald, George, LL.D., 17, *Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh.*
Macdonald, Miss Louisa, *Women's College, Sydney University, Sydney, N.S.W.*
McDonell, H. C., *Twyford School, Twyford, near Winchester.*
Macdonell, P. J., *Office of Public Prosecutor, Livingstone, N.W. Rhodesia.*
Macdonell, W. R., LL.D., *Bridgefield, Bridge of Don, Aberdeenshire.*
McDougall, Miss Eleanor, *Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.*
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MacEwan, R., *The Edinburgh Academy, Edinburgh.*
MacEwen, Rev. Prof. Alex. Robertson, 5, *Downe Terrace, Edinburgh.*
Macgregor, J. M., *Bedford College, W.*
McIntyre, Rev. P. S., 41, *North Parade, Grantham.*
Maclver, D. Ramlall, 20, *Fifth Avenue, New York, U.S.A.*
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Mackenzie, Rev. H. W., *The School House, Uppingham.*
Mackenzie, R. J., 12, *Great Stuart Street, Edinburgh.*
MacLehose, James J., 61, *St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.*

Macmillan, Mrs. Alexander, 32, *Grosvenor Road, S.W.*
†*Macmillan, George A., D.Litt. (Hon. Sec.), *St. Martin's Street, W.C.*
Macmillan, Mrs. George A., 27, *Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.*
Macmillan, Maurice, 52, *Cadogan Place, S.W.*
†Macmillan, W. E. F., 27, *Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.*
†Macnaghten, Hugh, *Eton College, Windsor.*
Macnaghten, The Right Hon. Lord, G.C.B., 198, *Queen's Gate, S.W.*
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Marshall, Frederick H., *Emmanuel College, Cambridge.*
Marshall, J. H., *c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, Whitehall, S.W.*
Marshall, Prof. J. W., *University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.*
Marshall, R., 31, *The Waldrons, Croydon.*
Martin, Charles B., *Box 42, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.*
†Martin, Sir R. B., Bart., 10, *Hill Street, Mayfair, W.*
Martin, Miss, 70, *Doods Road, Reigate.*
Martindale, Rev. C., 114, *Mount Street, W.*
†Martyn, Edward, *Tillyra Castle, Ardrahan, County Galway.*
Massy, Lieut.-Colonel P. H. H., *United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
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Maugham, A. W., *The Wick, Brighton.*
Mavrogordato, J., 52, *Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.*
Mavrogordato, J. J., 6, *Palmeira Court, Hove, Sussex.*
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Michel, Prof. Ch., 42, *Avenue Blonden, Liège, Belgium.*
Millar, J. H., 10, *Abercromby Place, Edinburgh.*
Miller, William, 36, *Via Palestro, Rome, Italy.*
Milliet, P., 95, *Boulevard St. Michel, Paris.*
Millingen, Rev. Prof. Alexander van, D.D., *Robert College, Constantinople.*
Millington, Miss M. V., 47, *Peak Hill, Sydenham, S.E.*
Milne, J. Grafton, *Bankside, Goldhill, Farnham, Surrey.*
Milner, Viscount, G.C.B., *Brook's Club, St. James Street, S.W.*
Minet, Miss Julia, 18, *Sussex Square, Hyde Park, W.*
Minns, Ellis H., *Pembroke College, Cambridge.*
Mitburn, Miss E. T., 14, *Chelsea Embankment, S.W.*
Mitchell, J. Malcolm, c/o Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11, 12, *Southampton St., Bloomsbury.*
Mitchell, Mrs. C. W., *Jesmond Towers, Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
Moline, Miss I. F., 172, *Church Street, Stoke Newington, N.*
Mond, Mrs. F., 22, *Hyde Park Square, W.*
†Mond, Mrs. Frida, *The Poplars, 20, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.*
†Mond, Robert, *Combe Bank, near Sevenoaks.*

Monfries, C. B. S., *University College School, Frognal, N.W.*
Morgan, Miss Rose C., *The Highlands, 242, South Norwood Hill, S.E.*
Morrison, Walter, 77, *Cromwell Road, S.W.*
Moss, The Rev. Prebendary H. W., *Highfield Park, near Oxford.*
Mozley, H. W., *The White House, Haslemere.*
Muirhead, L., *Haseley Court, Wallingford.*
†Munro, J. A. R., *Lincoln College, Oxford.*
†Murphy, Rev. J. M., *St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, Blackburn.*
Murray, Alexander E., *Laurildene, Southwick, near Brighton.*
Murray, Prof. G. G. A. (V.P.), 82, *Woodstock Road, Oxford.*
Musson, Miss Caroline, 29, *Beech Hill Road, Sheffield.*
†*Myers, Ernest (Council), *Brackenside, Chislehurst.*
†Myres, Prof. J. Linton, 101, *Banbury Road, Oxford.*
†Nairn, Rev. J. Arbuthnot, *Merchant Taylors' School, E.C.*
Needham, Miss Helen R., *Enville House, Green Walk, Bowdon.*
Newman, W. L., Litt.D., D.Litt., *Pittville Lawn, Cheltenham.*
Newton, The Lord, 6, *Belgrave Square, S.W.*
Newton, Miss Charlotte M., 18, *Priory Road, Bedford Park, W.*
Newton, Miss D. C., 1, *Avington Grove, Penge, S.E.*
Newton-Robinson, Charles, 20, *Chester Street, Belgrave Square, S.W.*
Noack, Prof. Ferdinand, *Archaeolog. Institut, Wilhelmstrasse, No. 9, Tübingen.*
Northampton, The Most Hon. the Marquis of, 51, *Lennox Gardens, S.W.*
Norwood, Cyril, *The Grammar School, Bristol.*
Norwood, Prof. G., 65, *Ninian Road, Roath Park, Cardiff.*
Oakesmith, John, D.Litt., *Bricrly, Hanworth Road, Feltham, Middlesex.*
Odgers, Rev. J. Edwin, D.D., 9, *Marston Ferry Road, Oxford.*
Oliphant, Prof. Samuel Grant, *Grove City College, Grove City, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*
Oppé, A. P., 20, *Chelsea Embankment Gardens, S.W.*
Oppenheimer, H., 12, *Southwick Crescent, Hyde Park, W.*
Orpen, Rev. T. H., *Mark Ash, Abinger, Dorking.*
Owen, A. S., *Keble College, Oxford.*
Owen-Mackenzie, Lady, 53, *Cadogan Square, S.W.*
Page, T. E., *Woodcote, Godalming.*
Pallis, Alexander, *Tatoi, Aigburth Drive, Liverpool.*
Parker, Miss M. E., *Princess Helena College, Ealing, W.*
Parmiter, S. C., *West Bank, Uppingham.*
†Parry, Rev. O. H., 411, *East India Dock Road, E.*
Parry, Rev. R. St. J., *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
Partington, John B., 45, *Gloucester Terrace, W.*
†Paton, James Morton, 65, *Sparks Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.*
Paton, W. R., *Vathy, Samos.*
Pearce, J. W., *Merton Court School, Footscray, Kent.*
Pears, Sir Edwin, 2, *Rue de la Banque, Constantinople.*
Pearson, C. W., 32, *Westmoreland Street, Dublin.*
Peckover of Wisbech, Baron, *Wisbech, Cambs.*
†Peckover, The Hon. Alexandrina, *Bank House, Wisbech.*
Peers, C. R., 14, *Lansdowne Road, Wimbledon.*
Pelle, John, 17, *Harrington Court, S.W.*
Pelle, The Ven. Archdeacon J. H. F., *Great Comberton Rectory, Pershore.*
Pember, F. W., 60, *Queen's Gardens, W.*
†Penrose, Miss Emily, *Somerville College, Oxford.*
*†Percival, F. W., 1, *Chesham Street, S.W.*
Perowne, Connop, *Moulsford House, Moulsford, Berks.*
Perry, Prof. Edward Delavan, *Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A.*
Pesel, Miss Laura, *Oak House, Bradford.*
Petrocochino, D. P., 25, *Odos, Timoleontos, Athens.*
Petrocokino, Ambrose, *Thames Cottage, Pangbourne.*
Philips, Mrs. Herbert, *Sutton Oaks, Macclesfield.*

Phillimore, Prof. J. S., *The University, Glasgow.*
Phillips, J. G., *Barnwood Avenue, Gloucester.*
Picard, George, 2 *bis, Rue Benouville, Paris.*
Plater, Rev. Charles, S.J., *St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst, Blackburn.*
†Platt, Prof. Arthur, 5, *Chester Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.*
Plunkett, Count G. N., K.C.H.S., 26, *Upper Fitzwilliam Street, Dublin.*
Pollock, The Right Hon. Sir Frederick, Bart., 21, *Hyde Park Place, W.*
†Pope, Mrs. G. H., 60, *Banbury Road, Oxford.*
Pope, Rev. J. O. Fallon, S.J., *Pope's Hall, Oxford.*
†Postgate, Prof. J. P., Litt.D., *The University, Liverpool.*
Powell, C. M., *Eastfield, Caversham, Reading.*
Powell, John U., *St. John's College, Oxford.*
Poynter, Sir Edward J., Bart., Litt.D., D.C.L., P.R.A., 70, *Addison Road, S.W.*
Preece, Sir William H., *Gothic Lodge, Wimbledon Common, S.W.*
Preedy, J. B. K., 14, *Hillside Gardens, Highgate, N.*
Price, Miss Mabel, *Charlton, Headington, Oxford.*
Prickard, A. O., *Sholeser, Fleet R.S.O., Hants.*
Pryce, F. N., *British Museum, W.C.*
†Pryor, Francis R., *Woodfield, Hatfield, Herts.*
Purser, Miss Olive, 28, *Kempsford Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W.*
Pyddoke, Miss Mary, *The Rectory, Barwick-in-Elmet, Leeds.*
Quibell, Mrs. Annie A., *Gizeh Museum, Egypt.*
Quinn, Miss K., *Wood View, Sawbridgeworth, Herts.*
†Rackham, H., *Christ's College, Cambridge.*
Radcliffe, W. W., *Foothill, East Grinstead, Sussex.*
Radford, Miss, 36, *Moscow Court, Bayswater.*
†Raleigh, Miss Katherine A., 8, *Park Road, Uxbridge.*
*Ralli, Pandeli, 17, *Belgrave Square, S.W.*
†Ralli, Mrs. Stephen A., *St. Catherine's Lodge, Hove, Sussex.*
Ramsay, A. B., *Eton College, Windsor.*
Ramsay, Prof. G. G., LL.D., Litt.D., *Drumore, Blairgowrie, N.B.*
†Ramsay, Prof. Sir W. M., D.C.L., Litt.D. (V.P.), 41, *Braid Avenue, Edinburgh.*
Raven, H. M., *Barfield House, Broadstairs.*
Rawlins, F. H., *Eton College, Windsor.*
Rawnsley, W. F., *The Manor House, Shamley Green, Guildford.*
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Richmond, O. L., 64, *Cornwall Gardens, S.W.*
Richmond, Sir W. B., K.C.B., D.C.L., R.A., *Revor Lodge, West End, Hammersmith, W.*
Richter, Miss Gisela, M.A., *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A.*
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Riley, W. E., *County Hall, Spring Gardens, S.W.*
Roberts, J. Slingsby, 3, *Powis Villas, Brighton.*
Roberts, Principal T. F., *Sherborne House, Aberystwyth.*
Roberts, Professor W. Rhys, LL.D., *The University, Leeds.*
Robertson, D. S. (Council), *Trinity College, Cambridge.*
Robinson, C. E., 10, *College Street, Winchester.*
Robinson, Charles Newton, 11, *Chesterfield Street, Mayfair, W.*

Robinson, Edward, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, U.S.A.*
Robinson, E. S. G., *Christ Church, Oxford.*
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Romanos, H. E. Athos, *Greek Legation, Paris.*
Rose, H. J., 6, *Valmont Apartments, 2,111, Park Avenue, Montreal, Canada.*
†Rosebery, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.G., 38, *Berkeley Square, W.*
Rotton, Sir J. F., *Lockwood, Frith Hill, Godalming, Surrey.*
Rous, Lieut.-Colonel, *Westhead House, Norwich.*
†Rouse, W. H. D., Litt.D., *Glebe Road, Cambridge.*
Ruben, Paul, 34, *Alte Rabenstrasse, Hamburg, Germany.*
Rubie, Rev. Alfred E., *Goodshaw Vicarage, Rawtenstall, Manchester.*
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Sanday, Rev. Prof. W., D.D., *Christ Church, Oxford.*
Sanders, Miss A. F. E., *The High School, Camden Park, Tunbridge Wells.*
Sanderson, F. W., *The School, Oundle, Northamptonshire.*
Sands, P. C., *City of London School, Victoria Embankment, E.C.*
†Sandys, Sir John, Litt.D. (V.P.), *Merton House, Cambridge.*
†Sandys, Lady, *Merton House, Cambridge.*
Sawyer, Rev. H. A. P., *School House, St. Bees, Cumberland.*
†*Sayce, Rev. Prof. A. H., LL.D. (V.P.), 8, *Chalmers Crescent, Edinburgh.*
†Scaramanga, A. P.,
†Scarth, Miss E. M., *Turleigh Mill, Bradford-on-Avon.*
Scholderer, J. V., *British Museum, W.C.*
Scholz, Prof. R., *Faculty Club, University of California, Berkeley, California.*
Schrader, Prof. H., *Alliegasse 39, Wien IV.*
Schultz, R. Weir, 14, *Gray's Inn Square, W.C.*
Schuster, Ernest, 12, *Harrington Gardens, S.W.*
Sculoudi, Stephanos, *Athens, Greece.*
Scull, Miss Sarah A., *Southport, McKean Co., Pa., U.S.A.*
Seager, Richard B., *c/o Baring Bros. and Co., 8, Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.*
Seale, Rev. E. G., *Cork Grammar School, Cork.*
Secker, W. H., *Chapelthorpe Hall, Wakefield.*
Seebohm, Hugh, *Poynder's End, near Hitchin.*
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Shear, Mrs., 468, *Riverside Drive, New York, U.S.A.*
Shearme, J. S., *Repton, Burton-on-Trent.*
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Jerusalem. École Biblique et Archéologique de St. Étienne, Jérusalem.

LIST OF JOURNALS, &c., RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE FOR THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

American Journal of Archaeology (Miss Mary H. Buckingham, 96, *Chestnut Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*).
American Journal of Philology (Library of the Johns Hopkins University, *Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A.*).
Analecta Bollandiana, Société des Bollandistes, 22, *Boulevard Saint-Michel, Bruxelles.*
Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux (Revue des Études Anciennes—Bulletin Hispanique—Bulletin Italien). Rédaction des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, *l'Université, Bordeaux, France.*
Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (The Institute of Archaeology, 40, *Bedford Street, Liverpool*).
Annual of the British School at *Athens.*
Archiv für Religionswissenschaft (B. G. Teubner, *Leipzig*).
Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift (O. R. Reisland, *Carlsstrasse 20, Leipzig, Germany*).
Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (published by the French School at *Athens*).
Bulletin de l'Institut Archéol. Russe, à Constantinople (M. le Secrétaire, *L'Institut Archéol. Russe, Constantinople*).
Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, *Alexandria.*
Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma (Prof. Gatti, Museo Capitolino, *Rome*).
Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, with the Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, *Cairo.*
Classical Philology, *University of Chicago, U.S.A.*
Ephemeris Archaiologike, *Athens.*
Glotta (Prof. Dr. Kretschmer, *Florianigasse, 23, Vienna*).
Hermes (Herr Professor Friedrich Leo, *Friedlaender Weg, Göttingen, Germany*).
Jahrbuch des kais. deutsch. archaol. Instituts, *Cornelianstrasse No. 2, Berlin.*
Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes, *Türkenstrasse 4, Vienna.*
Journal of the Anthropological Institute, *and* Man, 50, *Great Russell Street, W.C.*
Journal of Philology and Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society.

Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 9, *Conduit Street, W.*
Journal International d'Archeologie Numismatique (M. J. N. Svoronos, Musée National, *Athens*).
Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte), (Prof. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, 26, *Abercromby Square, Liverpool.*
Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale d l'Université S. Joseph, *Beyrouth, Syria.*
Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, *École française, Palazzo Farnese, Rome.*
Memnon (Prof. Dr. R. Freiherr von Lichtenberg, *Lindenstrasse 5, Berlin Südende, Germany*).
Memorie dell' Instituto di Bologna, Sezione di Scienze Storico-Filologiche (*R. Accademia di Bologna, Italy*).
Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archäol. Instituts. *Athens.*
Mitteilungen des kais. deutsch. Archaol. Instituts, *Rome.*
Mnemosyne (c/o Mr. E. J. Brill), *Leiden, Holland.*
Neue Jahrbucher, Herrn Dr. Rektor Iberg, Kgl. Gymnasium, *Wurzen, Saxony.*
Notizie degli Scavi, R. Accademia dei Lincei, *Rome.*
Numismatic Chronicle, 22, *Albemarle Street.*
Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterium (c/o Dietrich'sche Verlags Buchhandlung, *Göttingen*).
Praktika of the Athenian Archaeological Society. *Athens.*
Proceedings of the Hellenic Philological Syllogos, *Constantinople.*
Publications of the Imperial Archaeological Commission, *St. Petersburg.*
Revue Archéologique, c/o M. E. Leroux (Editeur), 28, *Rue Bonaparte, Paris.*
Revue des Études Grecques, 44, *Rue de Lille, Paris.*
Rheinisches Museum fur Philologie (Prof. Dr. A. Brinkmann, *Schumannstrasse* 58, *Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany*).
Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums (Prof. Dr. E. Drerup, *Kaiser-Strasse* 33, *Munich, Germany*).
Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, *Berlin.*

PROCEEDINGS.

SESSION 1911-12.

DURING the past Session the following Papers were read at General Meetings of the Society :—

November 14th.	Prof. G. Baldwin Brown: *Ancient Greek Dress.*
February 13th.	Mr. Guy Dickins: *Chilon and the Growth of Spartan Policy.*
May 7th.	Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay: *The Shrine of the God Mên Askaênos at Pisidian Antioch.*
June 4th.	Prof. Percy Gardner and Prof. Ernest Gardner: *The Recently Discovered Portions of the 'Ludovisi Throne.'*

Of these full accounts appear in the Report (printed below) submitted at the Annual Meeting.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

was held at Burlington House on June 25th, Sir Arthur Evans (President) occupying the Chair.

Mr. George A. Macmillan (Hon. Secretary) presented the following Annual Report of the Council :—

The Council beg leave to submit the following report on the work of the Society for the Session 1911-12 :—

Changes on the Council, &c.—Three of the members retiring under Rule 18, Dr. Rouse, Mr. F. H. Marshall and Mr. A. H. S. Yeames, intimated that owing to the many other claims on their time, they did not seek re-election. To fill their places, Messrs. E. R. Bevan, E. J. Forsdyke and Theodore Fyfe are nominated for election.

The Council have received with great regret the resignation of their colleague, Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, owing to the work entailed by his nomination to a seat on the Welsh Monuments Commission. Prof. H. E. Butler is nominated for election to this vacancy.

During the past year there have been no vacancies in the list of Honorary Members. Last March the Council had the pleasure of sending a congratulatory letter to Dr. Theodor Gomperz, the veteran Austrian philologist, on the occasion of his 81st birthday. Dr. Gomperz is engaged on a recension of his minor works under the title of "Hellenika," and has presented the volumes already published to the library of the Society.

Administrative Changes, &c.—*Honorary Librarian*:—Mr. F. H. Marshall, who, for the last four years, has rendered valuable service to the Society as Honorary Librarian, has accepted an appointment in Cambridge, and is therefore unable to act any longer in this capacity. The Council have pleasure in announcing that Mr. A. Hamilton Smith, who as Hon. Librarian between the years 1896 and 1908 took an active part in the formation of the library, has consented to resume his former office.

Editorship of Journal:—Sir Frederic Kenyon has retired from the Acting Editorial Committee, but has accepted a seat on the Consultative Committee; Prof. Gilbert Murray, at the invitation of the Council, has also become a member of that Committee.

The Council have invited Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, to join the editorial staff, and to take over the duties of business editor of the *Journal* on Mr. G. F. Hill's retirement from the post, after the publication of the current volume. The Council desire to place on record their appreciation of the energy and devotion with which Mr. Hill has performed his exacting duties for the past 14 years, and also their sense of the Society's obligations to Sir Frederic Kenyon and Prof. E. Gardner for the valuable services rendered by them as members of the Editorial Committee.

Secretary:—In November last the Council, to their very great regret, were obliged to announce that the Secretary, Mr. John ff. Baker-Penoyre, had leave of absence until further notice. Mr. Penoyre's health had given way under the strain of the two years' heavy work entailed by the Society's move to its new home, the re-organisation of the School at Rome, the foundation of the Roman Society, and the enquiry into the position of Greek in education. They have now great pleasure in informing the members that Mr. Penoyre, who is travelling abroad, has made good progress towards recovery, and proposes to resume work in September. The post of Secretary has been generously undertaken in Mr. Penoyre's absence by Miss Hutton, a Member of the Council, and the Council desire to place on record their deep sense of obligation to her for her valuable services.

The Position of Greek in Education.—The most important outside piece of work accomplished under the auspices of the Society during the past year has been the Report of the Committee appointed last year to consider this question. This report, which was published in the *Educational Supplement* of the *Times* for January, 1912, is based on a vast amount of hitherto untabulated *data* collected by the Committee, and formed the text of a very full and interesting discussion, inaugurated by Prof. E. Gardner, at the meeting of the Classical Association in January last. As it has since been circulated to the members of the Society, it is unnecessary to refer in detail to the Recommendations of the Committee, which may be

summed up in the words, "If difficulties of curriculum or other causes exclude the possibility of Greek being taught in some secondary schools, it should at least be arranged that there should be some school or schools in each educational district at which Greek could be learnt by those who wish to learn it."

The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.—The arrangement with the Roman Society referred to in last year's Report has now been in operation for another year. This arrangement had purposely been made as elastic as possible, and various modifications in detail have been introduced where experience showed them to be necessary. The Roman Society have now undertaken to make a contribution of not less than £25 a year towards the upkeep of the Joint Library, and in addition have this year purchased and deposited in it, a copy, complete to date, of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. The control of the Roman Society's contribution is in the hands of the Joint Library Committee, consisting of four members belonging to each Society. On the recommendation of this Committee the two Councils have agreed that members belonging to *both* Societies shall have the privilege of borrowing six volumes at a time instead of only three.

The Schools at Athens and Rome.—The past Session has been a memorable one in the history of both Schools. In November last the School at Athens celebrated the 25th anniversary of its foundation. A largely attended Festival Dinner was held at the Whitehall Rooms, and the occasion was further marked by the publication of a short *History* of the School, of a *Bibliography* of work done by its Students and of an *Index* to the first sixteen volumes of the *Annual*. Two other important works by its Students have also appeared during the last few months; namely Vol. I. of the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* by Mr. Guy Dickins and *Prehistoric Thessaly* by Messrs. Wace and Thompson. The preparation of the *Catalogue* was undertaken by the School at the request of the Greek Archaeological Authorities, with whom they have also co-operated in the issue of a short guide in English to the Museum. Owing to the "state of war" on the Asiatic coast of the Mediterranean, the excavations at Datcha, for which the School had obtained a firman, have been perforce postponed, but Messrs. Wace and Thompson have conducted an interesting excavation at Halmyro in Thessaly and intend, if the political conditions permit, to carry out excavations near Salonika, for which a firman has been issued to them.

The Society is closely interested in the fortunes of the British School at Rome, to which it has given substantial pecuniary support, and a local habitation in London, since its foundation in 1901. The Council have therefore learnt with satisfaction that H. M. the King in Council has been pleased to grant a Charter of Incorporation to a new and comprehensive institution at Rome, to be called the British School at Rome. The existing School with its library and funds will form an important part of the new body, in which

it will take its place as a "Faculty of Archaeology, History, and Letters." It is intended that the Faculty shall be fully autonomous in respect of its studies and researches, and in the management of its own funds, which will depend, as before, on voluntary contributions. It will also, of course, be represented on the Council and the Executive Council of the new institution. The other Faculties are designed for the guidance of students engaged in the practical study of Art and Architecture. The scheme has been initiated by the Royal Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, at the instance of their Chairman, Lord Esher, seconded by the British Ambassador at Rome, Sir Rennell Rodd.

The Council of the Hellenic Society can only express their cordial good wishes for the success of the institution, and for the continued prosperity of the old British School at Rome, in its new shape.

General Meetings.—Four General Meetings have been held during the past Session, at the first of which, on November 14th, 1911, Prof. Baldwin Brown read a paper, illustrated by photographs from a draped model, on Ancient Greek Dress. He said that the dress of the ancient Greeks might be termed the most Hellenic product of Hellenism, for there was nothing that exhibited so perfectly the capacity of the Greeks for effecting beautiful results by direct and simple means. Alike for the overdress, in its smaller forms as chlamys or veil, and in more ample form as himation, as for the underdress, in its two forms, Doric and Ionic, all that was required were pieces of woollen or linen stuff, white or coloured, plain or adorned with inwoven or painted ornaments, fabricated in the household loom in the shape of a rectangle or a cylinder. The fastenings took the form of pins and clasps, or stitches, and of girdles and bands, and by means of these the robe could be left loosely streaming or girded close, while its length could be adjusted in a moment to the taste or occupation of the wearer, and the arms could be left entirely free or draped by an ample sleeve to the waist.

In regard to the question whether the dress represented in the monuments was that actually worn in daily life, it had to be noted that the forms and details which had been regarded as artistic conventions were, in this modern age of experiment, seen to be merely reproductions in an aspect of beauty of what Nature offered. In the pediment figures from the Parthenon the drapery was treated, not only with a view to beauty in composition, but with an almost modern delight in the little varieties and accidents that were never thought of till Nature actually presented them before our eyes. He would argue, he said, in favour of the simplest possible explanation of the appearance of Greek drapery as seen in the monuments.

He did not regard the Ionic chiton as different in principle from the Doric, or accept the description given of it in a recent English book, as a sewn garment very like a sleeved nightgown made of linen. To suppose it was ever made of two rectangular pieces sewn together so as to form what had been elegantly described as a sack with a hole in the bottom for

the head to go through, and two holes at the side for the arms, was a complete misunderstanding. The holes in the sides were quite imaginary, as the arms always came out at the top, and the difficulty about the hole for the head was that if the aperture were of the right size to allow the dress to lie nicely on the shoulders, it would be inconveniently small for the passage of the head of a woman who wore her natural hair. In certain forms of Greek art, such as Ionic sculpture and vase-painting, the artist would sometimes play in a decorative spirit with the forms before him, and it was better to assume that he was not always precisely accurate, than that Greek ladies cut their dresses about and sewed odd pieces on to them, for no apparent reason other than to justify some drawing of Hieron and Brygos.

On February 13th, Mr. Guy Dickins lectured on "Chilon and the Growth of Spartan Policy." Mr. Dickins' interesting paper is printed in the *Journal*, vol. xxxii., pp. 1–42.

At the Third General Meeting held on Tuesday, May 7th, Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay, D.D., read a paper on "The Shrine of the God Mên Askaênos at Pisidian Antioch." He said that the most interesting feature of primitive Asia Minor was the influence of the great religious sanctuaries, at which the priest represented the god, wearing his dress, sometimes bearing his name, always exercising his power as lord and guide of a dependent population which was bound to the soil not by law but by custom, and which was in a sense enslaved to the god. What was the origin of that theocratic system, on what influence over human nature it rested for its power, what was the character of the social system and economic relations between the god and its tenantry which it established, we desire to know, and are gradually learning. Except beside the Aegean coast, where the great sanctuaries were affected by a veneer of Hellenic manners, there is no case where we can point to the exact site of any of the greatest sanctuaries except at Antioch, the Phrygian city towards Pisidia, where (as described in the *Athenæum* of August, 1911) the hieron of Mên Askaênos was discovered recently. As Strabo says, it lies πρὸς Ἀντιοχείᾳ, towards or over against Antioch, on a mountain peak. The appearance of the site was described, the great altar, the temenos, the dedicatory inscriptions, the sacred spring, the theatre (?), and the church built out of the stones of the altar and of the temenos wall. The difficulty of the questions connected with the nature of the God Mên was described, and the possibility of his being a foreign deity intruded into a native Anatolian religion was indicated; the two forms in which he is represented, a standing figure (especially at Antioch) and a horseman, point to two totally different conceptions.

The lecturer discussed the meaning and etymology of the word Askaênos, and drew attention to the words δάος and τεκμορεύω used in the inscriptions of the Associations connected with the shrine of the God: τεκμορεύω was a verb coined from the Homeric τέκμωρ and δάος was also an Homeric word.

The lecture concluded with a sketch of the final struggle between the allied paganism and Imperial power on the one hand and the Christians on the other, which resulted in the destruction of the pagan sanctuary. In this connexion Sir William Ramsay pointed out the significance of the word Πρωταπάκλητος, the title of the official who presided over the ceremonial feasts of the Tekmoreian Associations, and the possible light thrown by the word δίπυρος on the nature of these feasts. ἐτεκμόρευσαν σ]είτῳ διπυ[ρῳ ἐπι. . ...

A discussion followed in which Prof. Percy Gardner, Sir Henry Howorth, Mrs. Esdaile, and Dr. Farnell took part.

At an Extraordinary Meeting held on June 4th, Prof. Percy Gardner and Prof. Ernest Gardner communicated papers on "The recently discovered Portions of the 'Ludovisi Throne.'" Prof. Percy Gardner in his introductory remarks spoke of the interest aroused by the Boston Reliefs, which had been the subject of many papers, notably of one by Prof. Studniczka in the *Jahrbuch* for 1911. The Ludovisi Reliefs were regarded as the sides and back of a throne, and had been described by Prof. Petersen, who interpreted the centre relief as representing the Birth of Aphrodite, and the figures on the side panels as typifying sacred and profane love. The Boston Reliefs showed a general correspondence with the other set, though there were some differences in scale and style. Two problems confronted the student: the problem of reconstruction, and the problem of interpretation. Did the reliefs belong to two thrones, or to a sarcophagus, or to an altar? Did they represent Eros awarding destinies of child-birth to two women, or the dispute of Aphrodite and Persephone for the possession of Adonis? The latter was Studniczka's interpretation, and though the myth as given by Apollodorus (III, 185) refers to the childhood of Adonis, while the reliefs apparently refer to his maturity, this interpretation, while presenting some difficulties, was the most satisfactory that has yet been propounded. The side figures represented a nurse and a boy with a lyre.

The speaker then drew comparisons between the style of the two sets of reliefs as shown in the treatment of the heads, etc., of the figures, and that of other works of Greek art, from which he concluded that they were apparently the work of the Attic School of about 470 B.C.

Prof. Ernest Gardner considered that the impression produced by the new portions of the Ludovisi Throne was far from satisfactory. The portion previously known was one of the most beautiful, simple and harmonious products of transitional art; the new portions not only differed from it considerably in style but showed inconsistencies in themselves and were to a great extent made up of figures derived from various sources, and not harmonising well with one another. They could not, therefore, come from the same artist, or even from the same school. On the other hand the correspondence in shape and external details seemed to preclude the idea that they were an independent work. Three possible explanations

seemed open: that the new portions were made to correspond with the old (1) by a different but contemporary school; (2) by an imitator in ancient, probably Graeco-Roman times; or (3) by a modern forger. There were difficulties in the way of all three theories, but perhaps the second was the most probable.

An interesting discussion followed in which Mr. Guy Dickins, Prof. W. C. F. Anderson, Sir Fredk. Pollock and Mr. A. H. Smith took part.[1]

Library, Photographic and Lantern Slide Collections.—The year's results in these important sections of the Society's work may be seen at a glance from the appended tables:—

A. Library. B. Slides and Photographs.

	Accessions.		Visitors to the Library.	Books taken out.	Slides added to Collection.	Slides hired.	Slides sold to Members.	Photos sold to Members.
	Books.	Vols.						
Session 1903–4	141	157	338	311	(Original Catalogue of 1,500 slides published.)	1,224	512	465
1904–5	97	122	375	401	154	3,053	787	366
1905–6	124	162	372	415	187	2,941	1,247	670
1906–7	165	198	277	396	148	1,357	871	294
1907–8	148	180	300	760	125	1,442	548	129
1908–9	192	244	617	675	400	2,619	968	359
1909–10	98	109	448	519	281	3,448	826	702
1910–11	372	399	834	716	171	2,510	662	233
1911–12	204*	230	771	852	260*	2,824	697	624

* These figures do not include books and slides belonging to the Roman Society.

The Council acknowledge with thanks gifts of books from the following bodies:—H.M. Government of India, the Trustees of the British Museum,

[1] Prof. E. A. Gardner will discuss the problem of the Boston Reliefs in the *J.H.S.* for 1913.

the Director of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, the Imperial German Archaeological Institute, the Municipal Council of Naples, the Society of Dilettanti, and the University Presses of the following Universities:—California, Cambridge, Cornell, Oxford, and Pennsylvania.

The following publishers have presented copies of recently published works:—Messrs. Beck, Champion, Clark, Danesi, Duckworth, Fontemoing, Frowde, Geuthner, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., K. Kurtius, Longmans, Green & Co., Macmillan & Co., Max Niemeyer, Mayer & Müller, Reimer, Routledge, Teubner, Töpelmann, Weidmann, West, Newman & Co. and Williams, Norgate & Co.

The following authors have presented copies of their works:—Dr. Arvanitopoulos, Mr. H. I. Bell, Prof. J. B. Bury, Messrs. E. Drerup, J. H. Freese, Dr. Th. Gomperz, Messrs. W. R. Halliday, G. Hempl, J. H. Hopkinson, A. B. Keith, Prof. E. Lowy, Messrs. J. McCann, V. Macchioro, F. H. Marshall, A. J. Murray, G. Oikonomos, L. N. de Oliver, J. C. Peristianes, G. Porzio, N. Putorti, D. M. Robinson, A. Sartiaux, L. Scarth, R. B. Seager, Mrs. S. Arthur Strong, Mr. J. Thomopoulos, and Dr. Th. Wiegand.

Miscellaneous donations of books have also been received from Miss Carey, Messrs. F. W. Hasluck, G. F. Hill, Miss Martin, Messrs. J. Penoyre, J. Petrocochino, Sir John Sandys, Miss Virtue-Tebbs, Messrs. H. B. Walters, and A. H. S. Yeames.

Among the more important acquisitions are the following:—The *Antiquities of Ionia*, presented by the Society of Dilettanti; The *Catalogue* and *Subject Index of the London Library*, presented by Miss Virtue-Tebbs; *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Series I. and II., Furtwängler-Reichhold; *Inscriptiones Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, Vols. I. and IV., Latyschev; *Exempla Codicum Graecorum*, Vol. I., *Codices Mosquenses*, Cereteli and Sobolevski; *Gournia*, Boyd-Hawes; *Prehistoric Thessaly*, Wace and Thompson.

Catalogue of Lantern Slides, &c.—The Council attach great importance to the educational value of the Society's collection of slides and photographs, and in order to make it more generally accessible to members have sanctioned the issue of a new Catalogue of Lantern Slides, in which the *Supplementary Lists*, published annually, will be incorporated with the main *Catalogue* published in 1904. Some additional sets of classified slides will also be included.

A special appeal is therefore made for gifts of such photographs, negatives, &c., as are of general interest. It is hoped that the new catalogue may be ready for issue in the autumn, and it will greatly facilitate the work of incorporating accessions, if particulars of gifts to the collection are forwarded to the Secretary before the beginning of the summer vacation.

The Council take the opportunity of announcing that a member of the Society, who is a skilled amateur photographer, has offered to give an evening lecture, "On the manufacture of lantern-slides," next autumn, if a sufficient number of members express their interest in the project.

The following members have given generous donations of photographs, negatives and slides during the past year:—Prof. W. C. F. Anderson, Messrs. Calder, Caton, Dawkins, Prof. Dixon, Messrs. W. R. Halliday, F. W. Hasluck, G. F. Hill, Dr. Leaf, Misses Lindsay and Lorimer, Messrs. W. E. F. Macmillan, Müller-Hallet, Miss Moggridge, Lieut.-Colonel Owen, Mr. H. Raven, Rev. E. G. Seale, Messrs. Seltman, A. J. B. Wace, and A. H. S. Yeames.

Finance.—The statement of accounts for the past year shows that the Expenditure has exceeded the Income by a sum of £31. The principal cause of the deficit appears under the receipts from Members' Subscriptions and Entrance Fees, where a considerable falling off is shown as compared with last year. The Expenditure shows little variation except that an increase is noted under the amounts for Rent, and for Lighting, Heating, Cleaning, &c., of the Library. This increase is, however, practically offset by the payments received from the Roman Society in respect of the arrangements between the two Societies for the joint occupation and use of the Library premises.

The cost of the *Journal* has worked out at almost the same figure as last year, but a gratifying feature may be noted in the sales, which show an increase of over £27, largely in the demand for back volumes.

In the Lantern Slides and Photographs Account the sales also show an increase, and, as the expenditure in this department has been less than last year, this account shows a balance on the right side.

The Cash balance at the closing of the accounts stands at £701, as against £740 last year. The Debts payable amount to £307, as against £266; and the Debts receivable at £204, as against £192. The amount outstanding for arrears of Members' Subscriptions is £122, but this amount has not been included in making up the statement of accounts.

The names on the membership roll total 40 Honorary Members and 915 ordinary Members. The total of the ordinary Members on the Register last year was 949. The List of Subscribing Libraries shows an increase of 3, the number now amounting to 203.

Apart from the falling off in the membership the financial statement may be regarded as satisfactory. It is inevitable that from time to time the loss from death and other causes should be heavy, and in the past year there have been fewer new members elected than usual. The Council are confident that the drop in the membership is but a temporary one, and they hope that the difference will be more than made up during the coming year. In this connexion they would again call the special

attention of members to the valuable assistance they may render by bringing the Society and its work to the notice of any of their friends who may be interested, and by the introduction of new members.

In moving the adoption of the Report the President prefaced his inaugural address[1] with the following words:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I can only briefly refer to the losses which this Society and Hellenic studies amongst us have suffered during the last year. The severest indeed have fallen on us within a few days of this Meeting. I refer to the deaths of Mr. E. S. Roberts, Master of Gonville and Caius College at Cambridge, and of Dr. A. W. Verrall, Fellow of Trinity College at the same University, and the first holder of the new Chair of English Literature. To these must now be added from beyond the Atlantic the name of the Emeritus Professor W. W. Goodwin, an Honorary Member of this Society and an old friend of many here. He held the Chair of Greek at Harvard for many years, was the first Director of the American School at Athens, and his works on Greek Grammar, and especially his *Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* have a solid reputation. His personality was greater than can be measured by individual achievements, and his influence has been widely felt.

Both Roberts and Verrall joined this Society on its foundation, and both contributed to the *Hellenic Journal*. Roberts served on the Council from 1881 to 1886, and his well known *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* is in every student's hands and has done much to promote the study of Greek inscriptions in this country. The distinction of Verrall's work as a commentator of Euripides and Aeschylus is universally recognised. In these days of wholesale recovery of papyrus manuscripts, textual criticism has been put to a severe test which is sometimes discouraging to the ingenuity of scholars. But the great qualities of literary insight and sympathetic interpretation which he possessed will long link Verrall's name with the masters of Greek Tragedy.

Among the events that have most affected us during the past year have been the conclusion of what may be called a close alliance with the Roman Society and our cordial co-operation with the Classical Association in drawing up a Memorandum on the position of Greek in our curriculum. To attempt on this occasion a comprehensive review of the progress of Hellenic researches during the last year is far beyond either the time available or the scope of any single student. Happily the useful annual now published by the Classical Association makes it the less necessary for me to attempt anything of the kind.

Had such a survey been necessary I confess that I should have been tempted to blow the numismatic trumpet. Much of the most novel material recently acquired in the domain of Greek archaeology has

[1] This address, which was illustrated by lantern-slides, is printed in full in the *Journal* (vol. xxxii. pp. 277–297).

been due to the evidence of Coins. Our knowledge of the important Melian find, throwing an entirely new light on that department of Aegean Art, has been largely supplemented. A wholly new series of local coins have come to light in Skyros and a comprehensive hoard of coins from Taranto takes us the whole round of the Eastern Mediterranean. But I will here content myself with a reference to a single bronze coin which illustrates in the most felicitous manner the way in which students of Greek sculpture may profit by numismatic guidance. Our member, Mr. Guy Dickins, a little time since published in the British School *Annual* a restoration of the statuary group by Damophon from the temple of Lykosura, the result of careful study of the fragmentary remains taken in connection with Pausanias' description. Mr. Guy Dickins must certainly be congratulated on the *ex post facto* proof of the general correctness of his restoration which has now come to light in the shape of a bronze imperial coin that had lain for some 20 years forgotten, together with other coins found at the time of the excavation, in the cellars of the Museum at Athens. A short time since, the Ephor, M. Stais, by a happy chance came upon a small box containing these coins which had remained unopened since that time, and on looking over them found a coin of Megalopolis the reverse of which, though somewhat corroded, affords a contemporary sketch of the whole group, and shows the general correctness of Mr. Dickins' restoration.

The adoption of the Report was seconded by Sir Edwin Pears, and, having been put to the Meeting, was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Auditors, Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. C. F. Macmillan, proposed by Sir John Sandys and seconded by Mr. F. E. Thompson, was carried unanimously.

As the result of the ballot the printed list of nominations for the election or re-election of officers submitted by the Council was unanimously confirmed.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

A comparison with the receipts and expenditure of the last ten years is furnished by the following tables :—

ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1903.	31 May, 1904.	31 May, 1905.	31 May, 1906.	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.	31 May, 1911.	31 May, 1912.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Subscriptions. Current	646	672	709	780	753	759	773	771	766	747
Arrears	13	205	76	90	72	70	82	82	84	78
Life Compositions	94	126	94	94	47	47	15	31	94	15
Libraries	202	147	154	168	173	188	196	197	196	196
Entrance Fees	50	100	133	103	65	78	94	107	65	50
Dividends	42	42	49	44	61	62	63	62	62	62
Rent : (B.S.A. & B.S.R.)	...	...	...	...	10	10	10	13	22	20
Endowment Fund	...	...	30	475	17	23	2	6	1	1
"Excavations at Phylakopi," sales	...	...	52*	28*	21*	18*	12*	7*	10*	4*
"Facsimile Codex Venetus," sales	...	...	93*	8*	17*	3*	...	...	12*	4*
Lantern Slides Account	...	...	...	15*	3*	5*	...	7*	...	12*
Emergency Fund (for Library Fittings)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	327	67	...
Rent, Use of Library, &c. (Roman Society)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	66
	1,047	1,292	1,390	1,814	1,239	1,263	1,240	1,610	1,417	1,255

* Receipts less expenses.

ANALYSIS OF EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS ENDING :—

	31 May, 1903.	31 May, 1904.	31 May, 1905.	31 May, 1906.	31 May, 1907.	31 May, 1908.	31 May, 1909.	31 May, 1910.	31 May, 1911.	31 May, 1912.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Rent	80	80	88	98	100	100	100	109	188	205
Insurance	15	16	18	13	14	15	15	13	14	13
Salaries	69	89	165	176	178	178	204	241	271	263
Library : Purchases & Binding	89	50	100	65	85	85	85	58	73	103
Cost of Catalogue	...	55	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Heating, Lighting, Cleaning, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36	51
Sundry Printing, Postage, Stationery, etc.	72	137	147	158	101	119	140	126	151	176
Printing and Postage, History of Society	...	...	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Printing and Postage, Proceedings at Anniversary	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lantern Slides Account	33	} 2	5*	...	...	...	} 17*	...	16*	...
Photographs Account	...			...	...	...				...
Cost of Journal (less sales)	454	511	511	356	356	406	362	532	385	362
Cost of Journal, Reprint of Vol. XXIII	...	...	122	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grants	250	225	260	125	225	340	185	150	150	150
"Facsimile of the Codex Venetus of Aristophanes"	210	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
"Excavations at Phylakopi"	156	140	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Roman Society, Expenses re formation	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	51	5	...
Library Fittings	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	408	18	...
Depreciation of Stocks of Publications	...	...	123	104	10	6	53	52	3	4
	1,432	1,335	1,573	1,095	1,069	1,249	1161	1,740	1,310	1,327

* Expenses less sales.

Dr. 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. From JUNE 1, 1911, to MAY 31, 1912. Cr.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Printing and Paper. Vol. XXXI., Part II., and XXXII., Part I.	355 4 2	
,, Plates	27 14 6	
,, Drawing and Engraving	40 15 0	
,, Editing and Reviews	73 13 6	
,, Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members	63 5 5	
		560 12 7
		£560 12 7

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Sales, including back Vols., from June 1, 1911, to May 31, 1912.		
Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd.	154 3 10	
,, Hellenic Society	27 15 6	
		181 19 4
,, Receipts for Advertisements		16 19 5
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account		361 13 10
		£560 12 7

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'EXCAVATIONS AT PHYLAKOPI' ACCOUNT. From JUNE 1, 1911, to MAY 31, 1912.

	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1912.	Account for Current Year.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding value of Stock)	148 0 11	—
Balance on Current Year to Income and Expenditure Account	—	4 2 0
	£148 0 11	£4 2 0

	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1912.	Account for Current Year.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Sale of 4 Copies during year	4 2 0	4 2 0
Deficit Balance at May 31, 1912 (excluding value of Stock)	148 7 11	
	£148 9 11	£4 2 0

'FACSIMILE OF THE CODEX VENETUS OF ARISTOPHANES' ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1911, TO MAY 31, 1912.

	Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1912.	Account for Current Year.		Column showing Financial Result from Date of Publication to May 31, 1912.	Account for Current Year.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Deficit Balance brought forward (excluding Value of Stock)	89 4 0		By Sale of 1 Copy	7 7 0	7 7 0
,, Half Balance to American Archæological Institute	3 13 6	3 13 6	,, Hellenic Society's Deficit Balance at May 31, 1912 (excluding Value of Stock)	85 10 6	
,, Half Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	—	3 13 6			
	£92 17 6	£7 7 0		£92 17 6	£7 7 0

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1911, TO MAY 31, 1912.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale	40 0 6½	By Receipts from Sales	50 6 4
,, Slides for Hire	6 13 4½	,, ,, ,, Hire	16 0 7
,, Photographs for Reference Collection	7 2 7½		
,, Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	12 10 8½		
	£66 6 11		£66 6 11

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. FROM JUNE 1, 1911, TO MAY 31, 1912.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Purchases	80 9 8		By Received for Sales of Catalogues, Duplicates, &c.	2 18 4
,, Binding	19 14 5		,, Balance to Income and Expenditure Account	103 5 9
		106 4 1		
		£106 4 1		£106 4 1

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. From JUNE 1, 1911, to MAY 31, 1912.

Expenditure.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Rent				205	5	0
,, Salaries—						
Librarian and Secretary	137	11	8			
Assistant Treasurer	25	0	0			
Clerk	58	10	0			
Typist	42	2	9			
				263	4	5
,, Insurance				12	18	11
,, Miscellaneous Expenses				47	4	3
,, Stationery				37	7	9
,, Postage				62	15	11
,, Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.				28	13	9
,, Heating, Lighting, and Cleaning Library Premises				51	0	0
,, Grants—						
British School at Athens	100	0	0			
,, ,, Rome	50	0	0			
				150	0	0
,, Balance from Library Account				103	5	9
,, Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' Account				361	13	10
,, Depreciation of Stocks of publications				3	14	0
				£1327	10	1

Income.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Members' Subscriptions—						
Proportion brought forward from last year	437	18	7			
Received during current year—Arrears	64	1	6			
,, ,, ,, ,, 1911	14	14	0			
,, ,, ,, ,, 1912	736	0	7			
	1252	14	8			
Less $\frac{1}{12}$ of 1912 subscriptions forward to next year	430	0	9			
				823	7	11
,, Members' Entrance Fees				50	8	0
,, Student Associates' Subscriptions				2	2	0
,, Libraries Subscriptions—						
Proportion brought forward from last year	97	7	8			
Received during current year—1910 & 1911	31	9	11			
,, ,, ,, ,, 1912	161	14	0			
	290	11	7			
Less $\frac{1}{12}$ of 1911 subscriptions forward to next year	94	6	6			
				196	5	1
,, Life Compositions brought into Revenue Account				47	5	0
,, Interest on Deposit Account				7	16	4
,, Dividends on Investments				62	8	0
,, Contributed towards Rent by British School at Athens and British School at Rome for use of Society's room				20	0	0
,, Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies—						
Rent	30	0	0			
Use of Library	25	0	0			
Clerk	4	5	0			
Typist	4	5	9			
Telephone Charges, Cleaning, &c.	2	8	10			
				65	19	7
,, Balance from 'Excavations at Phylakopi' Account				4	2	0
,, Balance from Aristophanes Codex Venetus Account				3	13	6
,, Balance from Lantern Slides Account				12	10	8
Balance				31	9	5½
				£1327	10	1

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BALANCE SHEET, MAY 31, 1912.

Liabilities.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Debts Payable		307 17 10½
,, Subscriptions carried forward		523 13 3
,, Suspense Account		4 4 0
,, Endowment Fund		555 14 0
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar)		
,, Emergency Fund (Library Fittings and Furniture) Total Received		394 18 6
,, Life Compositions and Donations— Total at June 1, 1911 ..... £1939 19 0		
Received during year, 1 at £15 15s.	15 15 0	
	1946 14 0	
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account, three at £15 15s.—Members deceased	47 5 0	
		1899 9 0
Excess of Assets over Liabilities at June 1, 1911	274 10 0	
Less Deficit Balance from Income & Expenditure Account	31 0 5½	
Balance—Excess of Assets at May 31, 1912		243 0 6½
		£3928 17 2

Assets.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Cash in Hand—Bank	94 0 1	
,, on Deposit	600 0 0	
Assistant Treasurer	3 3 0½	
Petty Cash	3 12 2½	
		701 1 4
,, Debts Receivable		204 17 11
,, Investments (Life Compositions)	1263 3 11	
,, ,, (Endowment Fund)	500 0 0	
		1763 3 11
,, Emergency Fund—Total Expended		426 0 0
,, Valuations of Stocks of Publications		483 14 0
,, ,, Library		350 0 0
		£3928 17 2

Examined and found correct.

* (*Signed*) C. F. CLAY.

* In the absence of Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan, who is abroad, the accounts have been audited by Mr. C. F. Clay alone.

TENTH LIST OF

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ADDED TO THE

LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE CATALOGUE

1911—1912.

With this list are incorporated books belonging to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. These are distinguished by R.S.

NOTE.—The Original Catalogue published in 1903, with all the supplements appended, can be purchased by members and subscribing libraries at 3/- (by post 3/4). Applications should be made to the Librarian, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

R.S. **Abbott (F. F.)** Society and Politics in Ancient Rome. 8vo. 1912.

R.S. **Abbott (F. F.)** The Common People of Ancient Rome. 8vo. 1912.

Aeschylus. The Seven Against Thebes of Aeschylus rendered into English Verse by E. Bevan. 8vo. 1912.

Alexandria. Publications of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Iscrizioni Greche e Latine nel Museo d'Alexandria (Nos. 1–568). By E. Breccia. 4to. Cairo. 1911.

Allen (T. W.) *Editor.* See Homer.

R.S. **Altmann (W.)** Die italischen Rundbauten. 8vo. Berlin. 1906.

R.S. **Altmann (W.)** Architectur und Ornamentik der Antiken Sarkophage. 8vo. Berlin. 1902.

Anant (D.) Plato and the true enlightener of the soul. 8vo. 1912.

Annual of the British School at Athens. Index to Vols. I.–XVI. By A. M. Woodward. 8vo. 1912.

R.S. **Annuario 1908.** Memories y Documents dels Treballs, fets per l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans durant l'Any MCMVIII. 4to. Barcelona. 1908.

Antiquities of Ionia. Published by Dilettanti Society. 4 Vols. Fol. 1828–1881.

R.S. **Archæologia Aeliana.** From Third Series, Vol. V. (1909). 8vo. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. *In Progress.*

R.S. = the property of the Roman Society.

Archivio della R. Società Romana. Vols. 1–24. 8vo. Rome. 1877–1901. *s.s.*

Archivio Storico Italiano. Vols. I–XVI (1842–1851): Index, 1853: Appendice vols. I–IX (1842–1854). 8vo. Florence. *s.s.*

Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletane. Vols. I–XXIII. Index vols. I–XX. 8vo. Naples. 1876–1898. *s.s.*

Aristoteles. Περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. German translation by A. Busse. 12mo. Leipsic. 1911.

Arnold (E. V.) Roman Stoicism, being lectures on the History of the Stoic Philosophy with special reference to its development within the Roman Empire. 8vo. Cambridge. 1911. *s.s.*

Assmann (E.) Die Babylonische Herkunft von as, aes, raudus, uncia, libra. See Nomisma.

Athens. Acropolis Museum. Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum. Vol. I. Archaic Sculpture. By G. Dickins. 8vo. Cambridge. 1912.

Archaeological Society's Museum. Catalogue des Figurines de Terre Cuite du Musée de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes. By J. Martha. 8vo. Paris. 1880.

National Museum. Catalogue des Vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes. Supplement by G. Nicole. Text and Plates. 8vo. and Fol. Paris. 1911.

National Museum. La collection Mycénienne: Guide illustré du Musée National d'Athènes. By V. Stais. 12mo. Athens. 1909.

Auxentiades (D.) *Translator etc.* See Kipper (P.).

Ayrton (E. R.) Pre-dynastic Cemetery at El Mahasna. See Egypt Exploration Fund.

Barnabita (L. de F.) Origine dei Numeri Etruschi. 4to. Rome. 1897. *s.s.*

Bell (H. I.) Translations of Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum. [Der Islam, II. 2, 4.] 8vo. Strassburg. 1911.

Translations of Greek Aphrodito Papyri in the British Museum. [Der Islam, III. 1, 2.] 8vo. Hamburg. 1912.

Belzner (E.) Homerische Probleme. I. Die Kulturellen Verhältnisse der Odyssee als Kritische Instanz. Mit einem Nachwort (Aristarchea) von A. Roemer. 8vo. Leipsic. 1911.

Bénédite (G.) Objets de Toilette. See Cairo, Catalogue du Musée du Caire.

Berlin. Papyri Graecae Berolinenses. Ed. W. Schubart. 4to. Bonn and Oxford. 1911.

Bernoulli (J.) Römische Ikonographie, Vols. I., II. 1, 2, 3 8vo. Stuttgart. 1882–1894. *s.s.*

s.s. = the property of the Roman Society.

Bevan (E.) *Translator.* See Aeschylus.

r.s. **Biccari (R. L. di)** Catalogo della Collezione di Monete appartenente al Signor R. Lippi di Biccari. 8vo. Rome. 1895.

Blackman (A. M.) The Temple of Dendûr. See Cairo, Supplementary Publications of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. Les Temples immergés de la Nubie.

Blinkenberg (Chr.) The Thunder-weapon in Religion and Folklore. 8vo. Cambridge. 1911.

Boetticher (C.) Der Baumcultus der Hellenen. 8vo. Berlin. 1856.

r.s. **Boni (G.)** Il Metodo negli Scavi Archeologici [Nuova Antologia, 1901.]

Quadrantal [Nuova Antologia, 1902].
Dalle Origini " " 1903].
Bimbi Romulei " " 1904].
Oltre Alpe " " 1905].
Hibernica " " 1905]
Leggende " " 1906].
Aedes Vestae " " 1909].
Terra Mater " " 1910].
Porta Capena " " 1910]
Mure Urbane " " 1911]

Borchardt (L.) Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten. See Cairo, Catalogue du Musée du Caire.

Bormann (E.) *Editor.* See Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.

r.s. **Bottari (M.G.)** and **Ticozzi (S.)** Raccolta di Lettere sulla Pittura, Scultura ed Architettura. Vols. 1–8. 12mo. Milan. 1822.

Boyd-Hawes (H.) Gournia, Vasiliki and other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete. Fol. Philadelphia. 1908.

Breccia (E.) Iscrizioni Greche e Latine nel Museo d'Alexandria. (Nos. 1–568). See Alexandria, Publications of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.

British Museum. *Department of Coins and Medals.* Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Lombards in the British Museum. By W. Wroth. 8vo. 1911.

Brooks (E. J.) *Translator.* See Gilbert (G.) Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens.

r.s. **Bruns (C. G.)** Fontes Juris Romani Antiqui. Pts. I., II. 7th ed. by O. Gradenwitz. 8vo. Tübingen. 1909.

r.s. **Bruton (F. A.)** The Roman Forts at Castleshaw. [Second Interim Report, with Notes on the Pottery by J. Curle.] 8vo. Manchester. 1911.

Burgh (W. G. de) The Legacy of Greece and Rome. 8vo. 1912.

r.s. **Bury (J. B.)** History of the Eastern Roman Empire. 8vo. London. 1912.

r.s. = the property of the Roman Society.

Busse (A.) *Translator.* See Aristotle.

Bussell (F. W.) The Roman Empire. Essays on the Constitutional History. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1910.

Cairo. Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.

Greek Vases by C. C. Edgar. 4to. Cairo. 1911.

Objets de Toilette, I. By G. Bénédite. 4to. Cairo. 1911.

Papyrus grecs d'Epoque Byzantine. I, 2. By J. Maspero. 4to. Cairo. 1911.

Papyrus de Ménandre by G. Lefebvre. 4to. Cairo. 1911.

Statuen und Statuetten von Konigen und Privat-leuten. I. By L. Borchardt. 4to. Berlin. 1911.

Supplementary Publications of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.

Excavations at Saqqara (1909–10, 1910–11). By J. E. Quibell. 4to. Cairo. 1912.

Rapports sur la Marche du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte de 1899–1910. By G. Maspero. 8vo. Cairo. 1912.

Les Temples immergés de la Nubie.

Rapports relatifs à la consolidation des temples. By G. Maspero. 2 Vols. 4to. Cairo. 1909–12.

Temple of Dendûr. By A. M. Blackman. 4to. Cairo. 1911.

Temple de Kalabchah. By H. Gauthier. 2 Vols. 4to. Cairo. 1911.

Debod bis Bab Kalabsche, Vols. I, II, by G. Roeder. Vol. III by F. Zucker. 4to. Cairo. 1911.

r.s. **Capgrave (J.)** Ye Solace of Pilgrimes. Edited by C. A. Mills. 4to. Oxford. 1911.

r.s. **Capo.** Catalogo della Vendita della Collezione Capo. 8vo. Rome. 1891.

r.s. **Carter (J. B.)** *Translator.* See Huelsen (Ch.). The Roman Forum.

Ceretelli (G.) and **Sobolevski (S.)** Exempla Codicum Graecorum. Vol. I. Codices Mosquenses. Portfolio. Moscow. 1911.

Chabouillet (M.) Catalogue Général des Camées et Pierres Gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale. 8vo. Paris. 1868.

Chadwick (H.) The Heroic Age (Cambridge Archaeological and Ethnographical Series). 8vo. Cambridge. 1912.

Charles (B.B.) Hittite Inscriptions. See Cornell Expedition.

"Chiensis." *Translator.* The Language Question in Greece. See J. N. Psichari and H. Pernot.

Chipiez (C.) See Perrot (G.).

r.s. = the property of the Roman Society.

Chrysaphis (J. E.) Αἱ περὶ Γυμναστικῆς Δοξασίαι τοῦ Γαληνοῦ. 8vo. Athens. 1910.

Chrysaphis (J. E.) Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Διπεσβολία. [Bull. du Com. des Jeux Olymp., 3.] 4to. Athens. 1906.

a.s. **Ciccarelli (A.)** Le Vite dei Pontefici. 4to. Rome. 1588.

Clapp (E. B.) The Ὀαριστύς of Theocritus. [Univ. Californ. Class. Phil. II., 8.] 8vo. Berkeley. 1911.

Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor. Travels and Studies in the Nearer East. By A. T. Olmstead, B. B. Charles, and J. E. Wrench. I (2) Hittite Inscriptions. 4to. New York. 1911.

a.s. **Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.** 4to. Berlin. 1869–1909.

Vol. I. Pars. I. Fasti Consulares, Elogia Clarorum Virorum, Fasti Anni Juliani (Ed. II.). Fol. Berlin. 1893.

Vol. II. Inscriptiones Hispaniae latinae, ed. A. Hübner. Fol. Berlin. 1869.

Supplementum, ed. A. Hübner. Fol. Berlin. 1892.

Vol. III. Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae, Graecarum, Illyrici, latinae, ed. T. Mommsen. 2 vols. Fol. Berlin. 1873.

Supplementum. Fasc. I.–III., ed. T. Mommsen, etc. Fol. Berlin. 1889.

Supplementum. Pars. I., ed. T. Mommsen, etc. Fol. Berlin. 1902.

Vol. IV. Inscriptiones parietinae Pompeianae, ed. C. Zangemeister. Fol. Berlin. 1871.

Supplementum, Pars. I., ed. C. Zangemeister. Fol. Berlin. 1901.

Supplementum, Pars. II., ed. A. Mau. Fol. Berlin. 1909.

Vol. V. Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae latinae, ed. T. Mommsen. Fol. Berlin. 1872–7.

Vol. VI. Inscriptiones Urbis Romae, ed. E. Bormann and G. Henzen. Fol. Berlin. 1876–94.

Vol. VII. Inscriptiones Britanniae latinae ed. A. Hübner. Fol. Berlin. 1873.

Vol. VIII. Inscriptiones Africae latinae, ed. G. Wilmanns. Fol. Berlin. 1881.

Supplementum, ed. I. Schmitt, etc. Fol. Berlin. 1891–1904.

Vol. IX. Inscriptiones Calabriae, Apuliae, Samnii, Sabinorum, Picani, latinae, ed. T. Mommsen. Fol. Berlin. 1883.

Vol. X. Inscriptiones Bruttiorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae, Siciliae, Sardiniae, latinae, ed. T. Mommsen. Fol. Berlin. 1883.

a.s. = the property of the Roman Society.

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (*continued*)—

Vol. XI. Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruriae, Umbriae, latinae, ed. E. Bormann. Pars I., Fasc. I. Fol. Berlin. 1901.

Vol. XII. Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld. Fol. Berlin. 1888.

Vol. XIII. Inscriptiones Trium Galliarum et Germaniarum latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld and C. Zangemeister. Fol. Berlin. 1899–1906.

Vol. XV. Inscriptiones Urbis Romae latinae: Instrumentum Domesticum, ed. H. Dressel. Pars II., Fasc. I. Fol. Berlin. 1899.

Auctarium: Exempla Scripturae Epigraphicae latinae, ed. A. Hübner. Fol. Berlin. 1885.

n.s. **Corstopitum.** Report on the Excavations of 1910. By R. H. Forster and W. H. Knowles. 8vo. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1911.

Creta Christiana. Quarterly Review published under the auspices of the Cretan Church. From I (1912). 8vo. Heracleum, Crete. *In Progress.*

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus *κ* should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs *υ*, *αι*, *οι*, *ου* by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-ος* and *-ον* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-ρος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved, also words ending in *-ειον* must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-ρος*, as *Λέαγρος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-on* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike, Homonoia, Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for κ, *ch* for χ, but *y* and *u* being substituted for υ and *ou*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike, aporyomenos, diadumenos, rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis, symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ou* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule, gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions :—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34.

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; *e.g.* Dittenb. *Syll.*^{2} 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

A.-E.M. = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Sculpt. = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R. = Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Instituto.
Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pét. = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. *O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. *Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. = *Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική.*
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.
Gerh. *A.V.* = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Head, *H.N.* = Head, Historia Nummorum.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.[1]
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

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[1] The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

I.G.	I.	= Inscr. Atticae aetate Euclidis vetustiores.	
,,	II.	= ,, ,, aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora.	
,,	III.	= ,, ,, aetatis Romanae.	
,,	IV.	= ,, Argolidis.	
,,	VII.	= ,, Megaridis et Boeotiae.	
,,	IX.	= ,, Graeciae Septentrionalis.	
,,	XII.	= ,, insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.	
,,	XIV.	= ,, Italiae et Siciliae.	

Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.
Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.
Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa. Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Philol. = Philologus.
Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.
Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.
Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.
Reinach, *Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.
Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.
Rev. Et. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.
Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.
Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.
Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.
Röm. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.
Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.
S.M.C. = Sparta Museum Catalogue.
T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.
Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ῾.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions*:—

( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[ ]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.

THE GROWTH OF SPARTAN POLICY.

THE relation of Sparta to the other Greek states in the early days of Greek history has been little examined and less understood. As a result two erroneous hypotheses have found their way into the stock-in-trade of the ancient historian. The first of these is that the development of Sparta was quite exceptional and unique among the Greek states; the second is that the foreign policy of Sparta was wholly opportunist, or, so far as a guiding principle can be traced, was mainly influenced by the domestic question of the helots.[1]

It is the object of this article to prove:—

(1) That down to 550 Sparta underwent a political development closely analogous to that of the rest of Greece.

(2) That from 550 onwards for nearly a century and a half the foreign policy of Sparta was dominated primarily by one consideration, and that not the population question, which did not arise at all until the beginning of the fifth century and only became of supreme importance in the fourth, but rather the issue of a conflict between the kings and the ephors lasting in an acute form for over fifty years and in a milder degree for almost the whole of Spartan history. I shall attempt to shew that the vacillations in Spartan policy are due to the vagaries of the conflict, which was acute in the days of Cleomenes and Pausanias, as in the later reigns of Agis III. and Cleomenes III., but latent and smouldering from the end of the second Messenian War onwards.

The article falls naturally into four divisions:—

A.—Sparta before 550.
B.—The settlement of 550.
C.—Reaction under Cleomenes and Pausanias.
D.—Passive resistance under Archidamus and Agis.

A.—Before 550.

The maze of legend and fiction and divergent tradition that bewilders any searcher among the tangles of early Spartan history is at first over-

[1] Grundy, *Thucydides*, ch. viii., gives the most recent expression of this theory (at any rate for the fifth century), which appears prominently in Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier*, pp. 26 foll.

powering, but before long he discovers that the great mass of variegated information is due simply to the fact that there is no sure tradition on which to build, and that consequently the mythopoeic and moralising tendencies of the fourth- and third-century antiquarians had an almost free and unrestricted range. Our first object must be to cut away this luxurious undergrowth and to disentangle the roots of fifth-century tradition that underlie it; not that fifth century information is necessarily more accurate, but because it reproduces genuine early traditions without the rationalising and amalgamating methods that come in with Ephorus.

The earliest Greek tradition about Sparta and its constitution is quite simple. It was observed that Sparta presented features different from those of other Greek states, and accordingly the conclusion was drawn that the founders of the Spartan state had inculcated ideas different from those of other Greek founders. Thus Pindar[1] attributes Spartan peculiarities to the enactments of Aegimius, the king in Pindus from whose land the Dorians derived their mythical origin. Some of these principles appear without any explanation in the fragments of Tyrtaeus,[2] and we are therefore justified in concluding that Sparta possessed traditional political precepts as early as the time of the second Messenian War. Hellanicus[4] too reproduces without qualification the theory that these Spartan rules of life were derived from their founders, the Heracleidae. Even Xenophon,[3] at a time when other theories held the field, was prepared to accept the original tradition.

But we find another version already prominent by the time of Herodotus.[5] According to this story Sparta had not always enjoyed the same good government that was the admiration of later political philosophers, but had passed through a period of *κακονομία*, from which she had been rescued only by stringent reforms. Two phases of this version found acceptance. According to one the Spartans received oracles from Delphi which induced them to change their constitution; according to the other they followed Cretan models. Herodotus associates both stories with the name of Lycurgus, but definitely adopts the Cretan variant, and makes Lycurgus uncle of Leobotas, the Agiad, who reigned about 900 B.C. in the traditional chronology. This variant Herodotus calls the Spartan variant. Its next appearance is in Ephorus,[7] who makes a manful effort to harmonise all the stories, but Niese[8] has shown I think conclusively, that it is the later and feebler variant, due without doubt to the desire for associating Lycurgus with the house of the Agiadae, as the more prominent house of recent years, instead of with the Eurypontidae. The other, or Delphian, variant is presumably that accepted by Simonides,[9] who calls Lycurgus uncle and guardian of Charilaus, the Eurypontid, who reigned about 800 B.C., and

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[1] *Pyth.* i. 64.

[2] Meyer's view that these passages are fourth-century forgeries will be examined later.

[4] *ap.* Strab. viii. 5. 5.

[3] *Resp. Lac.* i. 2 and viii. 5.

[5] i. 65, 66.

[7] *ap.* Strab. x. 4. 16–22.

[8] *Hermes*, 1907, p. 440.

[9] *ap.* Plut. *Lyc.* 2 (the fifth-century historian not the poet).

by Thucydides[10] who puts the change of constitution at the same date. But it is remarkable that while Simonides, so far as we know, accepts Lycurgus without question as the author of the change, Herodotus like the oracle displays some doubt[11] as to Lycurgus' precise personality, while Thucydides, writing with Herodotus before him, rejects the name of Lycurgus altogether as not proven. Meyer[12] has well pointed out that the position of Lycurgus in the story is never completely assured before the fourth century, and is probably due to the machinations of king Pausanias.

We need not pursue tradition further. Ephorus confuses the story by an amalgamation of all possible traditions; Xenophon adds the personality of Lycurgus to the earliest version. Plato,[13] Aristotle,[14] and the sources of Plutarch[15] are all more or less dependent on Ephorus. Only one new fact calls for comment, but that is of great importance. Aristotle[16] saw at Olympia a discus inscribed with the names of Lycurgus and Iphitus as supporters of the *ἐκεχειρία* or Olympian truce and the same discus was still pointed out to tourists in the days of Pausanias.[17]

The soundest early Greek tradition then accepts a change of constitution in the days of Charilaus about 800 B.C., but does not necessarily couple it with the name of Lycurgus; and this is not because Thucydides or Hellanicus or even Pindar was ignorant of the name of Lycurgus, since, as will be shewn later, the Lycurgus legend was certainly known in Sparta in 550, but because they were not prepared to associate his name with this particular change. Herodotus seems to have been the first who, knowing of the constitutional change and knowing of Lycurgus, boldly connected the two, and thus set a standard for the fourth century. Apparently he did not convince Thucydides. The passage in Thucydides is of great importance, and must be quoted in full.[18]

He says that Sparta got her constitution earlier than any other Greek state, *i.e.* earlier than the traditional reforms of Zaleucus at Locri in 660, but reached a complete settlement later than any other, *i.e.* her complete settlement came distinctly later than her original constitution. The latter he dates before 800, evidently referring to the general tradition about the reign of Charilaus. The date assigned by him to the complete settlement is a matter for argument. He may mean one of two things: (1) the settlement arranged in most Greek states during the eighth century between the nobles and the hereditary monarchy. In Sparta, as will be shown later, this settlement took place between 720 and 700, later, therefore, than the traditional settlement in Athens in 752; or (2) the settlement between aristocracy and

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[10] i. 18.
[11] i. 65.
[12] *Forschungen*, i. pp. 213 foll.
[13] *Laws*, iii. p. 642.
[14] *Pol.* ii. 12.
[15] *Lycurgus*.
[16] *ap.* Plut. *Lyc.* 1.
[17] v. 20. 1.

[18] ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαίμων μετὰ τὴν στάσιν τὴν νῦν ἰσονομώτατα οἰκήσασα δμοίως δὲ τοῦτο χρόνον στασιάσασα ἔμως δὲ καλλιστεύσασα καὶ φιλοπόλεμος καὶ αἰεὶ ἀνυφάντουσα ἦν ἔτη γὰρ ἑξήκοντα μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλείω ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ δυνάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίστασαν.

democracy and tyranny which was practically decided in Greece before the Spartan settlement of 550. In the latter case he must be taking Solon and not Clisthenes as the originator of the Attic settlement. Now in bk. i. ch. 12, Thucydides speaks of the general settlement of Hellas as previous to the age of colonisation and the age of maritime development. We may thus legitimately infer that he put the period of Spartan settlement just before the traditional age of Spartan colonisation about 700 B.C. He is therefore referring to the earlier period of settlement traditionally associated in Sparta with king Theopompus and the end of the first Messenian War, with the revolution of the Partheniae and the colonisation of Tarentum, and with domestic troubles culminating in the murder of king Polydorus. All Greek legend accepts this as a second date of constitutional importance in Sparta, since it is traditionally[19] credited with the institution of the ephorate.

But there was a third period of settlement in Greek history which finds its parallel also in Sparta. We hear of troubles in Sparta after the second Messenian War,[20] i.e. probably about 620. These troubles were traditionally assuaged by Tyrtaeus, and Stein[21] has put at this date Asteropus, the first, as Plutarch tells us,[22] who raised the ephors to power against the kings. The troubles were caused by arbitrary royal action, and there is no doubt that the Spartan kings shewed themselves willing to imitate the tyrants of the Isthmian cities.

Yet a fourth constitutional date is 550, when Chilon, according to Greek tradition, further increased the power of the ephors.[23] Here again the date corresponds with the general wave of Greek feeling against tyranny.

Greek tradition then gives the following dates and facts about early Spartan history:—

circa	1000.	Introduction of double kingship.
„	800.	Reform of constitution. / Lycurgus.
„	720.	Institution of Ephorate (given as 755 owing to a simple mistake).
„	620.	Advance of Ephorate—Asteropus.
„	550.	Equality of Ephorate and Kingdom—Chilon.

I want to propose the following alternatives:—

circa	1000.	Ephorate already in existence.
„	800.	Synoecism and double kingship.
„	720.	Aristocratic reforms of Lycurgus.
„	620.	Democratic reforms—increased power of ephors—Asteropus.
„	550.	Equality of Ephorate and Kingdom—Chilon.

The points that require proof are:—

(1) that the dual kingship does not appear before 800, and is due to synoecism.

[19] Cf. *e.g.* Ar. *Pol.* v. 9. 1.
[20] Paus. iv. 13. 2.
[21] *Das Spartan. Ephorat.* 1879.
[22] *Cleomenes*, 10.
[23] Diog. Laert. i. 68.

(2) that Lycurgus had nothing to do with constitutional reform, but was the arbitrator in the quarrel between kings and nobles, and introduced a compromise by which the king's power was limited.

(3) that the Ephorate was an office coeval with the formation of a Dorian state, but only beginning to acquire importance in Sparta about 620 owing to the fear of tyranny.

(1) *The Dual Kingship.*

Either the dual kingship was an original Dorian feature, or the second king was a limiting officer, or the duality was due to some form of synoecism. The two former views require little consideration. A division of power between two leaders is unparalleled in any single early community, and is obviously impracticable in a nomadic military community. From the start Greek tradition[24] represents the two Spartan houses as hostile to each other, obviously a bad arrangement for an invading army. Nor is there any trace of duality in other Dorian communities. The addition of a second king to limit the power of the first on the analogy of the Roman Consuls is again inapplicable to early Spartan conditions, for although Herodotus[25] speaks of the Agiadae as the senior house, no tradition ever makes the Eurypontidae later in origin, and Herodotus himself is careful to explain that their origin was the same. The 'seniority' of the Agiadae in the days of Herodotus was due only to the predominant importance of the Agiads, Cleomenes and Pausanias. Under Archidamus, Agis, and Agesilaus the Eurypontidae became the predominant house. Had the second king been a limiting officer like the Attic Polemarch, he would never have attained a position identical in privilege and tradition.

The third and generally accepted alternative of synoecism[26] implies the amalgamation of at least two Dorian bands. It may go back as early as the days of the conquest, or it may be as late as the date given by Thucydides for the Spartan constitution, about 800. It obviously cannot be later. If we appeal to Spartan tradition, we find quite separate accounts of the activities of the early Spartan kings. Thus we are told that Agis[27] helped to found Patrae and promoted a colony in Aeolis, that Sous,[28] his colleague, defeated Helos and fought with Cleitor, that Echestratus[29] conquered Cynuria while Eurypon[30] was conquering Mantinea. In the next generation both Labotas and Prytanis[31] had apparently separate wars with Argos.

Then there is an interval of two generations in each family without history, but in the next generation Charilaus and Archelaus both united in the conquest of the perioecic city Aegys.[32] Amyclae was conquered in the following reign and in the next the Messenian War sees both kings united.

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[24] Hdt. vi. 52.
[25] vi. 51.
[26] Wachsmuth, *Jahrb. für Class. Phil.* 1868, pp. 1 foll.; Gilbert, *Gk. Const. Antiq.* pp. 9 foll.
[27] Paus. iii. 2. 1.
[28] Plut. *Lyc.* 2.
[29] Paus. iii. 2. 2.
[30] Polyaenus, ii. 13.
[31] Paus. iii. 2. 3 and 7. 2.
[32] Paus. iii. 2. 5.

We are surely at liberty to conclude with Duncker[32] from these stories that even in the tradition which accepted the dual kingship the early kings fought perfectly independent campaigns, the Eurypontids mainly in Arcadia, the Agiads mainly in Argolis and Cynuria. On the other hand, as soon as two kings unite, we find them attacking the southern cities of Laconia and almost immediately rising to such power that they can embark on the Tegean wars of Charilaus and the great Messenian War.

We have even in Polyaenus (i. 10) a tradition of definite hostilities between the two houses, in which the Eurypontids were aided by the Argives.

The evidence for synoecism in Sparta is overwhelming. We have the two Zeus cults,[34] one for each king, the two sets of tombs,[35] the definite existence of a quarter called Ἀγιάδαι.[36] We can even fix the respective quarters as N.W. for the Agiadae near the Acropolis, and S.E. for the Eurypontidae between the hills of New Sparta and the ford of the Eurotas.[37] But it is complicated by the existence of the Aigeidai, and the five villages. Gilbert and others think that the Aigeidai shared in the synoecism, and had once a king, as is suggested in the legend of Theras. Thus a story of two synoecisms has grown up (Stein), the earlier the synoecism of the double kingship, the later the synoecism with the Aigeidai. That the Aigeidai were a tribe in Sparta, and a non-Dorian tribe, we know from Herodotus,[38] but similar non-Dorian tribes are known in all Dorian settlements,[39] and represent early combinations with the non-Dorian element. We have no right to assume a separate Aigid sovereignty in Sparta from the stories of Theras, Timomachus, and Euryleon. The whole story of Theras is clearly aetiological, and the story of Euryleon is not known to fifth-century tradition, since Herodotus attributes army reform to Lycurgus.

Our best tradition definitely dates the spread of Spartan power in Laconia from the reign of Charilaus or Archelaus. The previous kings have no real history. If Sparta had not yet conquered Amyclae, she can hardly have interfered much in Argos and Arcadia. If then the synoecism was the origin of Spartan strength as of that of nearly all other Greek cities, we must put it, in default of other evidence, at the time when a sudden growth of strength is really manifested. This comes about 800. The synoecism naturally entailed a revision and reconsideration of the constitution, and therefore is fitly taken by Herodotus and Thucydides as the beginning of the period of *εὐνομία* after one of conflict and *κακονομία*. Greek tradition knowing Lycurgus as the composer of quarrels in Sparta inevitably hailed him as the author of this constitution, and Herodotus fell into the trap. Thucydides was a better judge of evidence.

A final piece of evidence against an early date for the synoecism, viz. in the days of the conquest, exists in the fact that at the time of the conquest

[32] *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. I (transl. Alleyne), pp. 355, 356.

[34] Hdt. vi. 56.

[35] Paus. iii. 12. 8 and 14. 2.

[36] Hesych. *s.v.*, τόποι δὲ Λακεδαίμονος.

[37] Cf. my paper, 'Topographical Conclusions at Sparta,' in *B.S.A.* xii. p. 431.

[38] iv. 149.

[39] *E.g.* Hyrnaethia in Argos (Müller, *Dorians*, ii. p. 77), Aigialeoi in Sicyon (Hdt. v. 68).

the Spartans like all other Dorians were divided into three generic tribes, Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphiloi. If the two kings had then existed, they would have been tribal kings, and their two tribes would have persisted in historic Sparta; but the Dorian tribes appear to have died out of Sparta entirely. There can be only one reason for this, viz. that a new local division had arisen owing to the synoecism of long-established local communities, in each of which the three tribes existed. The two kings preserved local, not tribal characteristics, and the five villages preserved local characteristics. We are bound to conclude therefore that historic Sparta was an amalgamation of five communities, each of which possessed the three generic tribes. Henceforward the local name was kept, shewing that the local division had a long and not easily-to-be-surrendered history, and the generic tribes dropped out completely. In their place we find local tribes, five of which we know were formed by the five villages. The relation of the two kings to the five tribes is not very important. Each kingdom may have absorbed two or three villages before they united themselves. Possibly Pitane and Mesoa and the lost village (? Dyme) were Agiad, while Konoura and Limnai were Eurypontid. It will be suggested later that in these earlier absorptions each village retained its headman or *προστάτης* while losing its king, if it had one, and that thus after the synoecism there were five headmen who became ephors and only two kings.

Probably the Aigeidai came in at the same time[40] and perhaps other non-Dorian tribes too, since we have the statement from Demetrius of Skepsis[41] that there were nine *τόποι* in Sparta divided into twenty-seven *φρατρίαι*. The phrase in Hesychius under *Δύμη—ἐν Σπάρτῃ φυλὴ καὶ τόπος* suggests nine local tribes divided into twenty-seven local obes with possibly a later twenty-eighth obe for additional citizens (Neopolitai). Of tribes we know Pitane, Mesoa, Limnai, and Konoura,[42] and may guess at Dyme;[43] of obes we know[44] Limnai, Konoura and either Pitane or Mesoa with Amyclae, the Neopolitai, and *Κροτανοί*. Each tribe had perhaps an obe of the same name (cf. Attic trittys and deme Peiraieis) and two others. The obe of Amyclae presumably belonged to a non-Dorian tribe, the *Κροτανοί* to Pitane.

This constitution must have been outlined at the synoecism, and the twenty-eight obes appear as units both for the Gerousia and the army (seven lochi of four pentecostyes at Mantinea). Thus the typical Spartan constitution dates from the reign of king Charilaus.

It is necessary to prove next that Lycurgus has nothing to do with this synoecism, but belongs to a period nearly a century later.

(2) *Lycurgus.*

The first requisite for an understanding of the Lycurgus-problem is to

[40] No Dorian remains have been found on the Menelaion earlier than about 800. Cf. *B.S.A.* xv. p. 114.

[41] Ath. iv. 131 *e*.

[42] Cf. *C.I.G.* 1272, 1338, 1347, 1377, 1386, 1425, 1426. Hesychius, *s.v.*

[43] Cf. Hesych. *s.v.* *φυλὴ καὶ τόπος ἐν Σπάρτῃ*.

[44] Cf. Tod, *B.S.A.* x. pp. 63 foll.

disabuse one's mind of the additions to the Lycurgus-myth. We may relegate him to Olympus with Meyer,[43] we may enrol him among the heroes with Wilamowitz,[44] we may turn him, with Gelzer,[45] into a priestly hierarchy, or follow Niese[46] in supporting his human personality, but in no case can we claim to know anything of the man outside his works, or to follow Plutarch[47] and even Herodotus[48] in a description of his life and travels.

First let us get rid of the mythopoeists and rationalisers. To the fifth-century historians Lycurgus is either unknown, or is a rather shadowy legislator to whom the greater part of the Spartan constitution and ἀγωγή is due. Herodotus[51] attributes to him everything except the double kingship, and leaves us in some doubt whether he is man, god, or hero. Before Herodotus his name is not mentioned. Tyrtaeus, though he mentions some of his so-called regulations, says nothing of Lycurgus himself. Neither Hellanicus[52] nor Thucydides[53] accepts him, but two stories of his origin are current, both of which occur in Herodotus, and one, the more probable, as we have seen, in Simonides.

In the fourth century things are different. The constitution as a whole is still attributed to him, but the ephorate is now held to be post-Lycurgan. Meyer has shown incontestably the true reason for the change. King Pausanias, who was exiled in 395, took up his pen as pamphleteer, and wrote to prove (*a*) that the Spartan constitution came from Delphi, *i.e.* was divine, (*b*) that the ephors belonged to a later period. The first argument was directed against Lysander, who desired to upset the ἀγωγή, the second against the ephors themselves. There had been a three-cornered duel in Sparta, and Lysander and the ephors had driven out the king.

Meyer is undoubtedly right in tracing to this period the growth of the later Lycurgus-myth, in which the ephorate was taken from him and assigned to Theopompus, but he is obviously wrong in attributing to this period the whole Delphic story. As Niese has conclusively shown, the Delphic story is the older of the two, and it was certainly full-fledged in the time of Herodotus. Meyer depends for his proof on the theory that both the Lycurgan Rhetra and the passages of Tyrtaeus are forgeries, but Niese and Gilbert[54] have both satisfactorily demonstrated their genuineness. While admitting that Pausanias profoundly influenced the accepted version (cf. Xenophon, who, writing soon afterwards uses the dubious phrase εἰκὸς δέ in still attributing the ephorate to Lycurgus), and through Ephorus affected Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, Diodorus, and Plutarch, we must recognise that the Delphian story existed long before, and that we have no reason to deny the antiquity of the Rhetra and the cognate verses in Tyrtaeus. The only real contribution of the fourth century is the connexion of Lycurgus with Olympia and the

[43] *Forschungen*, i. pp. 213 foll.
[44] *Hom. Untersuch.* pp. 287 foll.
[45] *N. Rh. Mus.* xxviii. 1 foll.
[46] *Hermes*, 1907, p. 449.
[47] *Lycurgus*.
[48] i. 65.
[51] i. 65, 66.
[52] *ap.* Strabo, viii. 5, 5.
[53] i. 18.
[54] *Gk. Const. Antiq.* pp. 7, 8, note 2.

ἐκεχειρία which appears in Hippias the Sophist, and is confirmed by the discus seen by Aristotle.[55]

Tradition gives us no sure clue to the personality of Lycurgus. The Rhetra is undoubtedly a genuine ancient document, but we do not know exactly when it was associated with the name of Lycurgus. The material evidence of the discus is of the highest importance, but can we trust Aristotle to have been incapable of being deceived by a forgery?

Obviously the first necessity is to date the Rhetra. Since Tyrtaeus knew it, it must be earlier than 650; since it contains mention of kings, gerousia, and obes, it must be later than the synoecism; and since it is clearly a document of the greatest constitutional importance, it must belong to one of the two political crises in the earlier history of Sparta, the synoecism of Sparta in 800 or the Theopompan settlement a century later.

Now the word Rhetra means 'treaty,'[56] and the treaty, as we have it, is clearly not the initial incorporation either of a synoecism or a constitution. Zeus Sellanios and Athena Sellania are not the gods of the two royal houses, no details are given for the constitution of the *phylai* or the *obai*, and the dual kingship is mentioned casually and without any flourish of trumpets. Clearly the Rhetra is not intended to introduce a new constitution but to repeat an already known one and make additions. The first and participial part of the Rhetra[57] deals with an established order of things which has fallen into abeyance, the new and imperative part begins at ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας and insists firstly on a periodical summoning of the Apella in an accessible position, and secondly on the ultimate sovereignty of the people. Had it been the charter of synoecism in 800 we must have had Zeus Uranius and Zeus Lacedaemon mentioned, we must have had the number of tribes and obes, and we may legitimately infer that there would not have been so much insistence on popular sovereignty.

On the other hand it is probable that the τριάκοντα γερουσίαν represents a change, *i.e.* that hitherto it had consisted of 28 members, one from each obe, but that now the kings were to be included. This, if true, gives us an important clue to the real effect of the Rhetra. Hitherto, we may suppose, the kings had decided matters absolutely, only occasionally summoning the council, but in future the council is to debate everything and therefore the kings will sit in it and take part in the meetings, but only as two individual members.[58] Thus combined with the insistence on ultimate

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[55] *sp.* Plut. *Lyc.* 1.

[56] Cf. treaty between Elis and Heraea, Bockh, *C.I.G.* 11, Ricks and Hill, No. 9.

[57] Plut. *Lycurg.* 6: Διὸς Συλλανίου καὶ Ἀθανᾶς Συλλανίας ἱδρυσάμενον, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα, τριάκοντα γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταις καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξὺ Βαβύκας τε καὶ Κνακιῶνος, εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι· δόμον δὲ τὰν κυρίαν ἦμεν καὶ κράτος.

[58] Cf. Thuc. i. 20 correcting Hdt. vi. 57. Herodotus knew that in the royal obes there were two votes, one used by the πρόεδρος, one by the king. By a natural error he attributed both to the king. A similar confusion led him to the mistake about the Πιτανάτης Λόχος. He knew there was a Pitanate corps, but forgot that Pitane was an obe as well as a tribe, and that the obal corps was not a Λόχος.

popular sovereignty we get a practical and direct reform in the direction of aristocratic control of the king.

Now this reading of the Rhetra makes its title 'Rhetra' imply a treaty not between the two kings but between the kings and their people, and therefore Zeus appears on behalf of the kings and Athena on behalf of the people. This is exactly the way in which Xenophon[59] speaks of Lycurgus' work.

We have now an obvious clue to the date in the events of 720 to 700. The first Messenian War ended perhaps in 724, and in any case not later than 716, and violent discontent arose, during which Polydorus was murdered by Polemarchus, presumably by a polemarchus or general, *i.e.* great noble. The crown thought it better to give way, and Theopompus said, when his wife accused him of leaving the royal power less than he found it, that at any rate he left it more secure. It is true that tradition applied the *mot* to the creation of ephors, wrongly, as we shall see later. It was an age when the royal power was yielding all over Greece to the claims of the great families. In Athens decennial archons were instituted in 752;[60] in Argos, Corinth, Messenia, and Ionia the old hereditary monarchies were superseded.[61] The nobles, enriched by the conquest of Messenia, demanded concessions and Theopompus, after his colleague's death, thought it wise to grant them. But then a little later he secured the addition of another sentence *αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἕλοιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατῆρας ἦμεν.* At the cost of complete aristocracy he at least put off the day of democracy. Clearly the author of this sentence is unlikely to have created the ephorate.

The Rhetra is an aristocratic reform of the constitution dating about 700. Have we any reason, apart from universal Greek tradition, to connect it with Lycurgus? Aristotle[62] speaks of the transference from Tyranny to Aristocracy in the time of Charilaus, *i.e.* the Lycurgan constitution substituted aristocracy for tyranny. Such is the general Hellenic opinion of the Lycurgan reforms, and therefore the unfortunate Charilaus, whose very name implies his mildness, is elevated into a tyrant, whereas that title belongs more fitly to Theopompus, the great general of the Messenian war, whom we know to have given up part of his power. The Rhetra healed party strife and Sparta at once, like Corinth in similar circumstances a generation earlier, began to get rid of the main sources of discontent by colonisation. In 708 the Partheniae went off to Tarentum.[63] Once grant the original blunder of turning Lycurgus into a lawgiver instead of an arbitrator, and we can allot him his natural place in the last quarter of the eighth century.

We have only one piece of direct evidence—the Olympian discus. Now Spartans took no part at first in the Olympian festival. In the fourth and the ninth Olympiad the winners are Messenian,[64] but the first Spartan appears at

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[59] *Resp. Lac.* xv. 1.
[60] Euseb. *Chron.* i. p. 199, ii. p. 80.
[61] Paus. ii. 19. 2.
[62] *Pol.* viii. 12.
[63] Strabo, pp. 228, 258; Diod. xv. 66.
[64] Paus. iv. 4. 5 and iv. 5. 10.

the fifteenth Olympiad in 720[65] and thenceforward their names are frequent.[66] Probably at the same period of early Spartan history the Triphylian towns were colonised by Spartans. Herodotus'[67] account is obviously anachronistic. No time suits this expansion so well as the end of the first Messenian War, when Sparta by occupying Triphylia could hope to cut off Messenia from Arcadia and Argos while herself opening communications and entering on an *entente* with Elis. Not before 720 could Lycurgus have combined with Iphitus in promoting an *ἐκεχειρία*, but 720 is a date which admirably suits the other evidence. If we accept the evidence of the discus we shall find in it strong confirmation of the Lycurgan origin of the Rhetra. It was the period of the great nobles in Sparta. Eurykon held a high post in the Messenian War;[68] now Lycurgus appears as an important diplomatist. The former was called an Aegeid, and the latter has been supposed to be one.[69] It means little more than that he did not belong to the royal house. But such a prominence is far less likely in 800, and tradition recognised this by making him, with no authority, uncle and guardian of some king or other.

The personality of Lycurgus is not of great importance. He certainly was not a god;[70] he may or may not have been a historically important figure. His importance for us lies solely in his authorship of the Rhetra. If 720–700 is accepted for the date of the Rhetra, then clearly that is the date where the Lycurgus-story belongs, whether he actually lived or not, and not a date a century earlier. The discus seems to go far towards supporting his historical reality, but even if that is not accepted, we can still claim to have fixed his mythical place, just as we can date Minos, or Theseus, or King Arthur, without necessarily believing in their personality.

(3) *The Ephorate.*

We have seen that the adoption of the synoecism in 800 immediately led to a rise of Spartan power. The aristocratic reforms of 700 led to a similar development. Spartan power began to expand northwards to Elis, and colonies were sent out to Tarentum and South Italy. These different periods of advance caused Herodotus and his sources a good deal of confusion, and made him give Lycurgus in one passage approximately his real date.[71]

The establishment of a strong aristocracy about 700 at once led to a development in art and culture. That date is marked in the excavations of Sparta by the emergence of an oriental influence in Spartan pottery. The influence is predominantly that of Cyrene, but we also find traces of objects

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[65] Euseb. *Chron.* i. p. 194; Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* vii. 72.

[66] *E.g.* in eighteenth Olympiad, Paus. iv. 8, 7.

[67] iv. 148.

[68] Paus. iv. 7. 8.

[69] Wachsmuth and Stein, *op. cit.*

[70] Cf. Niese, *op. cit.*

[71] In i. 65 he seems to put the great Tegean defeat of Sparta in the reigns of Leon and Hegesicles, *i.e.* about 600 B.C. The real date, as we know from Pausanias and elsewhere, was in the reign of Charilaus, *i.e.* about 800 B.C. Herodotus dated Lycurgus about 100 years before this war, and so appears to date him here about 700 B.C. Cf. Niese, *op. cit.*

of Egyptian or Egyptianising type derived from Syria or Naucratis, as well as of a gradual growth of relations with Asia Minor, culminating 150 years later in the Lydian alliance.[72] We have no reason to suppose that the Spartan oligarchy neglected art and commerce any more than did the Bacchiadae of Corinth or the Ionian corporations. So far as can be judged from its archaeological remains Sparta developed during the seventh century on lines very similar to those of other Greek states. We find just the same break in the cruder native art that appears elsewhere in Athens or Corinth, and far earlier than in these towns the emergence of a fully fledged orientalising style. Combs, toilet-boxes, elaborate pins and bronze ornaments, seals, necklaces, and gold and ivory gew-gaws, shew that there was no puritan reaction after 700, but rather a golden age of Spartan art, similar to the beginnings in other states. Foreigners with artistic pretensions were welcomed in Sparta. We soon reach the period of Theodorus and Bathycles, of Aleman and Tyrtaeus, of Terpander and Timotheus. Art and music, poetry and dancing, were all honoured arts, and Sparta partook fully of the general Hellenic awakening. Sparta had, in the words of Thucydides, become fully settled. No doubt this was another reason that induced the story-makers to push Lycurgus further back in history, for they had not our knowledge that Lycurgus was not a legislator at all. It is absurd with Herodotus to attribute the senate and the army to Lycurgus, when such institutions belong to every Greek state from the earliest Homeric times. Still less is it possible to attribute to Lycurgus the typical Spartan ἀγωγή, the elements of which are to be found in purely savage rites of ordeal and purification. Even later Greek tradition stripped him of the Ephorate and left him, so to speak, a legislator without a programme. Plutarch however supplied the need with stories of the invention of money and of a new land-allotment, inventions even more preposterous than the others. We have seen that it was probably king Pausanias who first robbed Lycurgus of the credit of the ephors. Plato takes up the idea by attributing them to a τρίτος σωτήρ. Later tradition fixed on Theopompus, since it was known that there was a constitutional crisis in his time, and that 800 was already occupied by Lycurgus.

Their argument is significant. 'The ephors' lists seem to have gone up to 755. It was thought that Theopompus was king then. Therefore Theopompus invented the ephors. Or perhaps Theopompus was a great king at about the right period, so the ephor-lists were made to go up to his reign. As a matter of fact, if Pausanias is correct in attributing the battle of Hysiae to Theopompus' reign, 755 is much too early for his date.[73] It seems in the highest degree improbable that, if the ephors originated in the eighth century at all, it should have been shortly before, instead of shortly after, the Messenian War. Obviously the date is a pure invention. Why should

[72] For the archaeological evidence on this point cf. the reports of the excavations of the British School of Athens at Sparta in *B.S.A.* xii.-xv.

[73] Paus. iii. 7. 5.

Theopompus have had anything to do with the ephors? The answer is that (*a*) he was one of the few kings who were more than names, (*b*) there was a constitutional crisis in his time. But the saga-makers failed to remember that the quarrel was between king and nobles, not between king and people, and that in fact Theopompus added an anti-democratic sentence to the Rhetra. We have no reason to accept a word of the Theopompan tradition.

What of the ephors then?

It is difficult to avoid Müller's and Meyer's[74] view that the ephors are part of the constitutional heritage of the Spartan people, because it is difficult otherwise to understand why their office should have appeared in places so widely separated as Crete, Thera, and Heraclea. It is true that this evidence has been discounted by arguing that the Spartan system was copied from Crete, and formed the model for the other places, but I hope it has already been sufficiently proved that the traditional story of Cretan origin is later than the Delphian variant.[75]

Moreover no such argument can possibly be held to apply to the existence of an ephor under the name of *προστάτης* in Molossia.[76] Here, too, as in Sparta, we find the ceremony of a solemn oath between king and people as to the observance of the constitution and the kingdom. The fact that this occurred in Passaron, a long superseded capital, proves its great antiquity. This is no place for digressing on the proof of the Thraco-Illyrian origin of the Dorian race. It has been ably argued by Ridgeway,[77] and is now generally accepted.

With the affinity granted, the presence of the *προστάτης* and the oath in Pindus, the legendary home of Aegimius, the patron of the early Dorians, makes the conclusion inevitable that the Ephoral office is of pre-Peloponnesian antiquity.[78]

Again space hardly permits the complete arguing of the essential question concerning the original function of the ephors. Meyer thinks they were first of all civil judges and compares their growth with that of the Council of Ten at Venice—a most misleading analogy. Civil jurisdiction is never separated from criminal in early communities, and it is even less likely to have been separated early in Sparta, since Sparta never developed into a large mercantile state. The kings long retained their family powers and can have only gradually lost their civil jurisdiction. Neither praetors nor the nomothetae were able to make the civil bench a step to political power. Dum[79] and Gilbert[80] account for their importance by a curious theory of alternate sovereignty with the kings when the latter disagreed, a view

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[74] Müller, *Dorians*, ii. pp. 115 foll.; Meyer, *N. Rh. Mus.* xli. p. 588.

[75] Holm, *History of Greece*, i. p. 181, rejects decisively any Cretan influence in Spartan institutions.

[76] Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 5; Klotzsch, *Epirotische Geschichte*, pp. 30–32.

[77] *Who were the Dorians?* *Anthrop. Essays in honour of E. B. Tylor*, Oxford, 1907.

[78] This view is accepted by Müller (*Dorians*, ii. pp. 107 foll.), Schäfer (*De Ephoris Lac.* p. 7), Stein (*op. cit.* p. 14), Meyer (*N. Rh. Mus.* xli. p. 583), Frick, Gachon, and others.

[79] *Entst. und Entwickel. d. Spart. Ephorats*, p. 31.

[80] *Gk. Const. Antiq.* pp. 20 foll.

quite incredible and resting on a false interpretation of Plutarch. Schäfer calls them proconsular representatives of the king; but why should they have been five in number? Besides in early Spartan history or in nomadic times there were no provinces to govern. Similarly an original Dorian office cannot be connected, as Frick[81] would suggest, with the representation of the non-Dorian element in the population. It would be curious to see such representatives in the heads of the later *κρυπτεία*. Müller's view that they were supervisors of the market has been generally abandoned. It clearly points to a long-settled commercial experience. Stein sees in them the rulers of the five *κῶμαι* before synoecism; but if their office had ever been so important, it can hardly have avoided appearing in Spartan legend. What part is left for the kings?

Many modern writers like Holm,[82] Busolt,[83] and Kuchtner[84] make them indefinite guardians of the *status quo*, an office which only seems credible in an early community if combined with some definite functions. These are supplied by von Stern's[85] theory, which makes them the representatives of the people and the administrators of the monthly oath by which king and people swore to regard the constitution and preserve the royal power.

This theory has the additional advantage that it corresponds exactly with the duties of the Molossian *προστάτης*. He, too, like the ephors, had risen from this position to one of great political power and had become the eponymous official of the year. It is clear in fact that the vague guardianship of popular interests might easily lend itself to a gradual extension of power in foreign politics, intercourse with strangers, and education.

Such a post explains the word *ἔφορος* = overseer, and such duties as seeing that the kings did their work, propagated the royal family, and took the monthly oath.

We conclude then that both the oath and the ephors go back to a pre-Peloponnesian antiquity. But that of course does not imply that the ephors were always important. Aristotle[86] speaks of them as democratic officials democratically elected, but according to a polemical passage in Plutarch[87] they were at first appointed by the kings. If true, this would explain their lack of importance in early Spartan history. Possibly the early rulers of Sparta in their constant warfare had usurped the right of nomination, while popular election must obviously have been the original condition of the office. This seems the best explanation of Plutarch, as he would hardly allow Cleomenes to state a deliberate falsehood before people who knew Spartan traditions thoroughly.

We know from the same passage in Plutarch that Asteropus was the first to raise the ephorate to power, from Diogenes Laertius[88] that Chilon was

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[81] *De Ephoris Spartanis*, p. 8.
[82] *History of Greece*, I. p. 181.
[83] *Griech. Gesch.* I. pp. 149, 150.
[84] *Entstehung und ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Spart. Ephorats*, Munich, 1897.
[85] *Entstehung und ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Ephorats*, Berlin, 1894.
[86] *Pol.* ii. 9 and 10.
[87] Plut. *Cleom.* 10. Gilbert maintains the truth of Cleomenes' history of the ephorate, and derives the tradition from Phylarchus.
[88] I. 68.

the first to make its power equal to that of the kings. Chilon we shall date 580–550, and so we must find an earlier date for Asteropus.

We may fairly argue from the absence of all mention of the ephorate in the Lycurgan Rhetra that the office was still unimportant at that time, and it is in fact incredible that Theopompus, who added the anti-democratic sentence to the Rhetra, and Lycurgus with his marked aristocratic leanings should have forwarded an increase in the power of the ephorate.

We must follow the general criticism of antiquity in putting the first step in the growth of the ephorate at a later date than the time of Lycurgus. This inevitably leads us to a consideration of the period about 620, halfway between Lycurgus and Chilon. We have already mentioned it as the fourth important constitutional date.

We have put the first Messenian War between the years 743–724, or at latest 735–716, and we have the positive evidence of Tyrtaeus that the grandsons of the warriors of the first war fought in the second, i.e. the interval must not greatly exceed sixty years. In 669 at Hysiae Sparta suffered a severe defeat from Argos, and in 668 Pisa supplanted Elis as the patron of the Olympian festival. We find another Pisatan Anolympiad in 644,[90] and it is tempting to accept this as a date immediately after the outbreak of the second Messenian War. If it broke out about 650 it would be 65-75 years after the first, and therefore would just permit of the phrase of Tyrtaeus. It is of course impossible to accept the traditional remark of Epaminondas which put the end of it in 599.[91] By every chronological comparison that is far too late. Tyrtaeus is a better authority than Epaminondas because he fought in the war, and we may safely put the conclusion of peace and the destruction of Ithome between 630 and 620.[92]

At this time we have the evidence of Pausanias[93] for popular discontent in Sparta. Military exigencies led the government to leave much of the Messenian land fallow; popular sedition was evoked, which was traditionally settled by Tyrtaeus. The legend is an obvious parallel to that of the other musician-arbitrator Terpander at the end of the first Messenian War, and just as that conceals the important action of Lycurgus, so this must point to other concessions by constitutional enactment. The unity of the Spartan constitution and its freedom from violent alteration was an article of faith among Greeks, and consequently nobody of more violent authority than musicians was allowed to have tampered with it. But the Spartans needed stronger persuasion than that of the Heavenly Muse, and we find traces of what actually happened in the casual mention of Asteropus. The step taken by Asteropus was presumably to secure the right of popular election and to terminate the period of royal nomination; but if this be considered too hazardous a speculation, we may content ourselves

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[90] Paus. vi. 22. 2.

[91] Plut. *Reg. et Imper. Apophth. Epam.* 25.

[92] Paus. iv. 27. 9 gives the date as 668. Niese accepts the story about Epaminondas, and makes the first war last from 710–630, the second 630–600 (*Hermes*, xxvi. [1891], pp. 30 foll.). His argument seems entirely arbitrary.

[93] iv. 18. 2.

with accepting the statement of Plutarch that he took a definite step in the direction of democracy, and we may see in this period the beginning of a wave of democratic feeling.

Here again the date harmonises precisely with the history of the rest of Greece. During the seventh century discontent with the aristocracies and oligarchies that had replaced the hereditary kingdoms grew rapidly, and found popular expression in most of the states of the Saronic Gulf and Central Greece by the appearance of tyrannies.

Sparta with her kings and nobles was strong enough to resist any attempt at tyranny, but was compelled to give way so far to popular opinion as to revive the right of the people to elected officers and to the monthly oath. Possibly the number was settled at this time. In pre-Peloponnesian days we must suppose that each tribe had its ephor or προστάτης, as we find him among the Molossi, but with the growth of the local tribes at Sparta the three ephors became also unimportant. It was in this way perhaps that the kings cramped their powers. On their reintroduction it would be necessary to have one for each of the five Spartan local tribes or villages. An alternative and perhaps more attractive idea would be that with the five settlements round Sparta the original three ephors in each village disappeared and were replaced by five local headmen, who were retained when the villages were synoecised, but who, by the act of synoecism ceased to have much power. Thus the kings were able to usurp it until a democratic movement could grow up strong enough to demand their reinstatement.

We have now traced early Spartan history through its periods of synoecism, aristocratic reaction, and democratic reaction. Each change corresponds with a movement universal throughout the Greek world at the end of the eighth and seventh centuries respectively, and we still find Sparta embarked on a normal career; for though after 620 her government has become composite, she still maintains the movement of expansion now general throughout Greece, and proceeds to attack Arcadia, after absorbing the southern two-thirds of the Peloponnese. Two reigns seem to have been passed in peace and recovery, but under Leon and Hegesicles, as Herodotus tells us,[95] the Spartans were successful in all other wars, and were worsted by the Tegeans only. At last however under their successors Anaxandrides and Ariston they worsted the Tegeans by the virtue of the bones of Orestes, but, and the phrase marks a turning-point in Spartan history, they admitted them to alliance, and did not take them over as subjects.[96]

These wars must have taken place between 580 and 550, for Croesus' embassy found the Spartans already victorious. We have now to see what events at this period induced Spartan foreign policy to change its whole system. Hitherto a conquering state[97] that had successively absorbed Laconia, Cynuria, Messenia, and part of Arcadia, Sparta now suddenly ceases

[95] i. 65.

[96] The *stele* on the Alpheus giving the terms of the treaty is quoted from Aristotle in Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 5.

[97] Hdt. i. 68 *fin.*: ἔδει δὲ καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ὑπ' ἑωυτῇ κατεστραμμένη.

its efforts at expansion and adopts a policy of alliance and confederation. We shall find the solution in the arguments of the next section.

B—The Settlement of 550 B.C.

Historic Sparta begins in the middle of the sixth century, but it is a Sparta very different from the Sparta of legend and the Sparta revealed by excavation. Early Sparta was a vigorous conquering state: historic Sparta is usually described as vacillating and slow. We hear little of ephors in the legends: they bulk supremely large in history. Above all legendary Sparta delighted in dance and song, and had a flourishing school of art, ample traces of which are visible in the results of excavation. What traces of them are to be found in historic Sparta? Early Sparta welcomed distinguished strangers: historic Sparta rigorously excluded them.

There can be no doubt that the middle of the sixth century is marked by a great revolution in Spartan life and customs. It is the purpose of this section to review the evidence that is procurable of this change, and to suggest that the revolution was neither unconscious, nor fortuitous, but due to the carefully considered policy of Sparta's greatest statesman, Chilon the Ephor.

The changes may be discussed under four heads:—

1. Social.
2. Constitutional.
3. Religious.
4. Political.

(1) *Social Changes.*

It has been pointed out in the previous section that we have no reason whatever to suppose that up to 550 the course of Spartan history had been radically different from that of any other Greek state. Owing to a certain innate conservatism in the Dorian character changes had not hitherto had the full consequences in Sparta that they had elsewhere; but both the anti-monarchical and anti-aristocratic waves of feeling had affected Sparta in the same way as the rest of the Greek world and had successively limited the kingship and the aristocracy, though without causing their total disappearance.

The seventh century and in particular the first half of the sixth had been a period of orientalising influence in Greece. The tyrants of the Isthmian states, who had done so much for Greek commerce and Greek expansion, had undoubtedly fallen considerably under the influence of Asia Minor and its brilliant civilisation. Greece owed to Lydia or Ionia the introduction of coinage, and to Ionia the origin of much of her artistic heritage, especially in all the departments of the minor decorative arts. We have Corinthian pottery and early bronzes to demonstrate the effect of this oriental influence. But in no part of Greece was it more clearly operative than in Sparta. We have now, thanks to the recent excavations of the British School at Athens, an

enormous mass of early Spartan votive offerings which admirably illustrate this point. The series of Laconian, erstwhile 'Cyrenaic', pottery-designs, is predominantly orientalising; the conception of the goddess Orthia herself with her wings and heraldic animals is typically Ionian; and the series of carved ivories finds close analogies in Ephesus.

It is not unlikely that the prototypes of this whole 'orientalising' style in Greece were derived ultimately from Minoan and not from oriental civilisation; but where, as in Sparta, we have clear evidence of a typical geometric period intervening, we cannot refuse to attribute the seventh- and sixth-century revival to a Renaissance of art primarily inspired from the eastern side of the Aegean.

We have the historical facts of the opening of Egypt to Greeks under the Saitic kings, and the philhellenic tendencies of Alyattes and Croesus to explain the new conditions under which this Renaissance became possible. The stories of Alcmaeon and Solon are eloquent of the new possibilities of intercourse, and it is therefore not surprising to find an Ionian artist, Bathycles of Magnesia, welcomed at Sparta,[96] and foreigners like Epimenides[97] and Timotheus taking a prominent part in Spartan life. Samian ships are said to have helped Sparta in the Messenian wars.[98]

The excavations on the site of the temple of Orthia have shewn clearly enough the character of early sixth-century Spartan civilisation.[99] It was of the orientalising type common in the rest of the Greek world, and it displays no shadow of evidence for sumptuary laws or exclusion of strangers. There is direct evidence of a connexion with the Syrian coast,[100] probably in consequence of the purple fisheries of the Laconian Gulf, with Asia Minor, and above all with Cyrene. Spartan trade followed the two Dorian lines of traffic: one by Cythera, Cydonia (with a branch line to Cyrene), Crete, Carpathus, Rhodes, Cyprus, to Phoenicia; and the other by Melos, Thera, and the southern islands to Dorian Asia, and Samos. About 600 B.C. two new temples were built to Orthia and Athena and adorned, the former with fine polychrome sculpture,[101] the latter with an orientalising decoration in stamped bronze by a native artist, Gitiadas.[102] The gold statue of Apollo at Thornax[103] brought Sparta into direct relations with Croesus, and soon afterwards a formal alliance was concluded between Lydia and Sparta.[104] It is necessary to keep this picture of Sparta clearly in mind, Sparta the home of the arts, of sculpture, of music, and of dancing, when we turn to the historic Sparta of succeeding generations.

The change comes soon after 550. From that time the painted pottery steadily deteriorates in quality and design.[105] The curious flamboyant terra-cotta masks dwindle and degenerate. The style of bone-carving loses its

[96] Paus. iii. 18. 9.
[97] Paus. iii. 12. 11.
[98] Hdt. iii. 47.
[99] Cf. *B.S.A.* vols. xii.–xv.
[100] *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 74–77. The objects are Egyptian in form, but probably of Syrian or neighbouring manufacture.
[101] *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 60, 61.
[102] Paus. iii. 17. 2.
[103] Hdt. i. 69.
[104] Hdt. i. 69.
[105] Cf. Droop in *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 40.

subtlety. Small and cheap votive offerings take the place of extravagant ones, and as we know from our authorities Spartan sculpture comes to an end, and even Spartan music no longer extends a welcome to foreigners. Spartans cease to take an interest in the great festivals of Greece, while jealously guarding the exclusive character of their own.[100] In a word historic Sparta, self-supporting, jealous of all foreign movements, utterly out of touch with the rest of the Greek world, and devoted to an almost monastic military *régime*, now begins to come into existence.

Spartan professionalism in warfare can certainly be dated from about this time, for hitherto Sparta had shewn no essential superiority over her neighbours. The Messenians had been as good soldiers, the Argives had at least once severely defeated her armies, Tegea had proved too strong for her.

The complete superiority which belonged to Spartan infantry from the days of Cleomenes was clearly unknown before 550.

We may therefore conclude with some certainty that the social changes of this period were due to an increased demand for military efficiency and a drastic revival of the 'Lycurgan' *ἀγωγή*, which entailed a more or less complete abandonment of artistic development. Just as in Athens the abandonment of conscription is contemporaneous with the foundation of the schools of philosophy, so in Sparta the claims of barrack-life drove out the gentler arts of peace.

(2) *Constitutional Changes.*

Here we are on more certain ground of definite literary evidence. We have not only the statement of Diogenes Laertius[101] that Chilon was the first to raise the ephors to equal power with the kings, but we have ample evidence in the pages of Herodotus as to what actually happened.

To Chilon himself we have two references in Herodotus.

(*a*) i. 59. Chilon met Hippocrates before the birth of Pisistratus.

(*b*) vii. 235. The wisest man in Sparta, he had said it were better for Sparta if Cythera had been sunk in the sea.

From the first passage we can gain approximate accuracy as to his date. Pisistratus became tyrant of Athens about 560 and had been general at

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[100] I have received the following interesting figures from Mr. E. Norman Gardiner in reference to the Olympic Games. 'The first Spartan victory occurs in Ol. 15 (720 B.C.). Between this date and Ol. 50 (576 B.C.) 81 victories are recorded in different events. Of these Sparta is credited with 46. In the Stadion-race for the same period 21 out of 26 winners are Spartans. In Ol. 57 (552 B.C.) another Spartan wins the stadion, and there is not another winner till Ol. 116 (316 B.C.). . . . Between 548–400 B.C. Forster enumerates 181 victories. The Oxyrhynchus papyrus, which was unknown to Forster, would bring the total to at least 206. In the whole number there are only 12 Spartan victories, 8 of which are in chariot- and horse-races, which we may presume to have been a monopoly of the kings for the most part. Between 548–480 B.C. the only Spartan victory is that of Demaratus in the chariot-race (Hdt. vi. 70).' Further information is given in Mr. Gardiner's book, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, pp. 56–59 and 80. I am much obliged to Mr. Gardiner for permission to publish this most interesting corroborative evidence.

[101] ii. 68.

Nisaea some years earlier. He died an old man about 528. We cannot suppose then that his father's meeting with Chilon was much later than 600, or that the latter was born much later than 630, if he was a person of some importance at that time.

The Chilon son of Demarmenes whose daughter was a subject of quarrel between Leotychidas and Demaratus (Hdt. vi. 65) is not the same Chilon as the statesman who was, according to Suidas, son of Damagetus. He may however have been his grandson.

Eusebius[108] gives a definite date for Chilon, the fifty-fifth Olympiad, while Diogenes Laertius assigns the fifty-sixth, i.e. 556, and adds 'according to Pamphila the sixth,' which is certainly a mistake. Stein's conjecture that we should read 'the fiftieth or according to Pamphila the 56th' i.e. 580 or 556 is not unattractive, though it is of course purely conjectural. We have 556 given at any rate as one date connected with Chilon. 580 would suit a connexion with Epimenides, 556 the final success of his policy in changing the conditions of Spartan life.[109] The Rylands papyrus to be discussed below couples Chilon with Anaxandrides, who ascended the throne in 560. It thus supports the later date.

It has been urged with some force that we know little of Chilon except that he was one of the seven wise men, and the wisest man at Sparta, who was even honoured with a *heroon*.[110] But the remark of Diogenes Laertius,[111] though vague, is of great importance, and if we can shew from the evidence that a great change in the power of the ephorate did occur at this time, it will be difficult to avoid associating it with Chilon. That evidence we do possess in the stories of Ariston and Anaxandrides. Herodotus tells us (vi. 63) that Ariston sat on the judgment seat with the ephors, *i.e.* the ephors have now equal honour with the king. The story about Anaxandrides is even more informing (v. 39). We here find the ephors sending for the king and giving him commands reinforced by threats of deposition. It is obvious that the power of deposition and the power of interference in the royal household is already theirs, *i.e.* that a large advance has been made in their power, but an advance strictly in accordance with their ἐφορεία, since they had to provide for the maintenance of the constitution, which included the preservation of the families of the kings. Neither could be allowed to die out. We may put the stories about the same time, soon after 560 B.C., and they shew that the advance has already been made. The resistance of the king also shews that their powers were not yet completely assured, and therefore that the advance in power was new. It is impossible then to avoid the conclusion that the advance is that referred to by Diogenes Laertius, when he says Chilon put the ephors on a par with the king. This clearly refers to the right of deposition, now first mentioned in Greek history, and associated already in all probability with the cult of Ino-Pasiphae at Thalamae.

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[108] *Chron.* ii. pp. 96 f.

[109] Diog. Laert. i. 72 gives another date for his death, Ol. 52 = 572 B.C.

[110] Paus. iii. 16. 4.

[111] i. 68. It is further supported by a quotation from Sosicrates, who calls Chilon the first of the ephors.

Asteropus had probably secured for the ephorate popular election instead of royal nomination; Chilon now gives them the power of deposition, which establishes them as rivals on equal terms with the king.

(3) *Religious Observances.*

Apart from the cessation of temple-building and the steady decline in the value of votive-offerings, which led ultimately to Thucydides' famous verdict on the appearance of Sparta,[112] there is one interesting novelty in Spartan ritual which seems to date from this period—the introduction of the worship of the Cretan Ino-Pasiphae at Thalamae.

We know of Epimenides the Cretan as a peripatetic cult-expert. He visited Athens about 594, after the troubles which followed on Cylon's attempt at tyranny, and performed ceremonies of purification.[113] He also visited Sparta, for we know of a round building erected under his auspices in the Agora at Sparta.[114] Unfortunately we know nothing of the date of the foundation of the dream-oracle of Ino-Pasiphae at Thalamae; but two curious things about it are well established, the first that it is Cretan, which suggests a connexion with Epimenides, and the second that it is directly connected with the Spartan ephors, who received there communications in dreams.[115] Obviously then, the cult belongs to the period of growth in the power of the ephorate, for we know that the ephors' business in Thalamae was concerned with depositions of the kings. In the period between 620 and 550, the most obvious moment for consulting a cult-specialist was during the reverses of the Tegean war after 580 or so, and that would bring Epimenides the Cretan into connexion with the great ephor Chilon, who raised the ephorate to a level with the kingly power.

One of the strong points in the royal position was the intimate connexion of the royal houses with Delphian Apollo. It would clearly be an important step to secure some parallel religious sanction for the ephorate, and it was in this Thalamae cult that the ephors found a counterpart to the royal influence at Delphi.

With all due recognition of the slenderness of the evidence on this point, we may nevertheless put it forward as a probable indication of the trend of ideas at Sparta in this period.

(4) *Changes in Foreign Policy.*

The wars of Sparta prior to 550 had been wars of conquest. At first she had had to fight for her own existence against her neighbours of Argos and Arcadia. After the synoecism in 800 she was able to turn her attention to expansion, and in the next fifty years absorbed the length and breadth of

[112] I. 10. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη, πολλὴν ἂν αἰῶνι ἀπιστίαν τῇ δυνάμει προσλάβοιτο πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔργοις πρὸς τὸ εἶναι αὐτῶν εἶναι.

[113] Ἀθ. πολ. i. 1, and long note by Sandys, *ad loc.*; Plut. *Solon*, 12.

[114] Paus. iii. 12. 11.

[115] Plut. *Cleom.* 7; Cic. *de div.* i. 93–96; Paus. iii. 26. 1.

Laconia and started on the struggle with Argos for Cynuria. Then came the first Messenian War, followed by the complete appropriation of the country and enslavement of its inhabitants. Then expansion abroad, a sure sign of over-population and prosperity, especially as a more settled *régime* was now introduced by Lycurgus. Sparta, as the first state to get a good constitution, expanded rapidly until she could fight against Argos on the field of Hysiae (probably in 669 B.C.) with nearly half the Peloponnese at her back. The results of this battle were disaster, the loss of Thyreatis, a considerable setback to Spartan power, and soon afterwards the second Messenian War. More domestic troubles intervened, but soon after 620 Sparta was again able to start on a career of expansion. She occupied the Sciritis and much of Arcadia, though long wars against Tegea continued to baffle her armies. The reigns of Leon and Hegesicles were for all that successful on the whole, and Croesus learnt of her in 550 that the greater part of the Peloponnese was *κατεστραμμένη*. But until Tegea was conquered there was no possibility of getting at Argos, and Tegea's resistance was obstinate. The result, as we have seen, was a *volte-face* in Spartan policy. A treaty was made,[116] and Tegea became an ally. The beginnings of a confederation had replaced the policy of direct conquest, and no new territory was again added to the Laconian heritage.

The change is an important one and is veiled in typical Greek fashion in the pages of Herodotus by the story of Lichas and the bones of Orestes.[117] We may well ask what Orestes had to do with the question. Obviously we must take the story in connexion with the famous remark of Cleomenes to the priestess of Athena, 'I am not a Dorian but an Achaean.'[118] The reception of the bones of Orestes in a *heroon* at Sparta was equivalent to an acceptance of the pre-Dorian sovereignty of the Achaean families, was in fact a recognition of Achaean claims to power. Hitherto the Dorian had ridden roughshod over the early inhabitants of Peloponnese with a programme of Dorianisation and complete conquest. The recognition of Orestes is a symptom of a great change, the recognition of pre-Dorian Arcadia on terms of equality.[119] Alliance with Tegea is an abandonment of conquest, an initiation of confederation; and to win the sympathy of non-Dorian confederates not only is pre-Dorian Orestes honoured, but the non-Dorian origin of Heracles and the Heracleidae is naturally accepted, and Cleomenes half a century later is capable of claiming the allegiance of Hellas not as a Dorian conqueror but as the descendant of Heracles of Argos, pre-Dorian hero and king.

What was the reason for the change? It has been suggested that the population question was already important, that Sparta had lost so many men in the Tegean war that she could venture to lose no more, that the proportion of helots to citizens was already so large that she dared not add

[116] Arist. 'Pseudepigraphus' in Plut. *Q. Gr.* 5 and *Q. Rom.* 52.

[117] Hdt. i. 67 and 68.

[118] Hdt. v. 72.

[119] Cf. the very similar story of the cults of Adrastus and Melanippus in Sicyon (Hdt. v. 67).

to them by further conquest; consequently that confederation was adopted instead of conquest, because Sparta was no longer able to conquer without danger.[120]

Such a point of view is based on a fundamental anachronism.

There is no doubt that throughout the fifth century, as Meyer[121] and Busolt have pointed out, the relations with the helots affected Spartan foreign policy prejudicially, and that as time went on Sparta became more and more an armed camp. But the first signs of danger must have been noticed about 490, when Cleomenes seems to have entered on an intrigue with the helots, and about 470, when Pausanias attempted the same policy. In 464 there was a real crisis at the time of the earthquake, and from that time onwards the population question became acute. There had been a large loss of Spartan citizens in the earthquake, and this fact taken together with the gradual dwindling of population profoundly affected the future policy of Sparta. It is impossible however to argue a similar condition of affairs in 550.

Let us consider the circumstances. According to Dorian principles the land of Laconia was parcelled out into κλῆροι, each of which supported, or was intended to support, a Spartan citizen. Until the fourth century these κλῆροι were inalienable, but a lot might cease to support a Spartan citizen if the family living on it became too large, or again if it died out, or, relapsing into the hands of an heiress, passed with her into alien possession. Thus there was a slow but steady decrease in the number of lot-supported citizens, accompanied by a gradual decrease of population, since there was a premium on the smallness of families, which led to polyandry and other abuses. Spartan wars of conquest, such as the Messenian wars, were hailed with delight because they made possible an extension of κλῆροι, and therefore an increase of population. It is clearly absurd then to argue that it was better to stop conquering in order to economise in men. Men were easily produced, and were in fact artificially kept down; what was difficult to produce was new κλῆροι. To abjure conquest then was to abjure an increase of population, not to ensure it. And if it be argued that conquest also ensured an inevitable rise in the already overwhelming helot population, the answer is of course that it need do nothing of the sort. Sparta conquered Sciritis in the early sixth century, but reduced it to a perioecic, not a helot status. There could be no objection to a settlement of Arcadia which proceeded on similar lines with the number of helots curtailed to a minimum. Moreover there is not a particle of evidence suggesting grave discontent among the helots at this period, or any friction at all between Spartiates and helots. Their economic position was by no means unique in Greece, and it is only at a later time that they developed into a class of discontented slaves. We find them in Herodotus concerned with the mourning for the kings like the other classes of citizens (vi. 58), we find them entrusted with police duties in Sparta

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[120] Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier*, iii. pp. 261 foll. He points out that the question first became acute after 464, but was in existence before.

[121] *Geschichte des Alterthums*, iii. p. 467.

(vi. 75), surely an impossible position if their loyalty was gravely suspected, and we find them sharing in Spartan military expeditions (vi. 75). As Mothaces and at a later time as Neodamodes they were able to obtain a certain political rank, and although it was reasonable that the Messenian Dorians should make desperate efforts to recover their freedom in the second Messenian War, yet we have no evidence of discontent among the helots as a whole. It was only after Cleomenes began to dally with the idea of an extension of citizenship to helots *en masse* that their hopes were too easily aroused, and a condition of disappointment and anger followed,[18] but it was the Messenian helots who were always the real enemies of the Spartan state.

It was not fear of the helots then, nor anxieties as to a decrease in the population that made Sparta cease from conquest, nor, I think we may assume, was it the impossibility of conquest. If we understand Herodotus aright, the Tegeans were decisively beaten before the question of an alliance arose. But it is quite clear that the conquest of Arcadia would lead on to the conquest of Argolis and this to the conquest of the whole Peloponnese. This would mean an enormously rapid increase of κλῆροι, on so large a scale that the Spartiate population would hardly be able to fill them all even in a couple of generations. Such a conquest then would entail an extension of franchise among the inferior classes of the population.

It is further evident that the victorious generals are the people who benefit most from a successful war. The Messenian wars had led to the enhancement of the royal power, which had only been prevented from upsetting the constitution by the efforts of Lycurgus and Asteropus. It was clear that the kings would gain greatly at the expense of the ephorate, if they were allowed to conquer all Peloponnese. Moreover the newly-enfranchised κληροῦχοι would feel grateful, not to the ephors, but to the kings who gave them their lands, and the new power of the ephorate would disappear as soon as it had been established. It was a dangerous moment for Chilon, and he settled the question by throwing the whole weight of the ephorate on the side of alliance and not conquest. The kings must have desired to continue the policy of conquest, and so we are obliged to attribute the abrupt change at this period to the influence of the new power instituted by Chilon. The new policy fits in exactly with his famous saying about Cythera. If he had thought of Sparta as a conquering state, supreme in Peloponnese and acquiring a navy for further development, Cythera would have seemed to him rather useful than otherwise; but if he thought of Sparta as a limited state ruling over South Peloponnese and only exercising a diplomatic pressure outside, she would never become a maritime power, and consequently would always find danger in an unprotected island so close to her own shores.

Now Chilon, as we know, was the wisest man in Sparta. He knew then that by stopping expansion he was restricting population, and it was

[18] The passage in Thuc. iv. 80 is to be considered only for the fifth century.

therefore clear to him that this restricted population must not be contaminated by any admixture either with foreigners or with helots. It was therefore necessary to keep the Spartan population together artificially by an extension and development of the typical so-called Spartan *ἀγωγή*.[122] There were few definite changes, but we are to gather that the *ἀγωγή* became stricter and excluded more and more any but military considerations. Art and music and orientalising culture were gradually dropped, and strangers were discouraged. Every Spartan citizen was to be equal, and was to be trained to the highest stage of development, and thus the democratic character of the state would be secure against any attempt to re-establish the royal power. Chilon represents the first conflict of the socialistic principle with the principle of imperialism. To save the democracy and the purity of the ancient Spartan stock, and to avoid the contamination of alien principles and ideas, he was willing to forego the prospects of empire and thereby to set up Sparta for all time as the champion of particularism and autonomy against the new ideas of Panhellenism and Union which were developing in Greece under the influence of the tyrants and the hard facts of the history of the Nearer East.

The fear of tyranny was ever-present in Sparta in the minds of the ephors and the popular party. Thucydides (i. 18) reports their proud claim to have been *ἀεὶ ἀτυράννευτος* and Sosicles uses the strongest language in expressing their attitude towards the tyrants (Hdt. v. 92). It was undoubtedly one of the motives that brought about both the aristocratic reforms of Lycurgus and the democratic reforms of Asteropus, as it acted powerfully much later in the campaigns against Cleomenes and Pausanias. But it is to the age and the influence of the tyrants that we must attribute the germs of Panhellenism in Greece. Panhellenism thus became an idea full of suspicion to Spartan minds. In a Greece already largely under tyrannical rule, a rigorous policy of excluding strangers must have seemed the best way of avoiding the infection, and though the generation of Chilon saw the downfall of the Cypselidae at Corinth, it saw the yet more remarkable elevation of Pisistratus at Athens due mainly to his military reputation. It is to this Spartan prejudice that we must attribute Chilon's advice to Hippocrates the father of Pisistratus either to have no son or, if he had, to disown him (Hdt. i. 59).

It seems likely that the new foreign policy of Sparta included definite attempts at intervention against tyranny whenever possible. Thucydides says that Sparta put down the tyrants of Greece, and Plutarch in the *de Herod. malignitate* gives a list of the tyrannies ended by Sparta. This list has usually been looked upon with suspicion, at any rate so far as the earlier tyrannies are concerned, and for my own part I have hitherto believed that the policy of tyrant-expulsion began with Cleomenes. Mr. Hunt's recent

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[122] The remarks typical of Chilon, and called Χιλώνεια by later writers (cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Life of Chilon*) are full of the spirit of the Spartan ἀγωγή.

publication[124] of a papyrus from the Rylands collection entails a change of view. It contains the following passage:

Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λάκων ἐφορεύσας καὶ { στρατηγήσας or σταση̃σας } Ἀναξανδρίδης τε
Τὰς ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν τυραννίδας { κατέλυσαν or κατέλυσεν }

The papyrus is of the second century B.C., and therefore deserves respect. Whatever we make of the rest of the fragment, and there is not likely to be much agreement in our readings, it is clear that we have here a tradition assigning the beginning of this policy of tyrant-expulsion to Chilon, precisely at the time when the principles of Spartan foreign policy were undergoing a great change. It provides us moreover with strong confirmation of the importance of Chilon, of his date, and of his influence on foreign policy.

I claim then that Chilon no longer remains a shadow to us and that the use of his name is no longer arbitrary and problematical, when we have the facts of the period 580–550, which shew a general turning-point in every department of Spartan life, to set beside the remarks of Sosicrates, Diogenes Laertius, and the author of the new papyrus, as well as the general Greek tradition, which saw in him the wisest of Spartans and one of the sacred Heptad of wise men.

Chilon's policy, to sum up the argument, was the increase of the power of the ephorate coupled with the abandonment of conquest in favour of alliance. It entailed a stern reorganisation of the Spartan *ἀγωγή* which was already, in 550, connected with the name of Lycurgus as the most prominent of early Spartan statesmen. Chilon gladly took over the traditional name, and while ascribing the origin of each part of the *ἀγωγή* to Lycurgus, was himself the real initiator of the revived system which was to replace the decayed *ἀγωγή* of the preceding system. The Lycurgan *ἀγωγή* known to Xenophon, Aristotle, and Plutarch was primarily due to Chilon, however old the underlying ideas may have been.[125] Therefore the study of historical Spartan policy begins with the middle of the sixth century.[126]

C.—Reaction under Cleomenes and Pausanias.

The Chilonian system lasted for a generation before it met an antagonist capable of attacking it, but the whole reign of Cleomenes was an attempt to put back the clock, to depress the power of the ephorate, to renew the schemes of foreign conquest, and to extend the royal power.

Of the precise date of the treaty with Tegea we can only say that it was

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[124] A. S. Hunt, *The Rylands Papyri*, vol. i, No. 18, pp. 29–32. Dr. Hunt prefers στρατηγήσας to σταση̃σας.

[125] We have the evidence of Pindar and Hellanicus (cf. p. 2) for the general belief that the elements of the Spartan *ἀγωγή* go back to the beginnings of the Dorian race.

[126] Meyer (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, ii. pp. 765, 766) suggests that Chilon may be the author of the Spartan change of policy in 550, but he does not perceive the forces at work on both sides.

before the alliance with Croesus, since at that time the greater part of Peloponnese was *κατεστραμμένη*. The reign of Croesus is put by Meyer between the dates 560 and 546, and the first application for alliance was only a year or two before his fall. We can therefore agree with the traditional 550 as roughly the date of the Tegean treaty. It is interesting to see its effects and the effects of the new power of the ephorate upon Spartan policy. The treaty with Croesus is not summarily rejected, as perhaps we might have expected from the new policy of the ephors directed against all warlike aggression. Sparta was under a debt of gratitude to Croesus, and treaties break no bones. But no help was sent. Of course the Spartan traditions that reached Herodotus had ample explanations to account for the awkward fact, too many indeed, for there are traces in Herodotus of two mutually exclusive excuses, (1) that the request was too late, (2) that the Spartans were engaged in war with Argos. The firm refusal with which Sparta met the request of the Greek cities for aid against Cyrus shortly afterwards leaves us in no doubt that there was no real intention of sending help to Lydia. The alliance was a compliment and was accepted as such, but there was no intention of sending Spartan hoplites to Asia. About the same time the long-delayed war with Argos came to a head, now that Tegea had been overcome. Sparta hoped for a reversal of the verdict of Hysiae and it seems likely that she obtained a substantial victory which involved the recovery of the Thyreatis. There was however no attack on Argos either now or later, although Sparta was by this time undisputed *ἡγεμών* of the Peloponnese. Why was there no attempt to treat Argos like Messenia? The answer of course is that Spartan policy had now changed under the influence of the ephors, and in the interest of the democracy and the *ἀγωγή* it was thought unadvisable to allow Sparta to obtain a position of supremacy which was more likely to benefit her kings than anybody else.

A foolish deputation under Lacrines to Cyrus ended the Ionian incident and was intended to salve Spartan pride.[127] For the future Ariston and Anaxandrides accepted the situation, and for a quarter of a century there was peace.

Somewhere about 520 Cleomenes the Agiad became king of Sparta, one of the greatest men ever produced by Laconia, and imbued from the start with the fixed resolve to reinstate the royal power.

In dealing with his reign we are confronted by a grave difficulty in the complete falsification of the records of Spartan history so far as he is concerned. The ephors were his bitterest foes, and the ephors controlled the archives. Hence all the Greek historians from Herodotus onwards were foiled from the start by the Spartan records. Herodotus provides the clearest evidence, for though he shews in other stories that Cleomenes was on the throne both about 515 (episode of Maeandrius) and in 491 (episode of Aegina), he still repeats the Spartan calumny that Cleomenes not only was *ἀκρομανής* and *φρενήρης* but *οὗ τινα πολλὸν χρόνον ἦρξε*.[128] The same falsifications

[127] Hdt. i. 152.

[128] Hdt. v. 42 and 48.

appear in Pausanias. We have therefore to proceed with the utmost caution in a reconstruction of the events of the reign.

In the first place it appears from Thuc. iii. 68. 5, where he gives advice to the Plataeans, that Cleomenes was on the throne in 519. Ever since Grote a large number of modern critics including Meyer have maintained without a shadow of textual evidence that the figures of Thucydides 𐅄ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ are a mistake for 𐅄ΔΔΔΙΙΙ simply because Cleomenes was present in Central Greece with an army in 509, whereas we do not know what he was doing in 519. Both Mr. Wells (*J.H.S.* xxv. 1905, pp. 197 foll.) and Messrs. Mitchell and Caspari (*Grote's History of Greece*, p. 82, note) have so clearly defended the text of Thucydides that there is no need to repeat their arguments. We can assume with certainty that Cleomenes was already on the throne in 519 and was probably concerned at that time with the politics of Megara and its reception into the Peloponnesian league. This step was not in any sense an overt action against the ephors, and in his advice to Plataea to join Athens rather than Sparta he might well be held to be carrying out the little-Peloponnesian policy which they favoured. But it must be remembered that he had probably only recently become king and was still feeling his way.

His next step is more enterprising—the alliance with the Samian exiles and the attack on Polycrates. It may be considered very hazardous to date this episode in 517 instead of the traditional 527, but it is difficult to see how the expedition is to be dissociated from the traditional thalassocracy of Sparta, which is dated by Prof. Myres with great certainty in the years 517–515.[129] It seems impossible to separate Sparta's one great official overseas expedition from the traditional date of her sea-supremacy. Herodotus[130] seems to put the expedition ten years earlier, soon after Cambyses' attack on Egypt; but, though the occasion of quarrel probably arose at that time, he does not make it certain that the Spartan help was given at once. Again it may be argued that Cleomenes' name is not mentioned in connexion with the expedition; but that is just the sort of point that is affected by the falsification of tradition. *A priori* it is far more likely that Sparta's most enterprising expedition was initiated by Sparta's most enterprising monarch. It is certain that the ephors would be opposed to such an expedition, and its suspicious and sudden failure with what Herodotus calls the ungrounded story of a heavy bribe seems to point to misconduct in some part of the invading army which was not unlikely to be inspired from home.

Foiled in Samos and sufficiently warned by his experience, Cleomenes would have nothing to do with Maeandrius[131] when he came to invite a repetition of Spartan help a few years later. Tradition in Herodotus represented him as working with the ephors in this case. It is significant that it was the ephors who banished Maeandrius, and it demonstrates the growth of their power in the last quarter of a century.

Cleomenes now turned to an even more adventurous experiment in connexion with African colonisation. The expeditions of Dorieus to Cyrene

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[129] *J.H.S.* xxvi. (1906), pp. 84 foll. [130] iii. 44–47. [131] Hdt. iii. 148.

and Sicily[123] have been made the subject of an interesting investigation by Niese in *Hermes* (1907). He has traced the extraordinary corruption and falsification of the story in Herodotus, and has proved (1) that Dorieus was not the next oldest after Cleomenes, but the youngest of Anaxandrides' sons, who had therefore no possible claim to the crown; (2) that the expedition was a regular state-colony with citizens and sub-commanders;[124] (3) that the first colony at Cinyps near Cyrene, which lasted three years, took place not more than three years at the most before the fall of Sybaris in 510, since Philippus of Croton, who joined Dorieus there, can only have 'missed his bride,' the daughter of the king of Sybaris, owing to the war. There is then no question of Dorieus hurrying off because of hatred for Cleomenes.

Herodotus' whole story of Dorieus is in fact false. The expedition was a state-colony in 513 or 512 promoted by Cleomenes, led by his brother, and prepared for by establishing the Samian exiles at Cydonia in Crete, the first point of call. If the Samian expedition took place in 517, the exiles after a first attack on Siphnos were probably not settled at Cydonia until the end of 516. The Aeginetans then turned them out in 510,[125] in which case we get three important events for that year—Croton destroys Sybaris, the Carthaginians expel the Spartans from Africa, and the Aeginetans expel Samian exiles from Crete, events which are not improbably connected with one another. After the fall of Sybaris, Dorieus attempted another settlement in Sicily to revenge himself on Carthage, but again met with failure. The interest of Sparta in Cyrene dated of course from a much earlier period, and we have Cyrenaic scenes on Laconian vases of the first half of the sixth century. The revival of the African policy was a conscious effort on the part of Cleomenes at reaction and expansion.

We next find him at work in Central Greece. He had interfered here as early as 519, probably in Megarian politics, and some years later, perhaps in 515, sent an expedition under Anchimolius to drive the Pisistratidae out of Athens. From this date till 509, when they were finally got rid of, Sparta supports the Athenian malcontents against the tyrants, as she had done already in the cases of Samos and Naxos. A weak oligarchy in dread of a restoration of tyranny had already proved Sparta's best ally in the Greek towns, and we have no reason to believe that Sparta's action in Athens was any exception to her ordinary policy. After the failure of Isagoras and the growth of the democracy, it was evidently Cleomenes' policy to lay the blame elsewhere, and so the story was spread abroad that the Alcmaeonidae had bribed the oracle, and that Sparta had acted reluctantly against her friend Hippias.

But Sparta was far more powerful at Delphi than the exiled Alcmaeonidae, and Cleomenes, as we know, understood the cash-value of Delphian

[123] Hdt. v. 42; Paus. iii. 4. 1.

[124] In this connexion it is interesting to remember the grave of the Athenians who accompanied Dorieus, which was pointed out to Pausanias in Sparta (Paus. iii. 16. 4). Niese has not noticed this point, but it adds to the probability of an original state-colony, in which the Spartan allies were invited to participate.

[125] In the sixth year of their stay, according to Hdt. iii. 59.

support.[135] He clearly expected a restored oligarchy under Isagoras to bring Athens into the Peloponnesian league as Megara had been brought in, only to find that he had made a great error, and set up a more powerful government even than that of the Pisistratidae.

Cleomenes refused to tolerate the growth of the Clisthenean democracy. He planned a great movement of the Central Greek states and intended to co-operate with a league army. In 506 Attica was surrounded and at the mercy of the enemy, but the Corinthians and Demaratus broke up the army, and though a Congress was called at Sparta to debate the restoration of the tyrants, Cleomenes was forced to abandon his plan. Finally foiled, he seems to have abandoned the struggle for over a decade.

These events are of the utmost importance. Demaratus, we are told, had never quarrelled with Cleomenes before. The Corinthian protest, upheld at the Congress later, was clearly a demonstration of the allies against being treated as negligible quantities. When we ask who stirred up Demaratus to protest, who instigated the Corinthian secession, who allowed Sparta to be outvoted at the Congress, a thing easily preventable, as we know from later history, who was primarily interested in preventing the complete fall of Athens, just as they had prevented the complete fall of Argos, the answer is, naturally, the Ephors.

If Cleomenes were allowed to conquer Athens, he would be supreme in Central Greece, if he were allowed to turn the confederates into subject allies, he would become a tyrant. We have only to look for further evidence of an association of Demaratus and the ephors to postulate the beginnings of an alliance in 506.

We know that the Eurypontid house was perpetually at enmity with the Agiadae[136]; we know from their names, Demaratus, Archidamus, Charilaus, Zeuxidamus, Anaxidamus, that they were more democratic in politics, and we know that the ephors found their main strength in the divisions of the kings. We know that Cleomenes was the bitter foe both of the ephors and of Demaratus, and that it was for his conduct in deposing the latter that he had to fly from Sparta. The *a priori* case for an alliance between Demaratus and the ephors is complete. Positive evidence is not wanting to complete the chain. In Hdt. vi. 61 Demaratus accuses Cleomenes while the latter is at Aegina, evidently before the tribunal of the ephors. Cleomenes' answer is to depose Demaratus by treachery. Hdt. vi. 85 shews that immediately after Cleomenes' death a Spartan court, presided over of course by Ephors, condemned his action in Aegina and thereby proved their sympathy with the original interference of Demaratus. Finally in vi. 67 we read that Demaratus, after his deposition from kingship, was elected to an ἀρχή. Was this the ephorate? The story seems to hint that he was in charge of the Gymnopaedia, which were under the ephors' control, but in any case, whether ephor or not, he could not have been elected a magistrate

[135] Hdt. vi. 66, the story of Cobon and the deposition of Demaratus. [136] Hdt. vi. 52.

without the approval of the ephors, and so we may take his alliance with the ephorate as proved.

Similarly the proposal to establish Hippias at the Congress of Sparta could never have been defeated if the ephors had supported Cleomenes.

Here then we have the first definite proof of the struggle between Cleomenes and the ephors and the first definite victory of the latter. It is followed by a complete abandonment of the ambitious schemes initiated by Sparta in the last fifteen years. Clearly then they must be attributed to Cleomenes, while the less enterprising and more cautious treatment of foreign policy belongs to the ephors.

The attack on Argos belongs to the year 494. Cleomenes won a great victory, but failed or did not attempt to capture the city. He was tried before the ephors and acquitted on a charge of not having done his best to take the town.[127] The story is obviously falsified. Cleomenes' own defence that it was the visit to the Heraeum that decided him is ridiculous, as Herodotus has just told us that he disbanded his army before he went there. There is also the variant legend of Telesilla and a brilliant defence of the town by the women.[128] It is more probable that Cleomenes tried to take the town and failed, that the ephors eagerly brought him to trial, but that public opinion seeing Argos so badly defeated, and educated by the ephors themselves to regard the complete destruction of Argos as undesirable, insisted on an acquittal. The story shows the full unscrupulousness of the ephors when dealing with Cleomenes. Opposed in 506 for his imperialism, he was now attacked for want of enterprise.

When the invasion of the Persians became threatening, Cleomenes intervened in Aegina on behalf of Athens, and by sheer treachery got rid of Demaratus by substituting Leotychidas, a partisan of his own. But he had to bribe the Pythia in the process, and, after this was discovered, Sparta became too hot for him. He fled to Thessaly and then to Arcadia—a curious route: is *Θεσσαλία* corrupt?—and started an anti-Spartan plot among the members of the league.[129] He made them swear to follow him, wherever he led them, *i.e.* to abrogate the rights of the Congress, and he bade them rise against Sparta, *i.e.* against the government of the ephorate. On the other hand he took an oath, with them over the Styx water, presumably an oath similar to the Spartan oath, that he would observe the constitution and that they would follow him as king.

The final step in the plot is even more significant. Cleomenes seems to have tampered with the helots, doubtless offering them some measure of enfranchisement. The evidence for this is not conclusive, but it is highly suggestive.

(*a*) We find in Plato, *Laws* iii. 692 E and 698 E, a tradition that there was a helot rising at the time of the battle of Marathon.

(*b*) We have, in Paus. iv. 15. 2, a tradition that Leotychidas was king in the second Messenian War. The tradition comes from Rhianus, an

[127] Hdt. vi. 82. [128] Paus. ii. 20. 8 and 9. [129] Hdt. vi. 74.

Alexandrian writer of the third century B.C. It indicates an obvious confusion, but suggests strongly that Leotychidas was concerned in some Messenian war, *i.e.* in some helot rising. This can only be the rising referred to by Plato in 490 after Cleomenes' expulsion.

(*c*) About this time some fugitive Messenians were settled by Anaxilas of Rhegium in Zancle, whose name he changed to Messene.[140] As we know from Herodotus,[141] and Thucydides,[142] exiled Samians were other colonists, and the whole could be called a mixed multitude. Pausanias dates the affair in 664, obviously wrongly, but by saying that Miltiades was archon at Athens suggests a connexion with the hero of Marathon. The various Messenian wars have done much to obscure Greek chronology.

The evidence seems strong enough to prove that there was a helot rising in 490, and it is inevitable to associate the rising with the plot of Cleomenes. How important that plot was we know not only from the fact that only 2,000 men could be sent to succour the Athenians at Marathon instead of the whole Spartan army, but also from the events of the following years, when Sparta had troubles, not only with Aegina and Arcadia, but also with Tegea and probably Elis.[143]

For the moment the Spartan government gave way and invited Cleomenes back, presumably with an amnesty for all that had happened, but he soon perished in a very remarkable manner that has suggested foul play to most historians.[144] The enmity of the ephors was not satisfied by his death, for, as we have seen, the Spartan records were falsified, and his reign reduced to the smallest dimensions possible.

During the next decade it took Sparta some time to reassert her authority in the league. Cleomenes' defection had shewn to all the allies the internal quarrels of Sparta, and when the invasion of Xerxes necessitated a Panhellenic plan of campaign, Sparta found that her conduct was viewed with considerable suspicion. Moreover the population question was beginning to arise. The most dangerous feature of the plot of Cleomenes had been the helot rising, and it was never again judged safe to leave Sparta wholly denuded of troops.

These facts had their inevitable effect on Spartan policy. To avoid the repudiation of her leadership, which had occurred at Eleusis in 506, and which had induced Cleomenes to invade Argos in 494 with Spartans only, the Spartan leaders Leotychidas and Leonidas did not dare to push the Peloponnesian states too far in the way they did not want to go, which was the way to Thermopylae. Leonidas went with an advance-guard to Thermopylae hoping to bring in the Central Greeks, but the Central Greeks looked for the Spartan reinforcements, and these the ephors would not or could not send. We need not suppose that they viewed the failure of another Agiad king at Thermopylae with any profound feelings of regret. A minor, Plistarchus, was now heir, and there was a chance for a further advance in their anti-royal campaign. It is clear

[140] Paus. iv. 23. 6. [141] vi. 22. [142] vi. 4. [143] Hdt. ix. 37. [144] Hdt. vi. 75.

that the ephors threw in their lot with the little-Peloponnesian party in the campaigns of 480 and 479, from the stories of the Olympian games and the Carnean festival, which they allowed to be circulated as excuses, from the non-committal attitude of Eurybiades, who made no attempt to do more than 'keep the ring' in the Captains' Council, and from the whole account of the negotiations in Sparta and Athens that preceded the Plataean campaign. Chilons of Tegea, according to jealous Spartan legend, more probably Pausanias himself, now regent since his father's death, forced the hands of the ephors and marched out in full force to Plataea, taking 35,000 helots with him instead of the normal 5,000, so that Sparta might be left in no danger. The fact is significant. The helot danger must always be reckoned with in future, and Pausanias knew it well. The further events of the war are all to be explained by the quarrel of the ephors with the victor of Plataea, now firmly established on the imperialistic road to ruin.

His great victory gave Pausanias a better chance than any that Cleomenes had had, for he was now the war-lord of the whole Greek world in arms and might look to establish at Byzantium the supremacy that Cleomenes had failed to achieve in Greece. The moment was one of great danger to the ephorate. The chronological order of events is of great importance.[145]

479: After Mycale the rest of the allies sail home leaving the Athenians to look after the Ionians.

478—*Spring:* Reappearance of an allied fleet under Pausanias, which rescues Cyprus and Byzantium. *Summer:* Repudiation of Sparta and Pausanias by the allied fleets—acquiescence of Spartan government and recall of Pausanias on trial.

477: Reappearance of Pausanias at Byzantium.

Pausanias was not in command at Mycale, but the weaker Leotychidas, a puppet whom the ephors could move as they willed. The result is Spartan withdrawal and abandonment of the sea to Athens. The next year sees a violent *volte-face*, for Pausanias reappears in command of a large fleet and army and liberates Cyprus and Byzantium. The ephors could not yet stop a king using his own initiative, and so the danger was as great as ever. The result was a repetition of 506. The allies, led this time by the Athenians, repudiate Spartan hegemony. There was a lively struggle in Sparta between the adherents of the kings and the adherents of the ephors.[146] The influence of the ephors secured the peaceful acceptance of the repudiation, but the other party was strong enough to secure Pausanias' acquittal. He hurried back to the Bosphorus but was finally turned out of Byzantium by the Athenians and took up his position in Colonae in the Troad, hoping for a chance to turn the

[145] Cf. Plut. *Arist.* 23; Hdt. ix. 106, 114-121; Thuc. i. 89, 94-96; Diodorus, xi. 37-50.

[146] Thuc. (i. 95) and Plutarch (*Arist.* 23) suggest no difference of opinion in Sparta, but the evidence of Diod. xi. 50 for strong party-feeling on this question in 473 does not stand alone. The jealousy shown in regard to the building of the walls of Athens is a clear proof of the strained relations of Athens and Sparta at this time, and Pausanias could not have led out the Greek fleet in 478 after the events of the previous autumn unless he had had a considerable following in Sparta.

tables. There can be little doubt that the ephors had already signified their agreement with the proposals of Aristides. The Athenian fleet was far away, and a Spartan army in Attica could have worked what havoc it liked. True to their little-Peloponnesian policy and their hatred of the Agiadae, the ephors gladly threw up the hopes of empire and with it the career of Pausanias.

Seven years later he returned to Sparta and was imprisoned, but escaped and commenced an active plot with the Helots to whom he promised emancipation and citizenship.

Such a policy meant the end of the ephorate. He was entrapped with a trumped-up story of medism and put to death before he could strike.[147] There is some possibility that he was also working with Themistocles at Argos to create an anti-Spartan league in N. Peloponnese by whose assistance he could overthrow the ephors. Thus his end is very similar to that of Cleomenes and similar improving stories were circulated about both.

The charge of medism is of course ridiculous, but how effective it could be made is shewn by the parallel case of Themistocles. Charges of bribery and treachery were hard to disprove in Greece.

Pausanias met the fate of Cleomenes, and the second great statesman of the Agiadae went the way of the first. The struggle had lasted for fifty years, had jeopardised Greece, and thrown away a Spartan empire. The results confirmed the fixed policy of the ephors:—

(1) No extension of Spartan territory, but a maintenance of the balance of power.

(2) As little destructive war as possible.

(3) A short way with any king who desired to restore the old prerogatives.

(4) Absolute restriction of franchise, and no concession to the helots.

(5) The so-called Lycurgan *ἀγωγή* to be zealously and effectively carried out.

Cleomenes and Pausanias had fought them with a policy of expansion, of autocracy, of emancipation, and of reaction against the *ἀγωγή*, but they failed for the following reasons:—

(*a*) The allies were jealous of an absolute hegemony.

(*b*) There was perpetual prejudice against the Agiad kings in Sparta, and therefore a solid anti-monarchical board of ephors every year.

(*c*) The helots could not easily be combined.

Archidamus is the great figure of the next forty years, and he marks a very different phase of policy.

D.—Passive Resistance under Archidamus and Agis.

About 470 Pausanias was got rid of, and two years later the misconduct of Leotychidas left the Eurypontid throne vacant also.[148] Plistarchus became

[147] Thuc. i. 131. [148] The date is established by Meyer, *Forschungen*, ii. pp. 502 foll.

full king on the Agiad side, Archidamus on the Eurypontid, and the events of 464 shewed that the balance of power had swayed at last from the senior to the junior house.

Pausanias left a crop of troubles behind him. An Argive and Arcadian war had already been fought since Plataea. Sparta had been in a tight place before the battles of Tegea and Dipaea checked the rising tide of democracy and anti-Dorianism in her league, which regularly found expression after every Spartan disaster. A demonstration in Thessaly had broken down, but by 468, when Archidamus became king, the worst of her difficulties were over, as it seemed, and she could begin to take measures against the new democracies of Mantinea and Elis. It was clear too that Athens was threatening the balance of power, and the ephors, now masters of the state, were bound to stop her aggrandisement, if possible. It was the easier because they found in Archidamus a man devoted to peace and popularity rather than to glory and power. The Eurypontid king had no war-programme and no intentions of aiming at autocracy. The ephors therefore could the more easily combine on an anti-Athenian policy that might at first seem contradictory, since they had withheld the hands of Sparta both in 506 at Eleusis and in 478 when the walls were building. It is dubious if Themistocles' trick could have deceived the ephors, had they really desired to stop the walls. More probably he was negotiating the terms of the Confederacy of Delos. But by 473 Spartan public opinion had veered round in favour of war (Diod. xi. 50). The ephors were bound, as the mouthpieces of public opinion, to change their policy. While Pausanias was alive, and the troubles with Argos and Arcadia lasted, they took no overt step, but by 468 the path of Sparta was cleared. In ten years Athens had grown far stronger than anyone anticipated, and the application of Thasos in 465 gave Sparta a chance. The new victory at the Eurymedon made it reasonable to demand the dissolution of the League and dissatisfaction at Athens' highhandedness was already rife. An invasion of Attica was accordingly decided on, when the great earthquake of 464 upset all Spartan plans.[169]

It is difficult to attach too much importance to the influence on Spartan policy of the earthquake of 464.

(1) It started another reaction against Spartan power in the Peloponnesian league, and permitted Argos to reconquer Mycenae and Tiryns.[170]

(2) It provided the occasion of the definite break with Athens.

(3) It caused a sudden loss of population and the immediate renewal of a helot war, and permanently affected the offensive powers of Sparta.

The first of these results is in itself very important, for the renewed and revived Argos affects Sparta's foreign relations profoundly throughout the rest of the century. But for the earthquake Sparta would have preserved Mycenae as a thorn in the side of her great rival. A strong Argos soon

[169] Thuc. i. 101.

[170] On the chronology of this period cf. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altert.* iii. pp. 515, 518, notes; and Holm, *History of Greece*, ii. pp. 102 foll.

led to another war. Corinth alone was no match for her southern neighbour, and the inscription on a bronze helmet from Olympia

Τἀργεῖοι ἀνέθεν τῶι Δὶ Ϝ τῶν Ϙορινθόθεν[151]

dates perhaps from an unsuccessful attack on Cleonae at this time.

We will deal with the Athenian matter shortly. The third point is illustrated by the remark of Diodorus (xi. 63) that 20,000 men were killed in Laconia. We know that Sparta was in the centre of the shock and that only five houses were left standing.[152] There must have been an irremediable loss of Spartan citizens. Also the helots at once prepared for an attack. There is no doubt that they had been arming and were already organised; otherwise they could never have struck so soon. Archidamus now won his spurs by immediately drawing up the Spartans in battle array.[153] The helots were frightened and retired, but their readiness is remarkable.

Thucydides' story of the curse of Taenarum (i. 128) shews that reprisals for Pausanias' plot had already taken place,[154] and that the whole helot population was in a ferment. Two of the perioecic cities even joined the revolt, which taxed Spartan powers to the extreme and lasted probably for ten years.[155] The results of the loss of men in the earthquake and the wars were an increased bitterness and an increased disproportion in numbers between Spartiates and helots, which made it more and more difficult to make offensive war and let Spartiates leave Sparta.[156] Sparta now began to be really an armed camp ever-ready for revolt. But it must be remembered that this is a new feature in Spartan policy and only dates from the last days of Cleomenes. The earthquake completed the circle started by the intrigues of the great king.

The breach with Athens is important for the relations of Archidamus with the ephors. Archidamus had won great *kudos* from his behaviour at the time of the earthquake. He now called in the Athenians to assist at the siege of Ithome, but the siege was not successful, and the ephors had a chance both to insult Archidamus and annoy the Athenians by summarily ordering them to depart. The Athenians, in anger, overthrew Cimon, who had led them to Messenia, and put Pericles in power. Alliance with Argos and war with Sparta followed in 461.

It will be objected that there is no proof that it was Archidamus who called the Athenians in, and the ephors who drove them out.

The following considerations must, however, be taken into account.

The victory of the ephors over the kings had resulted, among other

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[151] Hicks and Hill, No. 31, dated about 456.

[152] Plut. *Cim.* 16; Polyaenus, i. 41. 3; Aelian, *V. H.* vi. 7.

[153] Plut. *Cim.* 16.

[154] At the special instigation of the ephors! Cf. Paus. iv. 24. 5.

[155] Another chronological problem; cf. Meyer and Holm, *loc. cit.* There is no textual excuse for the substitution of τετάρτῳ for δεκάτῳ in Thuc. i. 103.

[156] There were 5,000 Spartiates between 20 and 60 in 479: in 418 not more than 2,500 at an outside estimate. Cf. Busolt, *Hermes*, 1905.

things in the complete control of foreign affairs by the ephors. The embassies of Macandrius,[157] Aristagoras,[158] and the Scythians [159] had interviewed Cleomenes directly, and had depended largely on his influence, but after Cleomenes' death the Aeginetan ambassadors [160] were received by a court of judicature, i.e. ephors and gerousia,[161] and Phidippides appeared before the magistrates, not the king, to ask for help at Marathon. Before Plataea the Athenian, Plataean, and Megarian ambassadors went straight to the ephors, and the ephors managed the dispatch of the Spartan army, and assigned the command to Pausanias. At a later time the importance of the ephors in foreign negotiations is illustrated by Thuc. v. 19 and 36, for the negotiations in 421 and 420, and by Thuc. viii. 6, for the year 412. There can be no reasonable doubt then that the proposal of the Thasians in 465 was made before and accepted by the ephors, and that consequently before the earthquake the ephors were committed to a policy of hostility against Athens. On the other hand we have strong evidence that Archidamus, at any rate for most of his reign, was philo-Athenian.

He was a friend of Pericles (Thuc. ii. 13); he spoke against the war in 431 (Thuc. i. 80), and his speech is full of recognition of Athenian qualities (Thuc. ii. 10 and 11); he was strongly suspected of allowing Athenian sympathies to influence him in the first campaign (Thuc. ii. 18); he offers generous terms to the Plataeans (Thuc. ii. 72). Moreover in the earlier war he commands neither of the aggressive Spartan armies in 457 or in 445. His death in 426 heralds a more active war-policy in Sparta. We are at liberty to assume from these facts that Archidamus was never inspired by a policy of hostility to Athens, and that he was a personal friend of Cimon, the most philo-Laconian Athenian of his day.

It must further be remembered that the summoning of the military forces of the league was essentially the duty of the king as commander-in-chief. Athens was summoned to help in 464 as an ally of Sparta in the same way as other allies (Diod. xi. 64. 2; Thuc. i. 102). In this collection of the allied army and its disposition, the king for long preserved his prerogative unchecked (Thuc. v. 59, v. 60, v. 63; ii. 71). The ephors had never attempted to attack this privilege, either in the case of Cleomenes or Pausanias. The summoning of the allies in 464 was certainly the work of Archidamus, especially as the events of this year were particularly due to his initiative, and it was he therefore who brought in Cimon and the Athenians. On the other hand *ξενηλασία* was a time-honoured privilege of the ephors, to which even Cleomenes had deferred—cf. the episode of Macandrius (Hdt. iii. 148). Taking into consideration their anti-Athenian feeling we cannot doubt that the expulsion of the Athenian forces was due to the ephors. They had determined to break with Athens once and for all, and they adopted a method which helped at the same time to humiliate a king in whose popularity and efficiency they saw some danger.

The ephors, in fact, since the accession of Archidamus had executed a

[157] Hdt. iii. 148. [158] Hdt. v. 49. [159] Hdt. vi. 84. [160] Hdt. vi. 85. [161] Hdt. vi. 105.

volte-face in foreign policy, which is of great importance to the historian. Hitherto philo-Athenian while the predominant king was suspected of aggressive and imperial ideas, they began to realise the dangers of Athenian aggression and gradually to reverse their policy of ten years before, as soon as the pacific and philo-Athenian Archidamus mounted the throne. In 478 they had expressly, and against the wish of Pausanias, recognised the Delian Confederacy. In 465 they were ready, undoubtedly against the wish of Archidamus, to interfere in the affairs of the league and to invade Athens on behalf of Thasos.

No clearer example of the essential dualism which underlay the foreign policy of Sparta in the fifth century could be found. The transference of the predominance in the royal college having passed to the pacific and more popular Eurypontids, a change in royal policy from imperialism to pacifism resulted, and has generally been recognised by historians. They have not, however, pointed out with sufficient clearness that the policy of the ephors at once changed also, and from a 'little-Peloponnesian' policy they began to develop ideas very analogous to those of Cleomenes and Pausanias and to interfere in Athens, in Thasos, and before long in Ionia and the East. But the inconsistency of the ephors' foreign policy only proves the consistency of the main internal problem of Sparta, the question of royal or ephoral supremacy. The question was soon to be solved in the ephors' favour, but in 464 there was still a chance of Archidamus establishing a strong hold on popular sympathy. To avoid that the ephors took the desperate step of involving Athens and Sparta in a quarrel at a time of grave difficulty at home. No clearer evidence could be given how immeasurably more important was their political supremacy in the eyes of the ephors than any question of domestic population.

It may also be observed that the inconsistency is in no way novel. Cleomenes has been accused alike for attacking Athens and for sparing Argos. Pausanias for autocracy abroad and for democracy at home. Cleomenes, in fact, whom they had feared and fought during a whole generation, went down in Spartan tradition through their influence as a semi-madman who had reigned for a brief and inglorious period.

With the clue which we have now obtained for the position of politics in Sparta in 464 the developments of the next thirty years are easy to follow. The ephors were committed to an anti-Athenian policy, which Archidamus condemned. The result of the expulsion of Cimon was the latter's downfall, the rise of the radical party under Pericles in Athens, the Attico-Argive alliance, and the first Peloponnesian War. The alliance of Argos and Athens terminated for the time being the friendly feeling of Athens and Corinth, which subsisted at the time of the Persian Wars. The Aeginetan thalassocracy (dated by Eusebius 490 to 480) had thrown Corinth into the arms of Athens, for Corinth and Aegina had always been enemies and as recently as 510 had been fighting for Cydonia in Crete,[102] but Athens was now too strong, and Aegina and

[102] The Samian exiles expelled from Cydonia by the Aeginetans were friends and allies of Corinth and Sparta; cf. p. 29, *supra*.

Corinth not only helped Sparta but were the first to rush to war. We can now see the effect of the policy of the ephors towards these outlying Dorian States. The ephors had stood for autonomy against Cleomenes, and had won the gratitude of Aegina in 489, and the practical help of Corinth in 506. Again in 463 Lachartus of Corinth had attempted to bar the isthmus to Cimon's army.[101] Corinth, as the bitter foe of Argos, now welcomed the chance of crippling two enemies at once. In particular the settlement of the Messenians at Naupactus was aimed at Corinth by Athens, and the main losses of the war fell on the Corinthian and Aeginetan fleets.

Sparta was at first kept busy in the Peloponnese by her revolted helots and perhaps by a defeat at Oenoe, and did not venture on the offensive before 457. Archidamus was the senior king at Sparta, and his absence from the command of the expedition is tantamount to an expression of disagreement. Neither now nor in 445 will he have anything to do with what he considers an ill-judged aggressive policy. The expedition to Tanagra is led by Nicodromus, the guardian of Plistoanax, that of 445 by Plistoanax himself. But the young Agiad king, though willing to lead the expedition in 445, was not in sympathy with the drastic policy of the ephors, which undoubtedly demanded the humiliation of Athens. The position was almost exactly the same as in 506, for a combination of the Central Greek powers threatened the Athenian forces as well as the Peloponnesian army. But the domestic position was also reversed. Plistoanax played the part of Demaratus and the Corinthians and accepted terms of peace, assisted perhaps by a large bribe.[102] The ephors were, like Cleomenes, disappointed in their aggressive policy, and revenged themselves on the king, who was both fined and banished, and his adviser Cleandridas, who was merely driven into exile (Plut. *Per.* 22). Here again the anti-Athenian bias of the ephors is clear, while the king appears to follow his more important colleague in the policy of the dual hegemony and the recognition of the Delian Confederacy, since those are the real terms of peace concluded in 445. The peace then is the royal policy, while the ephors, who brought on the war originally, are dissatisfied at its tame ending. In 440 they received a deputation from Samos and would have gone to war again, since most of the league was in favour of war, but this time the Corinthians counselled peace, not only because they desired to see Samian trade crushed, as some historians have suggested, but mainly at any rate because one of the articles of the peace of 445 had been a tacit agreement to leave Corinth free in the west. Again, during the next decade the Spartan ephors received another embassy from Mytilene, but the request for alliance and an Athenian war was refused.[103] In 431 the Corinthian influence was thrown decidedly on the side of the war-party, since the Attico-Coreyrean alliance threatened the Corinthian trade in the west. The alliance with the ephors was renewed, and the party of Archidamus which had prevailed in 440, and again at the time of the Mytilenean embassy was in the minority. Archidamus did his best for peace, or at

[101] Plut. *Cim.* 17. [102] Thuc. i. 114; Plut. *Pericles*, 22 and 23. [103] Thuc. iii. 13.

any rate for delay, but the great majority was against him, and war broke out again in 431 as in 461 at the instigation of the ephors.

Mention has already been made of the pacific conduct of Archidamus in the Peloponnesian war. In 426 he died, and was succeeded by his son Agis. In the same year Pleistoanax was brought back from exile, but soon found that popularity was as far off as ever. One result of this, Thucydides tells us,[166] was that he worked hard for peace. Agis also showed no vigour in the war. His first invasion of Athens in 426 (Thuc. iii. 89) did not pass the isthmus owing to earthquakes, and his second in 425 was the shortest on record owing to the affairs of Pylos (Thuc. iv. 6). We next find him signing the peace of Nicias (Thuc. v. 24). With both kings in favour of peace the treaty was only delayed until there were some ephors who would consent to it. This occurred in the ephorate of Pleistolas and the immediate result was the Peace of Nicias. But the events of the next year shew how unusual it was to find the ephors on the side of peace, for Xenares and Cleobulus in 420 did their utmost to break it up, and succeeded in their purpose when Nicias came on a desperate mission to Sparta after Alcibiades' trick with the Spartan envoys. The result of these negotiations was another combination as in 461 of Athens and Argos and Mantinea against Sparta and Corinth.[167]

At this period begins the peculiar behaviour of Agis, who proved himself on occasion a thoroughly capable general, but whose exploits for the next few years are so remarkable as to merit the closest attention. In 419 he led the Spartan army to Leuctra on the Arcadian border, and then disbanded it on account of unfavourable omens, as he had done at the isthmus in 426. Shortly afterwards he marched against Argos and repeated his performance at Caryae.[168] In 418 by a brilliant manœuvre Agis invaded Argolis and had the town and army at his mercy, but suddenly made peace after a consultation with a single magistrate. Thucydides says expressly[169] that this was the finest Hellenic army ever assembled up to that day, and that Argos was completely at their mercy. Agis, in fact, became so unpopular that he was all but ruined,[170] and ten counsellors were appointed to accompany him in the field in future. His behaviour at Mantinea in the same year was open to the gravest criticism, and he again seemed to desire to avoid a decisive battle.

There is only one adequate explanation of these facts and that is that Agis was being driven by the ephors to carry out an aggressive policy of which he disapproved. It is clear that he was attempting to maintain the peace, and that when he had Argos at his mercy he behaved precisely like Pleistoanax in 445 and made terms.[171] The position of the king had now so far deteriorated at Sparta that even a victorious war could not restore its prestige. This fact was admirably illustrated at a later time by the Asiatic

[166] v. 16.
[167] v. 48.
[168] v. 54 and 55.
[169] v. 60.
[170] v. 63.
[171] The anger of the ephors on both of these occasions ought to dispose of the legend that they were still carrying out the policy of Chilon.

campaigns of Agesilaus. In the circumstances Agis, like his father, preferred to avoid war for war's sake, and neither saw the chance of a successful issue.

The Sicilian expedition changed the state of affairs. The same hesitation and party struggle marked the reopening of the war in 413 as its commencement in 431, but the news of the Sicilian disaster at once made a Spartan victory highly probable. Agis abandoned his policy of procrastination and shewed at Decelea his true qualities as a general. In 411 he rejected the peace terms of the 400 and carried on the war with vigour.

But in the person of Lysander a new candidate for power had arisen who for the moment thrust the struggle of kings and ephors into the background and caused them both to unite against himself.

This necessarily brief examination of Spartan policy from 468 onwards has glanced at only a few of the incidents of the period, but has succeeded, I hope, in shewing the chief significance of the development of Spartan policy. The two great kings of the period, Archidamus and Agis, made no efforts like their Agiad predecessors to upset the power of the ephors; they contented themselves with a policy of passive resistance which profoundly embarrassed Spartan aggressive operations, just as the ephors had embarrassed the kings during the Persian wars.

The Eurypontid kings strove rather to gather round them a political party in Sparta, and to fight the ephors with their own weapons without proceeding to any violent measures or ambitious schemes. Consequently they adopted a peace policy, thereby forcing the ephors to the *volte-face* which was consummated in 468.

Without desiring any definite territorial aggressions the ephors set themselves from that year to limit the expansion of Athens, which they had at first favoured. It is from 468 that an anti-Athenian party in Sparta begins to plot for war, and from 468 dates what Thucydides calls the growing fear of Athenian expansion. The royal peace party was at first strong, but gradually lost power, until in 413 Agis saw that the ruin of Athens was now certain, and at once proceeded to prosecute the war with vigour. The royalist policy of passive resistance was adopted on mature consideration and with full understanding of the careers of Cleomenes and Pausanias. The one remaining prerogative of the king was his commandership in the field. He was therefore in a strong position for checkmating imperialistic ephors, though powerless himself to develop an imperialistic policy. Archidamus was successful to a large extent, but Agis went too far and suffered a further diminution of power. By the end of the war the ephors were supreme only to find a new foe awaiting them in the person of Lysander. To follow the phase of this struggle is beyond the scope of the present article.

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It is only necessary now briefly to recapitulate the results of our examination of Spartan history down to the end of the fifth century. An attempt has been made to shew the gradual development of the Spartan

constitution, and in particular of the ephorate. Up to 550 the ephorate was still subordinate, and the development of the Spartan state was quite normal and moved on ordinary Greek lines. In 550 this office reached a dominant position in the state and profoundly modified its social and political complexion. Shortly afterwards a struggle began between kings and ephors which lasted in an acute form until 468 and to a very marked degree until the end of the fifth century. From that time the ephors are supreme until the efforts of Agis III. and Cleomenes III. to restore the royal power in the third century. An attempt has also been made to prove that Spartan foreign policy from 550 onwards depended primarily on this domestic struggle, and neither on inherent vacillation, as the older historians seem to imagine, nor on the population problem, as some ingenious modern writers have suggested. The question of the helots plays an important part in Spartan policy in the days of Cleomenes and Pausanias, when the emancipation schemes of those monarchs were developed. The result of disappointment was an embittered feeling, which came to a head with the earthquake and the so-called third Messenian War. It was, we are told by Plutarch,[173] Pausanias,[174] and Diodorus,[175] the Messenian element of the helots which was mainly affected. Doubtless Cleomenes and Pausanias had intended to extend the franchise to such as could claim Dorian descent. Hitherto we have no reason to suppose that there had been any friction between Spartiates and helots. From 464 onwards the question was of more vital importance, and led directly to the policy of retaining Spartiates as far as possible at home or near home. Thus Brasidas and Agesilaus had armies of helot or perioecic composition, and Spartan military efficiency gradually deteriorated. But the main effects lay far in the future, and were only beginning to affect Spartan policy during the Peloponnesian war. Altogether too much stress has been laid upon this theory for early fifth-century politics. On the other hand, the peculiar development of affairs between 468 and 431, and especially the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war,[176] are only explicable by the comprehension of the strained relations between kings and ephors. The struggle affected all the earlier part of the war, and only the ruin of the Sicilian expedition reconciled the two Spartan parties and brought about a really vigorous prosecution of hostilities.

Thus the key to the riddle of Spartan politics in the sixth and fifth centuries is a comparatively simple one, thoroughly understood both by contemporaries and by later historians. It is succeeded by the helot question, which begins in 490 and becomes pressing in 464, but only reaches vital importance with the conspiracy of Cimadon in the first years of the fourth century.

GUY DICKINS.

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[173] Cim. 17.
[174] iv. 24. 6.
[175] xi. 64.
[176] Cf. my article in *Classical Quarterly*, Oct. 1911: 'The True Cause of the Peloponnesian War.'

THE CHIGI ATHENA.

[PLATE I.]

THE Chigi Athena (Fig. 1 and Plate I.) or, to give it a better known name, the Dresden 'archaistic' Athena, is one of a class that has only recently come to its rights—the 'archaistic' statues. In them the old and the new are blended without either losing its identity, but the motive of the mixture has long been disputed; is it the new masquerading under a fictitious archaism, a Chatterton in marble, or is it an honest but not too precise transcription of the ancient archetype? The answer of modern archaeologists is in most cases for the honest transcript.

A well-known group of genuinely archaic statues preserved at Athens show dresses decorated with a vertical stripe corresponding to the decorated stripe of the Chigi Athena (Plate I.). This band of ornament is painted, usually with a maeander pattern: it forms part of a scheme of decoration which ran along the borders of the over garment, so that where we find it we expect to find also decorated borders. But on the Chigi statue, (1) it is carved with reliefs of technique resembling the Argivo-Corinthian bronze strips, (2) there are no other bands of decoration, (3) these reliefs are in style much later than the pose and details of the statue would suggest. Other modernizations on the archaic might be noted, but they are comparatively trifling changes in the modelling of the body or the folds of the dress, almost inevitable in a free copy by a later hand. The panelled scenes would seem to be a deliberate 'archaistic' addition. Criticism has gone further and declared these figures to be arranged anyhow giving a general impression of Gigantomachy scenes but not bearing closer examination—a sure index of the archaistic designer. But granting all this, it has been suggested[1] that the later imitator had before him an archaic statue on which this stripe was decorated with incised drawings of a similar nature, the remains of former painting; thus the statue would represent in general an ancient Athena statue though in the execution lapsing into the current style.

To investigate the difficulty, we must first determine at what date we should find real archaic parallels. At once the Aegina excavations come to our

[1] I am indebted to Professor Percy Gardner for this: one debt remembered out of the hundreds I have lost sight of.

aid. The long known Athena of the west pediment is precisely similar in dress, except for the snake-belt; so much so that on a cast at Dresden our statue has been fully restored on the model of the Aeginetan statue. Among the non-pedimental figures of the recent discoveries[2] there has come to light the lower part of an Athena which in pose and dress exactly resembles ours—allowing for the exaggerated number of folds in the latter. Similarly it is the vases contemporary with the Aegina sculptures[3] that present the type of Athena with the Ionian peplos (fastened with one pin on the right shoulder or one pin on each shoulder as in the Chigi figure). A metope from the Athenian Treasury at Delphi and many bronze statuettes confirm the attribution of the type to the period about 480 B.C. at the latest.

Fig. 1.—The Chigi Athena.
(*From a cast in the Ashmolean Museum.*)

The Gigantomachy is later—a prima facie conclusion. Is this a solitary instance of later ornament of this kind added to work of earlier style? Even the question occurs—Is this a solitary instance of a stripe 'metoped' vertically with figured scenes? Two specimens answering both questions at once in the negative have been unearthed.

The first is the Helios torso in the Vatican.[4] A youthful nude male torso after an original of the second half of the fifth century B.C. has from the right shoulder to the left hip a broad baldrick of about the same breadth as the Chigi stripe on which in panels are carved in low relief the signs of the Zodiac. The parallel is perfect; this is a genuine antique, for its discovery about 1825 on the site of the Teatro

[1] Furtwängler, *Aegina*, Text, p. 257.

[2] *E.g.* Duris cup at Vienna; Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, I. 174.

[3] Ameling, *Catal. Vaticani, Gsiarunnati*, 592; Text i. 710, Pl. I. 76; also Dar.-Sagl. Fig. 775; Roscher, i. 2002.

Valle[5] is recorded in Cardinali's *Memorie*, 1825. The drawing in the Codex Coburgensis would seem to be of the statue itself, not of a replica (as Amelung suggests), for these drawings were evidently done in Rome about the beginning of the nineteenth century (water-mark on earlier sheets 1806) at various times; this is borne out by another drawing in the Codex which seems to be that of the headless river god mentioned in Cardinali as found about the same time as the Helios torso.

The signs from shoulder to hip are from the Fishes back to the Ram; amongst them are the scales borne by a youth. We can therefore fix a *terminus post quem*; the Greeks knew of no Libra or Zygos in the best period; their corresponding sign was Chelae, the claws of the scorpion. Thiele[6] gives roughly the first century B.C. as the date of the innovation, the Teubner editor of Geminus (1898)[7] holds that Geminus did not know of the Zygos but only of Chelae; if we accept this editor's date for the text as written at Rome 77 B.C., the new sign must have been introduced in the second quarter of the century, since Varro[8] certainly knew of it. Its varying artistic types do not admit of accurate dating; two coins[9] struck under Antoninus Pius have on one the scale-bearing youth, on the other merely the balance itself, while at Denderah even in the reign of Tiberius the mere balance is found; yet it has been said that the balance in the hand of a figure is earlier than the mere instrument: the truth seems to be that both types were in use together during a long period. Neither can any definite distinction be made between the youth and the maiden type. To seek a *terminus ante quem* by examination of the Zodiac types would not lead to any profitable conclusion.

However, we must regard the use of the Zodiac for decorative purposes as belonging mainly to the second and third centuries of our era; we find traces of it in the first century, but apparently as a novelty; in Petronius's *Cena* it is the ornament round the edge of one of the shield-like repositoria. It is found on coins as a border from the reign of Antoninus Pius on, generally coupled with personifications of the seasons or of nature. This is probably to be connected with those other instances where we find it used for the decoration of shield margins.[10] The same shield influence will account for its use on plaques and gems.

The constant use of the Zodiac on Mithraic monuments[11] deserves our special notice as most probably it is this influence that accounts for the Zodiac belt on our figure. Especially appropriate are the Selinus mosaic[12] and the Modena relief,[13] in both of which a nude youth stands in the

[5] That is, in the Campus Martius near the Thermae Agrippae and the Stadium Domitiani.

[6] *Antike Himmelsbilder*, 1898.

[7] Appendix, p. 263, n. 15 to p. 98.

[8] *De Ling. Lat.* i. 6.

[9] *B.M.C.* Alexandria, 1078, 1079.

[10] Abaukir Medallions, third cent. A.D. (*Jahrb.*, 1908, p. 163; *Journ. Intern. Num.*, 1907; Dressel, *Abhdl. Berl. Akad.* 1906, esp. n. on p. 26, though the Aeschylus reference is not to the point); Achilles' shield on Iliac table, *Röm. Mitth.* 1891, pp. 182 *sqq.*

[11] See Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, ii. and i. p. 310.

[12] *Arch. Zeit.* 1877, Pl. III.

[13] *Rev. Arch.* xl. Pl. I.

elliptical frame of a Zodiac belt—in the former case Helios, Sol invictus, in the latter Kronos. Even for the shield use, the Mithraic cult may have been responsible, for we recall the mystic 'degree' of 'soldier' and believe it probable that a Zodiac shield[14] was part of the mystic paraphernalia; even independently of esoteric motive, the prevalence of Mithraism in the great camp cities with the help of such monuments as those of Heddernheim and Osterburken[15] might introduce the motive. These considerations seem to us to render it likely that it was in the period of Mithra's supremacy (say the second century after Christ) that a copyist thus chose to associate a Greek Apollo of the fifth century with the current symbolism, if not wholly with the prevailing cult.

In confirmation of a late date we note that the clumsy baldrick must have been especially designed to receive the symbols as it does not correspond in length or position with belts known to us on pure Greek monuments. Furthermore in the best period a work inspired by the Greek spirit would have avoided this staccato motive and would have preferred a continuous scheme, such as a meander or a scroll, or hunting scenes like those on an antique bronze belt with silver inlay, now at Florence.

Our other instance comes from farther afield, but temerity may be pardoned where real parallels are all but unknown. Among the acquisitions of the Egyptian department of the British Museum in 1909 were three limestone statues, once painted, from a Ptolemaic temple in Upper Egypt. They are of the archaistic Egyptian type that is distinctive of the Ptolemaic period; their date is given by one of them, a statue of Ptolemy IX., 147–117 B.C. The one of present interest is the lion-headed divinity, down the front of whose loin-cloth runs a band bordered by a ridge on each side and divided into three metope-like fields by groups of four horizontal bars with a depending fringe; that is, a short stripe like our Chigi stripe, but having four dividing bars instead of one and fringed at the end: in the three fields are figures in low relief completing the analogy.

Hettner, in the second edition of the Dresden catalogue (1869), describes the stripe on the Chigi figure as 'recalling the practice of Egyptian art,' referring, I presume, to the bands with hieroglyphics. Comparing the Ptolemaic statue with other Egyptian statues of the British Museum, one finds the same relation existing between them as between the Chigi statue and a real archaic statue. This stripe on Egyptian statues represents the end of the girdle: any motive, therefore, used to ornament it, ought to run along the length of the strap, not across its breadth, and such we find to be the case in statues of Usertsen III. (c. 2330 B.C.), where the only pattern is that of a textile strap. In earlier statues the girdle is left plain. In statues of XVIII.–XIX. dynasties (c. 1600–1350 B.C.) the hieroglyphic stripes appear, the hieroglyphs being cut in intaglio not in relief. The figures on the Ptolemaic statue are not hieroglyphs of letters, but the figures or

[14] A shield occurs as a Mithraic monument in Cumont, ii. Mon. 176, Fig. 158. The border seems to be the 'Labours' of Mithra.

[15] Cumont, ii. Pll. VI, VII.

emblems of three gods—Bes in the first field, the Horus hawk in the second, the Hathor head in the third—and they are cut in relief. Their purpose is to show that the god is a combination of Bes, Horus and Hathor, much as the Zodiac signs give a meaning to the Vatican torso. The Ptolemaic statues bear traces of the influence of Greek art: are the girdle 'metopes' due to that same contact? The one is Greek, the other is Egyptian—we of the Greeks do not dare to make any bold steps amid Egyptian mysteries. Enough that the analogy points to an age when men forgot the need for adapting the design to the purpose of the object adorned.

The archetype of the Athena must have been painted: the aegis has no scales carved on it, and yet no Greek of the period to which the Athena type belongs would have left the aegis without scales: both the Aegina Athenas had the scales painted on and so had the Acropolis terra-cotta plaques already described in this *Journal*.[16] After the Pheidian period the scales disappear except in those statues which do not deserve the name of archaistic, for instance the Athena from Herculaneum and the recently discovered 'Minerva' of Poitiers. Thus the absence of scales on our figure points rather to its being a genuine copy of an archaic original than to a sometime indication of the scales merely by painting—a practice apparently not usual in archaistic works. In fact the Chigi Athena seems to have been copied from an archaic statue that had lost its colours. Else, where is the pattern that should run along the borders of the peplos? The sculptor who carved the centre band would not have neglected to carve the border pattern if any were visible.

The centre strip itself does not necessitate a model showing traces of a design on this part: the motive is obvious—the Panathenaic Peplos was famous even in Roman times, well known by literary allusion, even to those who had never seen it. So our sculptor made use of the easiest surface on the dress to supply the essential Gigantomachy; he even did violence to the proper folds of the peplos in order to secure the field he desired: a glance at the illustrations will show that the folds taper upwards, but the figured band does not. It was to Athena Polias that the peplos was borne and to Athena Polias were made dedications of little bronze Athenas[17] with poised lance just like our figure. Probably in the sculptor's mind this type stood for Athena Polias.[18] The type evidently was the canonical[19] cult-type of Pallas as late as the Boscoreale treasure in which, on a lagona, we find it receiving cultus from two Nikai; the Macedonians may have helped to spread its worship, for in a slightly varied form it was one of their distinctive coin types, and presumably therefore their protecting goddess.

Yet if the sculptor meant to reproduce the Peplos, it is easy enough to

[16] *J.H.S.* xvii. 1897, pp. 306 sqq.

[17] *E.g.* Dar.-Sagl. 2536.

[18] It is hard to see why Furtwängler in Roscher i. 694 admits a connexion with the peplos but rejects any connexion of this statue with the Polias.

[19] The same type of Pallas occurs on coins of Claudius and Domitian (an interesting denarius); on the Abonkir medallions it figures on Alexander's armour beside a fighting giant (Dressel, *l.c.*, Plate II. c). It differs from the real Palladion type in the position of the feet.

show that he was wrong. Figured garments on Attic monuments have always their scenes embroidered in broad horizontal bands; we may refer to the Euthydikos Kore with the chariot-race pattern, many of the figures on the François vase, fragments of similar style,[20] the well-known Eleusis vase by Hieron, a r.-f. Dionysus vase,[21] but most important of all a r.-f. fragment[22] of an Iliupersis vase of the best period showing a Palladion with figure-embroidered dress, almost certainly inspired directly by the Athenian Peplos. Later analogies, such as the dresses on the vases of the Meidias style,[23] the hieratic drapery from Lycosura, the painting in the Palazzo Barberini of the goddess Roma (never far from the Greek Athena) with figured dress,[24] all argue for the decoration in horizontal bands, broad and long. We are strengthened in this opinion by comparing Euripides, *Hecuba*, 470, where the captive's task 'in the city of Pallas, the fair-throned goddess' is to 'yoke colts,' embroidering them, or 'the brood of Titans whom Kronides lays to rest,' on a peplos, evidently the Panathenaic peplos. Now though the yoked steeds probably are to be associated with the gods in the Gigantomachy (see the metopes of the east front of the Parthenon), yet the constant use of chariots with winged steeds in *horizontal* bands of dress-ornament on the earlier Attic vase of the François style and the similar use of chariotless Pegasi on the later r.-f.[25] style (Actor vase at Naples) are valuable commentaries on the Hecuba passage. The proof is not conclusive, but it renders it more than likely that the peplos was embroidered with the battle of the Titans in a long band:[26] it stands to reason that such a scene might be rightly split up into metopes when the metopes are arranged as in a temple, and supposed to be continuous, but not when they are arranged over one another as on the Chigi band.

It is easy to show that we have not an actual reproduction of the peplos, whatever the artist's intention may have been, but it is not easy to determine whether the stripe arrangement was based on an actual archaic fashion. On an interesting series of vases, long known as 'Tyrrhenian,' more recently as 'Corintho-Attic,' there appears on the garments a broad stripe running from the neck or girdle to the lower edge of the dress, and the stripe is frequently divided into figured fields broader than they are high: the figures consist almost always of animals, such as a pair of 'confronted' sphinxes or a bird.[27] A similar dress is found on a very archaic mirror-handle in the Louvre,[28] on a Palladion figure in a bronze strip from Delphi,[29] and on a bronze from Albania.[30] The very early cult image recently

[20] Graef, *Die antiken Vasen der Akropolis zu Athen*, Pl. XXIV.

[21] Gerhard, *Trinkschalen*, Pl. IV.

[22] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, Pl. V. 3.

[23] On the Talos vase (*F.R.H.* 38-39) the border figures on the Dioscuri's chitons seem to be a Gigantomachy.

[24] Dar.-Sagl. 2255.

[25] It is now generally accepted that in this type the influence of stage dress and 'proper-tive' is predominant; stage dress in turn was a survival of ancient costume.

[26] Note especially the Athana on a Panathenaic amphora, Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, i. 212-3.

[27] *E.g.* Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, Pl. III.; *Jahrb.* 1893, Pl. I.

[28] *Mon. Grecs*, ii. Pl. XI.

[29] *Delphes*, iv. Pl. XXI. 4th field.

[30] *Rev. Arch.* 1872, Pl. XV.

discovered at Prinia in Crete has similar figured garments.[31] All of these monuments are far earlier in type than our Athena, and none of them are dressed in the Ionian peplos, but all apparently in the Doric. There is something radically different about the figured fields: they are substitutes for bands going completely round, whereas ours is strictly the decoration of a narrow stripe.

There is, however, one type of Attic dress which approaches that of our statue. It is the usual Doric peplos, but down from the waist runs a vertical band. On the François vase this is often decorated with a maeander or a wavy line; on the Burgon Panathenaic amphora Athena's dress has this stripe decorated with simple metope-like divisions containing squares; of vases of the same class, this band seems to have been generally present in the cock-pillar series;[32] it occurs also on an Attic Kore,[33] where it was divided into metopes.

Though we suspect that this stripe may have been figured, we have no proof of it except perhaps the Thermus metope,[34] where the central goddess, apparently Athena, if we judge by the thunder-bolt motive, has figured panels up the centre of her dress, very similar indeed to the Burgon vase style; this metope has undoubtedly been repainted some centuries after its first use and suggests difficulties almost as awkward as our statue, for the style of the ornaments is distinctly later than the general type of the figure; however, it is a repainting of an original, not a mere copy, so that we have no reason for thinking that any change was made except the inevitable change of style. The subjects on the panels are griffins, a boar's head, a thunder-bolt. Now the analogy of the Argivo-Corinthian bronze strips leads us to suppose that, as well as animal heraldic motives, figure-scenes with two or more persons would also be employed.

Further the publication of the Acropolis vase-fragments throws quite a new light, not yet appreciated, on vase conventions. The gem-like style of the Nearchus vase[35] shows us in the interior of a shield a band of decoration; it has, like our band, metope-fields filled with motives familiar in the bronze strips.[36] Elsewhere this part of a shield is decorated with little cross squares or simply left blank just as the dress stripe is on vases; hence we might conclude that decorative figure-panels were sometimes conventionally represented by squares with crosses or even simplified to a continuous strip.

We are thus led to admit that this particular type of dress may have been often ornamented with figured panels arranged in a vertical strip, and

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[31] *Arch. Anz.* 1909, p. 98. It is likely that such figures as the Louvre mirror-handle or the figure with rosettes on the Olympian cuirass are derived from this early cult type. Cp. also Spartan ivories, *B.S.A.* 1906/7, Pl. IV. and Fig. 32.

[32] Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, i. 212, 4; 215, 1; 68, though here changed in position.

[33] *Antike Denkmäler*, i. 19.

[34] *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 50.

[35] Graef, Pl. XXXVI.

[36] Complete references in *Jahrbuch*, Textband p. 395. The use of these bronze strips is uncertain; it seems very possible that they are from shields—an additional suggestion which I hope to develop and add to the many piled up already.

may be connected with the style described above of figured bands that are broad but not of the whole breadth of the stuff.[37] Yet these bands and strips are found only on the foldless Doric peplos or on what is perhaps an 'Ionian' chiton.[38]

It is important to note that the later vase painters regard a stripe from neck or girdle to lower hem as essential for an archaic idol and, judging by their conventions for Amazon and Persian dress, this stripe was often embroidered.[39] Thus it is rendered probable that a later sculptor would be familiar with a figured stripe as part of the dress of an archaic idol, such a dress being, however, of the Doric peplos type.

For the Ionic peplos we have no proof of anything but geometric ornament. The tapering space was unsuited for figures; perhaps our clearest monument is the exquisite bronze relief from Perugia.[40] As we have seen already, the sculptor of the Dresden Athena in order to secure parallel edges for his stripe, has to do some violence to the folds. It would seem then that this ornament has been added to our statue from some source other than the archetype.

We have now to examine the scenes themselves to see whether they have real meanings and whether they can give us any clue to the date. They have been discussed by Pyl.[41] on whom Overbeck improves.[42] We shall examine them for ourselves. The numbers correspond to those attached to the groups on Plate I.

1. Not clear owing to its peculiar position under the over-lap; all that can be recognised with certainty is a shielded giant overthrown beneath the hoofs of winged (?) horses coming from the left. Zeus's chariot is intended as appears from gems and coins,[43] but probably Zeus is not meant to be in the chariot. In both the Melian Gigantomachy vase[44] and the Pergamene frieze he fights in front of his chariot. At Pergamum his chariot has a similar defeated giant beneath.

2. Poseidon on the right. It is the pose of the figure on the reverse of the early coins of Poseidonia and of the Poseidon on the coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes (306 B.C.) and on the coins of Mantinea;[45] the very same pose occurs for Poseidon on the Lagina Gigantomachy frieze.[46] Granting that Zeus is represented in one of the panels, it must be 2 or 7. We shall see many reasons for giving 7 to Zeus, but here we may note the rarity of back views of Zeus in this pose: only two instances are known to me, one being merely a back view on a vase, of a well-known statue,[47] the other a coin of Bactria (*c.* 250 B.C.) almost

[37] *Vide Ant. Denkm.* i. 22.

[38] Phineus vase, Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, i. 200; gem in Roscher, ii. 1711; Dar.-Sagl. 4760.

[39] Dar.-Sagl. 417, 931, 1208, 2369, 2358; Roscher, ii. 1943, 2574, iii. 779, 1807, 2330.

[40] *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 14.

[41] *Arch. Zeit.* 1857, p. 61.

[42] *Kunstmythologie*, 'Zeus,' p. 378 (1871).

[43] Dar.-Sagl. *Gigantes*, *ad fin.*

[44] Furtwängler-Reichhold, 96.

[45] *B.M.C.* Pelop. xxxv. 6.

[46] *B.C.H.* 1895, Pl. XIII.

[47] Roscher, *Rép. Vases*, iii. 970

copied from Demetrius's Poseidon.[46] We must remember that the Demetrius coin had a wide circulation, as appears from its frequency in finds, and probably did much to fix this type.

3. Hephaestus on the left. He is one of the few gods who do not grasp their enemies with the *left* hand. A possible explanation of this is in the custom of arming Hephaestus with two fire-tongs holding hot bolts:[47] with his left he would be burning the giant's flank, while his right is ready with the second tongs. For the nude type of Hephaestus we may compare Reinach *Rép. Vases*, i. 66, 208, 330. It may be noted that all the other gods have drapery.

4. Ares on the right. It is difficult to determine which is the god in this group. The figure to the right is undoubtedly wearing a cuirass, the lappets or flaps of which can be seen above the skirt of the chiton. The other figure wears an animal skin on his shoulders (more visible on Plate II or on III A), while his hands are in position for hurling a rock.[48] We have therefore called the former the god Ares and the latter a giant. On the Aristophanes cup[49] and on the Lagina frieze Ares is distinguished by his armour. The uncertainty of the issue of the combat here corresponds to that of the fourth field from the end, to which it corresponds also in the respective positions of divinity and giant. We must note that the pose of the god is elsewhere found for Apollo[50] and for Hermes.[51] It is indicative of a swordsman. The god's lowered left hand ought to hold the scabbard.

5. Athena on the left requires no proof. Parallels abound, of which perhaps the best is a plaque from a Campanian vase.[52]

6. Hera on the left. The Doric dress is typical of Hera and the motive recurs for her on the Aristophanes and the Melian vases.

7. Zeus on the left. This pose[53] was consecrated by centuries of use from such early works as a Chalcidian vase[54] or a Perugia bronze[55] down to the Mithraic relief from Virunum[56] or from Osterburken.[57] The drapery varies during these centuries; at first the god is rather fully draped, then comes the Hageladas statue[58] which seems to have fixed for long the type with the chlamys on the shoulders; this lasts through the fifth and fourth centuries; then in Pergamum and Lagina

[46] Cp. Hill, *Hdb. of G. and R. Coins*, vii. 10, with viii. 1.

[47] See Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 256, Brygos style.

[48] Cp. Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 41.

[49] Dar.-Sagl. 3561.

[50] Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 41.

[51] Cnidian frieze, and Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 256.

[52] *Mon. d. I.* v. Pl. XII.

[53] For the giant's pose cp. the Villa Albani relief of the death of Kapaneus by lightning (Roscher, ii. 951).

[54] Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 129.

[55] *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 15, 4.

[56] Dar.-Sagl. 5097.

[57] Cumont, ii. Pl. VI.; Strong, *Rom. Sculpt.* Plate XCV.

[58] See especially coins of Messene and the Olympia Bronzes, Pll. VI. and VII.

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we find a type with impossible drapery that is derived from the Pheidian seated Zeus. The nearest of later monuments to our Zeus is the Virunum Mithraic fragment, probably because it was copied from an earlier type.

There is one slight point of difference, which may be capricious but is worth noting, between the drapery of our Poseidon and that of our Zeus. Poseidon wears his chlamys in the orthodox shawl fashion. Zeus's drapery sweeps from behind his back to the front of and below his right arm and then over the arm in full view to fall behind in a long scarf. A moment's reflexion shows this to be more suitable for the bestowal of the himation than for the chlamys. The himation was by Zeus worn draped under the right arm; a hasty flinging-back of the garment would cast it back over the upper arm, thus encircling the arm; and the himation is a longer piece of cloth than the chlamys.

Between the right legs of the god and the giant is an object (*l*) which I have examined over and over again on the Ashmolean and the British Museum casts and on Plate I. I must confess that I have not been able to determine its nature: the following interpretations suggested themselves—(1) the god's familiar animal coming to help him,[61] (2) the head of Ge emerging to intercede for her children (this appears constantly on versions from the fifth century on—especially à propos is the Aristophanes cup), (3) a piece of carelessness on the sculptor's part. This third seems ruled out on consideration of the extreme care taken with such details as garments and feet when in the most remote plane; for instance, a similar little irregularity of surface behind Hera's left cheek seems not to be careless work but a rendering of her veil. (4) Professor Treu has kindly written to me that in his opinion it is a part of the rocky ground on which the contest takes place.[62] However, independently of the interpretation of this object there seems to be reason in regarding this figure as Zeus.—(1) He is near Athena as on almost every representation of the Gigantomachy—Cnidian frieze, Megarian Treasury (Treu's restoration), Aristophanes cup, Pergamum, Melian vase. (2) Terming the groups L and R according as the divinity is on the left or right, we see that there are three L's in the centre and then above and below an alternation of L and R: thus Zeus, his consort, and his daughter are united at the centre as in the Cnidian frieze. Take the panels from their vertical arrangement and place them in horizontal order and we find that with the two exceptions

[61] Very commonly Dionysus is helped by the panther, on the Megarian pediment at Olympia Poseidon by a sea-monster, at Pergamum Zeus by the eagle, and so on—the Monteleone chariot (Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, 586-7) gives a good instance.

[62] Professor Treu refers for proof to the rocks on which the giants support themselves in fields 5, 6, 7, 10. The argument does not seem conclusive, for there the rocks are essential to the motive, whereas here it would be merely a picturesque addition without parallel in the other fields. If so, then it is grist to our mill; this especially favoured field must present the chief divinity.

of Zeus and Hera (probably conceived as abreast) the gods are fighting back to back; here again we find the vases[63] and Lagina corroborating our arrangement. This is important, for it points to an external source of inspiration, perhaps a series of metopes or a frieze.[64]

8. Aphrodite on the right. The goddess has the left breast bare, for the drapery has slipped down her arm to just below her elbow and she holds an end of it in her left hand. The group is strongly reminiscent of the Tyrannicides of Kritios and Nesiotes, the giant in the Aristogeiton pose even to the piece of drapery.[65] Aphrodite in the correct pose of Harmodius. The bare breast motive for Aphrodite dates from the fifth century on.

9. Apollo on the left or Dionysus (?). The drapery of the god is of quite a late type chiefly prevalent in the fourth century. Our attribution to Apollo bases itself on the Apollo of the Marsyas scenes, where he is a triumphant spectator at the defeat or the punishment of the Satyr[66] and on an Apollo statue in a bas-relief from the arch of Constantine.[67] Even further the god seems to have, for his weapon in his right hand, a plectrum. It is hard to tell whether the god is bearded or not: what appears to be a beard may be only some blemish. If he is bearded, of course it would be Dionysus, but the pose is most unsuited for thrusting with a thyrsus.

10. Artemis on the right. A pose consecrated to Artemis from the end of the fifth century.[68] The Lagina figure and her opponent[69] are as close to our figures as we could demand. The Constantine relief[70] shows us a similar type in a cult statue: we quote this relief, because the types it gives for cult images must have been very common and easily recognisable.

11. Herakles on the left. The demi-god did not always get a central position in the Gigantomachy.[71] Apparently on this figure, alone of all, can one trace a weapon in relief: a raised mass crosses the body of the demi-god from his right hand to just beneath his left breast; it would seem to be a club.[72] This last field is somewhat short and helps to give

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[63] Both the Paris cup (Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, ii. 256) and the Aristophanes cup.

[64] The decorated band would then be a fragment of first-rate importance as an antique copy of some presumably well-known monument.

[65] Pyl is wrong in regarding this drapery as exceptional on the giants; Poseidon's opponent has some wrapped round his left arm, and the giant in 3 wears an animal's skin.

[66] Cp. Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, i. 14, 406, 452, 510, 511; ii. 324, where the drapery is very similar in most cases.

[67] *Ant. Denkm.* i. 42, 2. The sculptures of this arch are of course plunder from a Flavian monument.

[68] Dar.-Sagl. 2371, 3582 (the Mattei relief, a combination of the earlier types both of Artemis and the giants with the later) and a bronze in the British Museum (*B.M. Bronzes*, Pl. XI.) are good instances from the fifth century on.

[69] *B.C.H.* 1895, Pll. XIII., XIV.

[70] *Ant. Denkm.* i. 43, 8.

[71] Cp. the Museo Gregoriano bronze strip (*Ant. Denkm.* i. 21), where he is last.

[72] For the position we may compare *Delphes*, iv. Pl. XXI. (fifth field) and *J.H.S.* xiii. Pl. IX.

a stumpy appearance to Herakles than whom the giant seems taller.[72] Herakles seems to be clad with his usual lion-skin over head and shoulders.

Whether our attribution of the divinities is correct or not, is immaterial; our purpose is to show that the scenes are rendered and arranged with care the giants may all be much the same, yet that sameness often serves a purpose, as for instance to emphasise the three central scenes as one important group. The charge of meaningless repetition has been levelled against it as a proof of lateness, if not of forgery, and yet the Aristophanes cup, belonging to one of the most artistic ages, is quite as full of repetition. So close is the resemblance with this vase that we must suspect that the same sources were drawn on by both, even though the statue may be centuries later than the vase.

The only thing that balks our interpretation is the want of attributes—a trident for Poseidon, a thunder-bolt for Zeus; yet it is not unlikely that these were once present. On the back-ground essential details are often worked in so faintly that only very close examination reveals them—Artemis's right foot, Poseidon's drapery—and yet the anatomy of the figures is rendered with a view to effect at a distance, the essential shadows being deeply marked—almost impressionism in marble. The reconciler of all these disagreeing elements is colour—colour to supply for the absence of attributes, colour to render the faint work as visible as the 'impressionistic' work. We recall the Pergamene sculptural details on shield handle and sandal and the Prima Porta statue of Augustus with its elaborate cuirass that did retain its colours and we add our Athena to the list of those works wherein detailed carving seems to be the groundwork for painting, not a colourless substitute for the archaic drawing and painting.[73]

At last we find ourselves in a position to discuss the date and bring together the several strands we have spun. Our attempts must be based mainly on the band of decoration. Beyond the proportions of the statue as a whole, and the style of the Gorgon-head, which both point to the beginning of the fourth century at the earliest, there is little else to be had from the rest of the statue. The *motives* of the panels go back in part apparently to the fifth century, as for instance to the Theseum metopes; this is confirmed by vases with the same round of motives that date from the end of the fifth century (the Aristophanes and the Melian vases). At least one motive—the Apollo—would seem to be later; not earlier than the middle of the fourth century. The cuirass in the Ares panel

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[72] So deliberately in archaic vases (Reinach, *Rép. Vases*, 255 *bis*, 451, 452).

[73] How freely sculpture and painting could be interchanged in the late period has been recently proved by the extraordinary finds reported from Cyrene (*J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 301) of statues on which the lines were not carved but painted. With such documents as the Pagasae of the South-Russian tombstones, and the sarcophagi from Carthage (*Mon. Piot*, 1905), we are only now beginning to realise what share painting took in sculptural work in the later periods.

is of a type (rounded lappets) not in use till the fourth century; the Aristonautes stele and some Thessalian coins are probably our first monuments to show it. The Poseidon may well be influenced by the Demetrius coin which would bring the date down to the end of the fourth century. However, the examination of motives merely gives us a *terminus post quem*, for motives enjoyed notoriously long life in Greek art.

If we admit an hypothesis which would seem to be supported by an examination of the monuments, that the substitution of elaborate carved detail for the mere painting of ornament came in with the second-century Pergamene school, then of course we reduce the age of the copy by a century and a half and we have brought it to the period of our Egyptian analogy.

There is one general consideration which we have left over—what we shall call the metoped scheme, that is a system of decoration availing itself of metope-like fields. It appeared in the early archaic period on vertical strips, some of which in bronze are preserved to us;[75] but the Greek mind with its sense of decorative fitness seems to have abandoned it in favour of running patterns, maeanders, hunting scenes, horse-races. A striking confirmation is to be found by comparing the earlier decoration of the interior of the shield[76] with the later processional motive which develops itself along the available space.[77] As instances of the same feeling may be cited a relief from a quiver case,[78] a sword sheath,[79] and the haft and sheath of a dirk,[80] in all of which the figure decoration develops itself in a continuous band along the length of the object, even though the object ordinarily would hang vertically; all three are of good Greek workmanship.

Later, however, poverty in decorative skill, and love of stories more than of mere ornament apparently caused a reversion to the metope style. The earliest instance I can quote is the Smyrna terra-cotta tablet[81] of the second century B.C., where on either side of the central Cybele-aedicula are three metopes vertically over one another with dancing figures of fourth-century type. The great Mithraic monuments, of eclectic art but obviously owing much to Hellenistic work, are bordered or crowned with the metope scheme.[82] Then there is a series of monuments with Herakles motives; note especially a votive relief of the second century after Christ[83] closely resembling the Mithraic reliefs; here the labours of Herakles form the subjects in the border; the motives are descended from earlier works. The Heidenturm[84]

[75] Cp. the fields on the handles of the François vase (probably after a bronze model) and the Acropolis vase by Nearchus, Graef, Pl. XXXVI.

[76] Graef, Pl. XXXVI.

[77] The Bologna Krater, Furtwangler-Reichhold, 75, 76.

[78] *Rev. Arch.* 1896, Pl. XIV.

[79] *Arch. Anz.* 1902, 45.

[80] Dar.-Sagl. 58 and 59.

[81] Roscher, ii. 1650.

[82] See Cumont, ii., especially the large plates. Their motives, too, are of interest, for many of them are obviously taken from fifth-century work.

[83] Roscher, *sub* 'Omphale,' Fig. 7, Nat. Museum, Naples.

[84] *Journal of Roman Studies*, i. Pl. V. This article was set up before I saw Mrs. Strong's valuable paper. I can now only refer the reader to her notes on Mithra, p. 14 and the Igel Säule, pp. 24-26. The figures on the uprights in Plate V do not look like *putti*.

at Igel (third century after Christ) near Trèves has a zodiac circle on its front between two 'voided' pilasters divided into figured metopes like our strip; the subjects of these metopes look like a disjointed Gigantomachy. Similarly, parallel to the zodiac coins mentioned above, we find coins of Hadrianopolis under Gordian bordered shield-wise with the metoped labours of Herakles. In two cases, bases of statues have the labours in a similar setting of metopes.[88] Lastly the scabbard of the 'Tiberius' sword in the British Museum[89] may be contrasted with those of Greek work above. Other instances of the general reversion in later times to the metope design[90] might be cited, down to the consular diptychs, but the task would be as wearisome for the reader as for the compiler.

Our argument is not final; yet, having reason to believe that the style of decoration of the Chigi Athena was not derived directly from an archaic statue, but at most from a 'contaminatio' of two archaic styles, the selection of the figured metoped strip would be more likely to occur in the later period we have just reviewed, when instead of decorative *patterns*, a legend-cycle was preferred. The range of date is wide—from the middle of the second century B.C. to the second century after Christ or even later. For reasons that do not apply to the Athena we referred our Helios analogy to the later date, our Ptolemaic to the earlier. Here we prefer the earlier date, in the Pergamene period, when art patrons had a fondness for the old masters of Aegina,[91] and when art still felt free to modify while it copied.

After all is said, the statue remains but a copy; perhaps even the metopes are only the copy of a well-known series—if so, they would be all the more important. Still the study of such a monument is instructive, for it concentrates attention on questions of detail, which, if once solved beyond doubt, would set up another land-mark in the waste places of Graeco-Roman archaeology.

D. J. Finn.

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[88] A bronze (*Musée Borbonico*, vii. Pl. LXI.; the base, of Roman date, is later than the statue) and a suspect marble (*Ann. d. I.* 1854, p. 93, Fig. 23).

[89] *Guide to Grk. and Rom. Life*, p. 103, fig. 91.

[90] Cp. the different schemes adopted in different centuries to decorate (i) the sandals of Athena Parthenos (continuous battle scene), (ii) the Conservatori sandal (Lycosura, *J.H.S.* xxxi. 303), (iii) the base of Herakles' statue above. All presented the same problem. So did the Ephesus bases. The labours of Herakles appear metoped on a late sarcophagus to be contrasted with the continuous scenes of earlier monuments of the same shape.

[91] Cp. Pausanias, viii. 42. 7.

DASCYLIUM.

THE identification of the lakes of the Cyzicene and the determination of the site of Dascylium, the seat of the Hellespontine satraps, are problems which have worried every scholar who has had to deal with the history or geography of the district. They are inseparable, because not only the names themselves, but also the statements of our ancient authorities,[1] prove that Dascylium involves the neighbourhood of a Dascylite lake, and the Dascylite

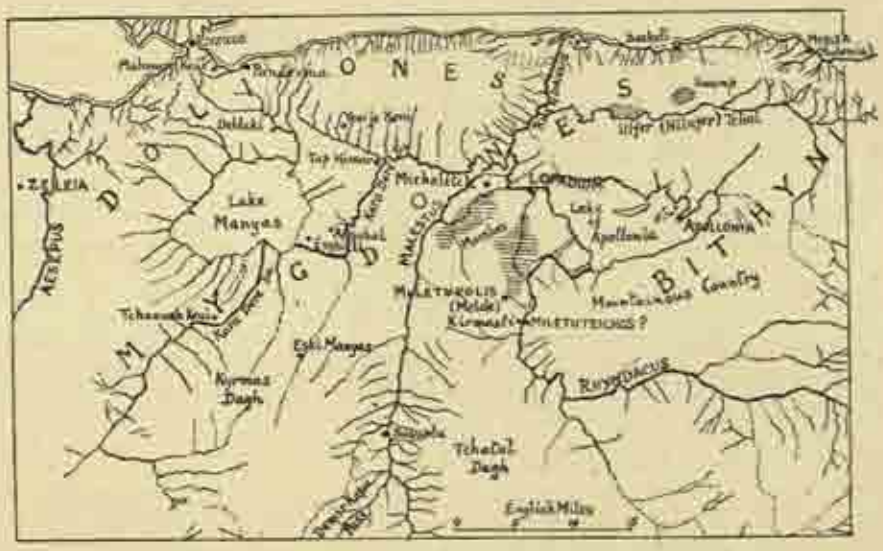

FIG. 1.—SKETCHMAP OF THE MYSIAN LAKELAND.

lake the neighbourhood of a Dascylium. Investigators have generally adopted one of two theories. Those who, like Dr. Richard Kiepert,[2] have started from a place Dascylium, have fixed it at Daskeli or Diaskeli (Yaskil, Eskil Liman), a roadstead and village on the coast midway between Mudania and the Rhyndacus, and have conjured up a vanished lake in the valley of the Ulfer

[1] *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, xvii. 3 (Oxford text). Strabo, 575. Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Δασκύλιον.
[2] *Klio*, v. 1905, p. 241.

or Nilufer a few miles to the south. Since the publication of Heinrich Kiepert's large map this view has become an accepted tradition, and still holds the field.[3] Those on the other hand who have started from a lake have usually found it in Lake Manyas, 10 or 12 miles south of Panderma, and have cast about for a site for Dascylium in its vicinity. Mr. F. W. Hasluck discusses the problems in his scholarly book on Cyzicus and the country adjacent to it,[4] and regards this latter solution as the more probable of the two, but hazards a conjecture that Dascylium is perhaps to be sought farther eastward near Brussa. Some new evidence which has lately accrued from the recently published *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* and from archaeological discoveries justifies a fresh examination of the questions.

It may be at once admitted that Δασκέλι represents, as the name suggests, an ancient Dascylium. Pliny (*N.H.* v. 142-3) after the Rhyndacus, his eastern limit of Asia, notes among the cities of Bithynia *in ore Dascylos*. Mela (I. xix.) moving eastwards from Cyzicus says, after passing Placia and Scylace and the Rhyndacus, *Trans Rhyndacum est Dascylos, et . . . Myrlea*. Ptolemy (*Geogr.* v. 1. 4) clearly sets Δασκύλιον with Prusias and Apamea, east of the mouth of the Rhyndacus, in Bithynia. This is doubtless the Dascylium noted by Stephanus περὶ Βιθυνίας. That it existed in the fifth century B.C. may be gathered from the Athenian 'Tribute lists' (*I.G.* I. 226, 230, 243), where it is catalogued as Δασκύλειον ἐν Προποντίδι. References given by Mr. Hasluck from mediaeval writers link up the ancient authorities to the modern Daskeli.

This Bithynian Dascylium therefore is satisfactorily located, and we may be thankful for a fixed point in the shifty topography of Mysia. Is there, we ask next, a possible Δασκυλῖτις λίμνη hereabouts? No lake now exists near Daskeli. But W. Regel[5] discovered, near a village bearing the suggestive name of Meletler or Miletler a few miles south of Daskeli in the valley of the Ulfer, a depression which in the wet season becomes swampy. W. Ruge[6] missed the spot on his journey down the valley, but found another marshy patch by the river, some miles lower down. It is therefore physically possible that there may once have existed a lake, evidently small and probably shallow, near enough to Dascylium to be called Dascylitis.

But it would be strange that such a lake in such a situation[7] should have acquired the celebrity of the Δασκυλῖτις λίμνη, which is mentioned by Hecataeus (Strabo 550), by the author of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (xvii. 3), several times by Strabo (575, 576, 587), and by Plutarch (*Lucull.* 9), as if it were a conspicuous landmark, the most obvious and notorious of the Mysian lakes, better known than the Dascylium from which it took its name. Moreover the Ulfer flows from east to west into the Rhyndacus, whereas

[3] It is adopted without question, e.g. by M. Ch. Dugas (*B.C.H.* xxxiv. 1910, p. 87) and by Dr. J. Solch (*Klio*, xi. 1911, p. 321).

[4] Pp. 45-7 and 55-8.

[5] Quoted by Dr. Kiepert, *l.c.* Regel's report was written in Russian.

[6] Petermann's *Mitheil.* 1892, p. 224.

[7] Cp. Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 44: "The Nilufer Chai . . . is comparatively unimportant . . . and its valley has never served as a highway for more than its own villages.

Hecataeus wrote ἐπὶ δ' Ἀλαζίᾳ πόλι ποταμὸς Ὀδρύσης ῥέων διὰ Μυγδονίης πεδίου ἀπὸ δύσιος ἐκ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Δασκυλίτιδος ἐς Ῥύνδακον ἐσβάλλει. The attempt to explain ἀπὸ δύσιος ἐκ τῆς λίμνης as 'westward of the lake' cannot be approved. Dr. Kiepert is driven to the desperate expedient of supposing that *west* is a slip for *east*. Further, the narrative of the new Hellenica shows that the Dascylite lake was not only itself navigable, which we knew from Plutarch,[8] but was also in navigable communication with the sea, for Pancalus sails up into it with his squadron of five triremes! But Mr. Hasluck expressly tells us (p. 44) that the Nilufer (Ulfer) is *not* navigable. Must we invoke the doctrine of μεταβολή[9]? or is there another lake which can better claim the title Dascylitis?

Now Strabo (586) discussing the boundary of the Troad quotes Homer (B. 824–5)—

> Οἳ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔναιον ὑπαὶ πόδα νείατον Ἴδης
> Ἀφνειοί, πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσήποιο,
> Τρῶες·

and adds τούτους δὲ ἐκάλει καὶ Λυκίους· Ἀφνειοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφνίτιδος νομίζουσι λίμνης· καὶ γὰρ οὕτω καλεῖται ἡ Δασκυλῖτις. Whether the explanation be right or wrong, the lake intended can be no other than Lake Manyas. Compare Stephanus (*s.v.* Ἄφνειον) ἡ λίμνη, ἡ περὶ Κύζικον. Ἀφνῖτις (although he wrongly identifies it with Artynia).

To Lake Manyas none of the objections apply which we have urged against the supposed lake on the Nilufer. It actually exists. It is a great sheet of water, lying not in an out-of-the-way valley, but in the centre of the open country south of Cyzicus, skirted by all the main roads from east to west and from north to south. A big river, the Kara Dere Su, flows out of it through a broad plain from the west into the Rhyndacus.[10] Both lake and river are navigated at the present day by sea-going fisher-boats. Strabo's statement is positive evidence that the lake bore the name Dascylitis. Plutarch's testimony is scarcely less clear. He records (*l.c.*) that during the siege of Cyzicus by Mithridates, Lucullus, who was encamped περὶ τὴν Θρᾳκίαν λεγομένην κώμην, carted a large boat overland from the Dascylite lake to the sea in order to communicate with the besieged. An inscription published by Mr. Hasluck[11] indicates that 'the Thracian village' was near Mahmum Keui, between Cyzicus and Panderma. The lake must obviously be Lake Manyas; and Mr. Hasluck tells us[12] that 'it is to-day the practice of the Cossack fishermen of Lake Manyas to cart their boats overland to the sea

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[8] *Lucull.* 9. τῆς Δασκυλίτιδος λίμνης πλευμένην ἀκατίοις ἐπιπολῆς ἐλευγέθεον.

[9] As Dr. Sieh seems inclined to do (*l.c.*).

[10] Mr. Hasluck (pp. 42-3) gives reasons for identifying the Kara Dere with a river Eubeilus or Empelus known from inscriptions and from Anna Comnena. But the identification does not preclude us from equating it with the Odryses of Hecataeus, for most of the rivers in the district changed their names.

Strictly, according to Strabo's and the modern nomenclature, the Rhyndacus receives the Macestus and the Macestus receives the Kara Dere. But the junctions are only a couple of miles apart, and perhaps Hecataeus would have said that the Odryses receives the Macestus.

[11] *J.H.S.* xxiv. p. 21. Cf. xxvi. p. 29.

[12] *Cyzicus*, p. 46, note 3.

at Panderma on trolleys built for the purpose, rather than to navigate the Kara-Dere to the Macestus, when the Black Sea fishing season commences.'

Why then, in spite of these very strong claims, is the name Dascylitis denied to Lake Manyas? One main reason is to be found in certain passages of Strabo. He starts his description of the Myso-Phrygian coastland from Mount Olympus and proceeds (575) Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ὄλυμπος τοιόσδε, περιοικεῖται δὲ πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Βιθυνῶν καὶ Μυγδόνων καὶ Δολιόνων, - - - - Δολίονας μὲν οὖν μάλιστα καλοῦσι τοὺς περὶ Κύζικον ἀπὸ Αἰσήπου ἕως Ῥυνδάκου καὶ τῆς Δασκυλίτιδος λίμνης, Μυγδόνας δὲ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς τούτοις μέχρι τῆς Μυρλειανῶν χώρας. This sentence has naturally been adduced in support of the Ulfer site for the lake, for the καί might well be corrective or amplificatory, and ἐφεξῆς might well mean 'next beyond in the same line.' But there are serious objections to this interpretation. First, there is practically no room for the Mygdones between the lake and the territory of Myrlea. Second, Hecataeus (as we have seen) puts the Μυγδονίης πεδίον between the Dascylite lake and the Rhyndacus. Third, if Mygdonia lay away beyond the Rhyndacus towards Myrlea, what sense is there in Strabo's remark (552) that Hecataeus placed Alazia, not near the sources of the Aesepus, but beyond its mouth? Fourth, how are we to explain Strabo's words (564) διορίσαι δὲ τοὺς ὅρους χαλεπὸν τούς τε Βιθυνῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Μυσῶν καὶ ἔτι Δολιόνων τῶν περὶ Κύζικον καὶ Μυγδόνων καὶ Τρώων, where ἔτι clearly divides the peoples into an eastern and a western group? We must rather suppose that the phrase ἕως Ῥυνδάκου καὶ τῆς Δασκυλίτιδος λίμνης gives the eastern and the *southern* limit of the Doliones (Rhyndacus and Lake Manyas), and that the three tribes are ranged, not in line along the coast, but diagonally to it, overlapping one another, *en échelon*: the Doliones between the lower Aesepus and the mouth of the Rhyndacus; the Mygdones, ἐφεξῆς, from the south of Lake Manyas to the *agor Myrleanus*; the Bithyni from the Lake of Apollonia to the head of the gulf of Cius. This interpretation falls in with the general scheme on which Strabo is describing the geography of Asia Minor, *e.g.* (574) τῶν ἐφεξῆς μέχρι τοῦ Ταύρου, (563) τὰ ἐξῆς τούτων τὰ πρὸς νότον μέχρι τοῦ Ταύρου. All through he is using ἐξῆς or ἐφεξῆς as equivalent to πρὸς νότον. He evidently fancies Cyzicus to be much more nearly north of Olympus than it really is, and pictures the coast as running north-west instead of almost due west.

This consideration helps us to understand the rest of the passage: ὑπέρκεινται δὲ τῆς Δασκυλίτιδος ἄλλαι δύο λίμναι μεγάλαι ἥ τε Ἀπολλωνιᾶτις ἥ τε Μιλητοπολῖτις· πρὸς μὲν οὖν τῇ Δασκυλίτιδι Δασκύλιον πόλις, πρὸς δὲ τῇ Μιλητοπολίτιδι Μιλητούπολις, πρὸς δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ Ἀπολλωνία ἡ ἐπὶ Ῥυνδάκῳ λεγομένη. Here again first impressions favour the Ulfer site. There are only two λίμναι μεγάλαι. The Apolloniatis is fixed by the Rhyndacus and by the known site of Apollonia (Abulliond). Lake Manyas therefore must be the Miletopolitis, and the supposed lake in the Ulfer valley would give a third, nearer to the sea than the two big lakes (ὑπέρκεινται), and close to a Dascylium. Nevertheless the arguments are not conclusive.

We postpone for the moment that drawn from Dascylium. Ὑπέρκεινται must be interpreted according to the context. Let the reader steadily bear in mind the orientation of Strabo's description, and realise that Cyzicus and Mount Olympus are, so to say, the poles of his topography, between which lie Doliones, Mygdones, Bithyni, like three superimposed strata from sea to mountain, and let him read the passage continuously as one whole. He will intuitively apprehend that the three lakes lie on this same meridional line, and that ὑπέρ means farther from Cyzicus and nearer to Olympus. (Compare *e.g.* 576 ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Ἐπικτήτου πρὸς νότον ἐστὶν ἡ μεγάλη Φρυγία.) Miletopolis must be placed, as the earlier road system and the ancient remains indicate, not at Michaliteh, a purely mediaeval foundation, but at Melde near Kirmasti.[13] Melde, seven or eight miles from the Lake of Apollonia, is nearly twenty from Lake Manyas, too far to give a name to it.[14] If vanished lakes are admissible, a large one may be plausibly conjectured in the marshy flat between Melde and Michaliteh, much of which is under water except at the dry season. A lake here would naturally be called Miletopolitis, and would fit Strabo's description without contravening any other authority or (so far as I know) submerging any ancient site. The *Miletopolitis limne* need not have been navigable; but it is perhaps singular that Strabo should be our sole witness to its existence, for Pliny's *stagnum Artynia juxta Miletopolim*, from which the Rhyndacus issues (*N.H.* v. 142) ought to be the Lake of Apollonia. Mr. Hasluck may therefore be justified in suspecting that Miletopolitis is in fact only another name for Apolloniatis, and owes its independence to some confusion of Strabo's. But either alternative relieves us of our difficulty. If the third lake is a figment, then Lake Manyas is certainly Dascylitis. If we must find a third lake, a Miletopolitis near Melde is a better hypothesis than a Dascylitis in the Ulfer valley.

Right or wrong, Strabo's conception is best illustrated from his own work. On his next page (576) he describes *from west to east* the extent of the Cyzicene territory. It comprises (1) in the Troad, west of the Aesepus, the district of Zeleia and the plain of Adrasteia; (2) the Δασκυλῖτις λίμνη, shared with the Byzantines; (3) in addition to this country about the lake (πρὸς τῇ Δολιονίδι καὶ τῇ Μυγδονίδι. Cf. 575 τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ Κυζικηνῶν νυνί), a large tract reaching μέχρι τῆς Μιλητοπολίτιδος λίμνης καὶ τῆς Ἀπολλωνιάτιδος αὐτῆς. It is surely clear from this passage that Strabo puts the Dascylitis westernmost (or rather, in his view, north-westernmost) of his three lakes, and that the supposed lake in the Ulfer valley, nearly due north of Apollonia, lies entirely outside his reckoning.

A fresh difficulty is raised by the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia (xvii. 3). Agesilaus advances westward from Cius through Coastland Phrygia. His

[13] I was gradually educated to this conclusion (*J.R.G.S.* 1897, pp. 155, 157; *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 272; xxi. p. 237) without knowing that it was to be found in Sestini's Letters published in 1785 (quoted by Hasluck p. 74). It has been accepted by Wiegand (*Ath. Mitth.* xxix. p. 363) and by Hasluck.

[14] There is no evidence that the Miletopolitid extended west of the Macestus. Ramsay's emendation (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 156) of Cedrenus ἐν τοῖς μετάποτε (I. 487 B.) cannot be upheld, v. Hasluck, pp. 92, 139 (after Tomaschek).

object, we gather, was to capture Dascylium, the *γαζοφυλάκιον* of Pharnabazus (cf. Xen. *Hell.* IV. i. 15, *ἐπὶ Δασκυλείου ἀπεπορεύετο*), and then seek winter quarters at Cyzicus (cf. *Hell. Oxy.* xvii. 2). On his way lay Μιλήτου Τεῖχος, which he attacked without success. Μιλήτου Τεῖχος can hardly be dissociated from Μιλήτου Πόλις. Yet the two need not be identical, for the fortress appears from the sequel to have barred the passage of the Rhyndacus, whereas the town lies two or three miles to the west of the river. Perhaps the castle of Kirmasti on the east bank, overhanging the Turkish bridge, may represent Μιλήτου Τεῖχος. At all events it is clear that Agesilaus, like Fimbria in the year 85 B.C., took the road along the *southern* shore of the Lake of Apollonia. Before Constantine built his bridge at Lopadium below the lake, the southern road was probably the main highway to the west. It has been plausibly connected with the *ὁδὸς βασιλικὴ ἡ ἀρχαία* which ran by Laodice's estate on the Aesepus.[15] If the Dascylium at which Agesilaus was aiming was at Daskeli, on the coast to the north of Apollonia, he chose a most improbable route to get there! But it would be his natural road to Lake Manyas.

So far, good. The difficulty meets us in the next sentence. Repulsed from Miletuteichos, Agesilaus *παιούμενος τὴν πορείαν παρὰ τὸν Ῥύνδακον ποταμὸν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὴν Δασκυλῖτιν λίμνην ὑφ' ᾗ κεῖται τὸ Δασκύλιον*. By following the Rhyndacus he would not arrive at either of the suggested Dascylite lakes! The narrative therefore is defective, and describes only the first stage of the march from Miletuteichos. Did Agesilaus turn up or down the Rhyndacus? M. Charles Dugas in a recent discussion of the campaign[16] lets him descend that river to the confluence of the Ulfer, and then ascend the Ulfer to the supposed lake near Daskeli. But M. Dugas, taking his geography on trust from Kiepert and Perrot, assumes that Μιλήτου Τεῖχος = Μιλητούπολις, and Μιλητούπολις = Michalitch. The course which he assigns to the march becomes much more improbable when we realise that Agesilaus had come by the *southern* road and reached the Rhyndacus above, not below, the lake of Apollonia. If Agesilaus marched down the Rhyndacus, he would in a few miles come to the lake, and have either to retrace his steps on an immense détour, or cross and afterwards recross the river, in order to gain the valley of the Ulfer. The passage of the river in face of the enemy would be difficult in summer, probably impossible later in the year, and the recrossing below the lake impossible at any season without boats. I adhere to my interpretation, that Agesilaus was bent on getting farther westward, and that his attack on Miletuteichos was an attempt to force a crossing of the Rhyndacus, perhaps by a bridge. I suggest that, foiled in that attempt, he marched *up* the river, effected his passage at a higher point, crossed the Macestus, probably above Susurlu, and gained Lake Manyas near its south-eastern corner.

Two observations may help to explain this march. In the first place

[15] Hamsonilliet, *Rev. philol.* xxv. p. 9; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.S.* 225; Wiegand, *l.c.* pp. 275-8; Haslack, p. 127.

[16] *B.C.H.* xxxiv. p. 87.

Agesilaus seems to have had with him only his Greek troops (*τοὺς Ἕλληνας*, *Hell. Oxy.* xvii. 3. But possibly the Mysian auxiliaries are included, *ibid.* 4). Spithridates and the Paphlagonians are not mentioned by the new historian as present, and in Xenophon's narrative do not appear until after Pharnabazus' surprise attack. In the second place the baggage train of Agesilaus was heavy with the plunder of Phrygia. He was obviously anxious about this loot, the main object of his raid and source of pay for his men, and at a loss how to carry it safe to the coast, for his first act on reaching the Lake of Dascylium is to send for Pancalus and his triremes to convey it securely by water to Cyzicus out of reach of Pharnabazus and his horsemen. Weak in cavalry and laden with spoil he probably preferred to avoid the great plains, intersected by deep swollen rivers and open to the enemy's charges.

The wholesome respect which he had learnt a year before for Pharnabazus' cavalry (Xen. *Hell.* III. iv. 13–15) governs the strategy of Agesilaus from beginning to end of the campaign. It explains why at the outset he turned aside through the mountainous and unprofitable country south of Olympus as soon as he got within striking distance of the satrap's army. It sends him to Paphlagonia to seek mounted auxiliaries and peltasts. One suspects that it dictated his halt at Cius (to give time for the Paphlagonians to come in touch with him behind *[]*[12] and his 'punishment' of the Mysians of Olympus (a pretext for avoiding the plain *[]*). He creeps along the foot of the hills towards his goal. Pharnabazus, who shows himself throughout a capable cavalry general, is determined not to let him cross the plains without fighting. Agesilaus by a characteristic dodge smuggles his booty through to Cyzicus, but venturing on to the low ground gets a severe lesson (Xen. *Hell.* IV. i. 17–19). The arrival of Spithridates and the Paphlagonians turns the tables, but their speedy defection leaves Agesilaus pinned between Lake Manyas and the Kyrmas Dagh. There follows the famous interview described, surely from his own recollection, by Xenophon (*Hell.* IV. i. 29–39, cf. *Anab.* V. iii. 6). Xenophon slurs over the practical side of the negotiation, but one may believe that Agesilaus was not sorry to escape from his uncomfortable situation with honours easy. He relinquished his attempt upon Dascylium, and if he got through to Cyzicus, it was upon terms. Let the reader judge whether our identification of the *Δασκυλῖτις λίμνη* does not yield a more probable and consistent construction of the campaign than the rival theory.

The hypothesis that the Dascylite lake was Lake Manyas has come creditably through the ordeal of these difficult passages. But where is the correlative Dascylium? It must be confessed that, whereas we have positive evidence that Daskeli was Dascylium, we cannot point to any definite site near Lake Manyas to which the name can be affixed. But in the first place there are almost insuperable objections to putting the satraps' capital at Daskeli. It is hard to believe that the Persian seat of government was on the coast, it is

[12] According to Xenophon (*Hell.* IV. i. 3) the Paphlagonian king left these reinforcements with Agesilaus when he took his leave, according to the new historian (xvii. 2) he sent them after him. The sequel favours the latter.

utterly incredible that it was included in the tributary cities of the Athenian empire.[9] In the second place there are clear indications of another Dascylium *somewhere* in the neighbourhood of Lake Manyas. Stephanus enumerates five towns of the name. The first three do not concern us. The fourth, *περὶ Βιθυνίαν*, has already been fixed at Daskeli. The fifth is *τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ Φρυγίας*, which must mean somewhere between the Aesepus and the Rhyndacus. We may compare Strabo's words (582) *εἶτ' Ἀρχέλαον υἱὸν ἐκείνου (Πενθίλου) περαιῶσαι τὸν Αἰολικὸν στόλον εἰς τὴν νῦν Κυζικηνὴν τὴν περὶ τὸ Δασκύλιον*. Quite conclusive is Xenophon's reference in his narrative of the first encounter of the cavalries of Agesilaus and Pharnabazus (*Hell.* III. iv. 13), *οὐ πόρρω δ' ὄντος Δασκυλείου, προιόντος αὐτοῦ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἥλαυνον ἐπὶ λόφου τινά, ὡς προϊδοιεν τί τἄμπροσθεν εἴη. κατὰ τύχην δέ τινα καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς . . . . . πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἤλαυνον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόφον*. To one who knows the country the λόφος is obviously the ridge south of Susurlu (possibly Aristides' 'ridge of Atys'), which divides the inland plain of Balukiser (*Ἀπίας πεδίον*) from the lowlands of the coast and is traversed by the great road from Pergamum to Cyzicus *viâ* the Macestus. The Dascylium of Pharnabazus therefore lay not far from the northern end of the pass. Daskeli is altogether too remote.

In spite of Strabo (575) and Stephanus it may be doubted whether this Dascylium could strictly be called a πόλις. The new Hellenica speak only of a fortress—*τὴν Δασκυλίτιν λίμνην ἐφ' ᾗ κεῖται τὸ Δασκύλιον, χωρίον ὀχυρὸν σφόδρα καὶ κατεσκευασμένον ὑπὸ βασιλέως*, where Pharnabazus stored his treasure. Xenophon (*Hell.* IV. i. 15) notices only the palace—*ἐπὶ Δασκυλείου ἀπεπορεύετο, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν Φαρναβάζῳ, καὶ κῶμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι*—but probably *βασίλεια* connotes a castle.

There are two natural strongholds in the vicinity of Lake Manyas, the Byzantine castles at Eski Manyas and Top Hissar. The former stands about nine miles to the south of the south-east corner of the lake, the latter about seven miles to the east of the north-east corner. Xenophon's omission of the lake from his description may imply some distance. He dwells upon the fertility of the country, the parks and chases full of game, the river full of fish, the abundance of birds for fowlers, the fine lodges and gardens. We note in passing that his mention of the river and silence as to the sea are another argument against Daskeli. His words suggest woodlands and orchards, but most of the country round Lake Manyas (like the Ulfer valley) is dismally bare of trees. There is some timber along the skirts of the southern hills, which is a point in favour of Eski Manyas. But the disappearance of these amenities need not surprise us. Pharnabazus himself explains it, when he reproaches Agesilaus with his devastation (Xen. *Hell.* IV. i. 33); and the proximity of Cyzicus, with the facilities for transport by water, accounts for anything that escaped the invader's camp-fires. The position of Eski Manyas close to the mouth of the pass agrees very well with the *οὐ πόρρω* of the

[9] The Dascylite satrapy was older than the Delian confederacy, v. Hdt. vi. 32, Thuc. i. 129.

cavalry encounter, but the expression might without undue stretching cover Top Hissar, some fifteen miles farther north. Both our authorities make Agesilaus pitch his camp at Dascylium (*Hell. Oxy.* xvii. 4, *κατεστρατοπεδευκὼς ταὶν στρατιώτας ἐκεῖθι*. Xen. *Hell.* IV. i. 16, *ἐνταῦθα διεχείμαζε*). If we have rightly interpreted his march, Eski Manyas is precisely the spot at which he would most naturally establish his quarters.

On the other hand our authorities may be speaking loosely. Agesilaus was out after plunder. He had scented the treasures of Pharnabazus from afar, and for two campaigns had been ravening round the approaches to Dascylium seeking a chance to rush in upon them. He must have attacked or besieged Dascylium, if it was at Eski Manyas. But no such attempt is mentioned. The omission is explained if Dascylium was at Top Hissar, beyond the reach of Agesilaus. Top Hissar has another advantage in the proximity of a big river. The Kara Dere, which leaves Eski Manyas half a dozen miles from its right bank, flows close under the castle hill at Top Hissar (Cf. Xen. *Hell.* IV. i. 16 *παρέρρει*[79] *ποταμός*). Moreover the new Hellenica place Dascylium *below* the lake. The *ὑπό*, whether used in the sense of 'down stream' or of 'nearer to the sea' (true for a boat, if not for a horse), fits Top Hissar, but not Eski Manyas. Further, Mr Hasluck (p. 118) gives reasons for supposing that the country about Top Hissar was the Lentiana of the Byzantines and that the castle must be the fortress known as *τὸ ἄστυ τῶν Λεντιανῶν*. He justly remarks that 'The character of the name suggests a large estate in the district—perhaps "(praedia) Lentiana," which may have occupied the eastern part of the Manyas plain.' One may conjecture that Lentiana was the well defined territory in the bend of the Kara Dere, bounded south and east by the river, north by the tributary which joins it at Top Hissar, and west by the lake and the Debleki Tchai. If a Roman imperial estate existed there, it may have been inherited from the kings, Greek and Persian.

If we must choose one or the other, the balance of evidence favours Top Hissar rather than Eski Manyas. But it is also possible that the strength of Dascylium consisted not in the steepness of the ground, but in the walls and the river which defended it. The neighbouring fortress of Lopadium, which guarded Constantine's bridge on the Rhyndacus and played a great part in the Byzantine wars, stands in a flat plain without other defences than these.

Wheresoever the exact site may prove to be, the literary testimony indicates that Dascylium is to be sought near the eastern or south-eastern shores of Lake Manyas. Now certain monuments have recently come to light in this region, which show strong Persian influence, and may perhaps date from the time of Pharnabazus. 'Travelling in 1894 with W. C. F. Anderson and H. M. Anthony, I saw and photographed at Yenije Keui, midway between Michalitch and Panderma, a marble slab (measuring about 5 feet × 2½ × 1) sculptured with a relief of three horsemen in oriental garb galloping (to right) over two prostrate figures dressed in caps and

[79] So cod. Paris. B. The var. lect. *περιέρρει* would also be appropriate in a wider sense.

breeches of a fashion which reminded me of the modern Montenegrins. The horsemen wear conical headdress, and seem to hold spears poised in their uplifted right hands. Their legs are encased in what appear to be fortified saddles, from which their feet project below. They carry rectangular shields, unless these are really casemates, of a piece with the leg-guards, to protect the left side. The leader is a dignified bearded man. The horses and general type of the relief recalled to me the early Lycian friezes, but the style I judged to be quite a century later. The slab lay flat on its back in a garden, and my photograph (Fig. 2), here published for what it is worth, does not satisfactorily render the scene. I briefly noticed the find in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, February 1897. I remember giving to the subject, when we first saw the stone, the mock title of 'Pharnabazus heading a charge of cavalry,' and its possible connexion with the satrap's palace has often recurred to my mind.

A single stray relief is a poor foundation for a theory, but meanwhile other kindred monuments have been discovered in the same neighbourhood

Fig. 2.—Relief seen at Yenije Kevi.

Mr. Hasluck some years ago published (*J.H.S.* xxvi. Plate VI.) a sculptured *stele* found at Tchaoush Keui on the Kara Dere, south of Lake Manyas. It bears two reliefs. The upper, which represents a horseman spearing a boar, shows many striking resemblances to the Yenije Keui slab, both in the general flat treatment of the relief, and in details, such as the horse's tail. Mr. Hasluck, following a suggestion from Mr. G. F. Hill, has pointed out (p. 27) traces of Persian influence.

Most important of all are the three reliefs discovered last year at Erghili by Macridy Bey, who is about to publish them, I understand, in the Bulletin de correspondance hellénique. They are now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, and I owe my knowledge of them entirely to M. Gustave Mendel, who has very kindly sent me photographs. Two of them represent equestrian processions, and display obvious analogies to the Lycian reliefs, and several points of contact with the monuments just mentioned. The third shows two typical Persian figures, and in style suggests comparison

with the lower relief of the Tchaoush Keui *stele* and with the relief (also at Constantinople) published by M. Perdrizet in the *Revue archéologique*, 1903, Pl. XIII.

Erghili is situated near the south-east corner of Lake Manyas, in the bend of the Kara Dere, close to the point at which it issues from the lake. It will be observed that, whereas Yenije Keui lies near Top Hissar and Tchaoush Keui near Eski Manyas, Erghili is just about mid-way between the two castles. At Aksakal a couple of miles to the north-east is the great tumulus described by Wiegand,[29] which surely invites excavation.

To sum up. Lake Manyas has extremely strong claims to be the Dascylite lake, and they are not weakened but corroborated by a close examination of certain passages in our ancient authorities which seemed to present difficulties. There is reason to suppose that the Dascylium of the Hellespontine satraps lay somewhere near the eastern shores of Lake Manyas, and this hypothesis is confirmed by archaeological evidence of Persian influence in that quarter. On the other hand the Bithynian Dascylium at Daskeli does not suit the references in the ancient historians to the satraps' capital, its lake in the Ulfer valley (if it existed) cannot have been the famous Lake of Dascylium, its position on the coast and especially its inclusion in the Athenian empire make the identification almost impossible.

Mr. Hasluck's suggestion that the Dascylium of Pharnabazus may perhaps be sought near Brussa does not seriously compete with these two sites, and need not be discussed. It was evidently made before he had seen the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*.

J. A. R. Munro.

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[29] *Ath. Mitth.* xxix. p. 256.

THE FARMER'S LAW.

II.

In a former number of this periodical (Vol. XXX., pp. 85 f.) I brought out a revised text of the *νόμος γεωργικός*.[1] In this article I propose to discuss some of the problems which it raises and to add a translation. The account which Zachariä von Lingenthal gave of the law in his *Geschichte des Griechisch-römischen Rechts*, 3rd ed., pp. 249–57, has formed the basis of most later studies on the subject[2] and his opinion of its origin and scope has been generally followed. To take only one example, Albert Vogt in his work on Basil the First (Paris, 1908) accepts all the views of Zachariä and deduces from them various interesting but, in my opinion, ill-grounded conclusions. For I have the misfortune to differ from Zachariä in three important particulars. We differ first, as to the origin of the Law, secondly, as to the legal position under it of the agricultural classes, and thirdly, as to the economical character of the two forms of tenancy which it refers to. It will facilitate the discussion of these points if I preface it by an analysis of the Law and a sketch of the state of society which, as I read it, it presents.

In the version of the Law which is given at the end of Harmenopulus it is divided into ten *τίτλοι* and in some MSS. a *προοίμιον* is prefixed. In the original text, as my readers have seen, there is neither *προοίμιον* nor *τίτλοι*. In the original text there is only one trace of a division. In all my MSS. the words *περὶ ἀγελαρίων* are put at the head of c. 23, and this heading no doubt comprehends the chapters down to c. 29 inclusive.[3] Notwithstanding the want of *τίτλοι*, it is not so difficult as some scholars have found it to

[1] I take this opportunity of correcting a few misprints in the last article. P. 91, line 11, *δόντων*, read *δόντων*; p. 99, line 3, *μορτιτῆς*, read *μορτίτης*; line 29, *ἐφημεριδίκιον*, read *ἐφημεριδίκιον*; line 41, *ἀμελήσας*, read *ἀμελήσας*; *ἀμισσωτῆι*, read *ἀμισσωτῆς*; line 43, *αὐτῶ*, read *αὐτῷ*; p. 100, line 34, *αἶον*, read *οἷον*; line 42, *ἀπόμι*, read *ἀπόμι* P; p. 105, line 32, *καὶ* *ες*, read *καίουσες*.

[2] As I do not know Russian, I am unable to estimate the importance of the numerous articles and books which Russian scholars have written on this subject. My only acquaintance with their work is derived from a useful analysis of it by P. A. Palmieri, *A proposito dell' economia agraria dell' impero Bizantino* in *Rivista storico-critica delle scienze teologiche, Anno II.*, pp. 201–6, Rome, 1906 (I am indebted for this reference to Mr. Norman H. Baynes).

[3] There are one or two more headings in isolated MSS. See my *apparatus criticus* at $\overline{\text{νδ}}$ $\overline{\text{ξγ}}$ $\overline{\text{ξε}}$ and $\overline{\text{οδ}}$.

detect the system on which the chapters were arranged. Up to c. 66 the Law deals with three subjects in succession: first, the cultivation of the ground; secondly, cattle, large and small; thirdly, the produce of the land, agricultural implements, and farm-buildings. The following is a detailed analysis of these chapters:—

1–22. Cultivation of the ground, and relations of the farmers one to another.
- 1. Preservation of boundaries between farms.
- 2–5. Exchanges of farms.
- 6–8. Controversies as to ownership.
- 9–10. Relation of *μορτίτης* to grantor of land.
- 11–15. Tenancy on the footing of a share in the produce.
- 16. Cultivation of land at a salary.
- 17 and 20. Cultivation of woodland.
- 18, 19. Payment or non-payment of taxes by farmer.
- 21. Building or planting on another's land.
- 22. Thefts of agricultural implements.

23–55. Dealings with cattle, large and small, and with dogs.
- 23–9. Neatherds and their treatment of cattle entrusted to them.
- 30 and 33–5. Thefts of cowbell, fruit, milk, or fodder.
- 31, 2. Trees.
- 36–44. Unlawful dealings with oxen and other animals.
- 45–7. Unlawful dealings of slaves with animals.
- 48–54. Trespasses by cattle.
- 55. Killing of sheep-dogs.

56–66. Produce of the land, agricultural implements, and farm-buildings.
- 56–60. Burnings, cuttings or uprootings of crops, hill-sides, trees, fences, vines, etc.
- 61. Trespasses in vineyards and figyards.
- 62, 63. Thefts or burnings of agricultural implements.
- 64, 65. Burnings of farmhouses, etc.
- 66. Destruction of farmhouses under claim of right.

It must be admitted that the arrangement is not quite perfect. For, first, if we take the Law as a whole, it does not go outside the *χωρίον* or district. It deals, taken as a whole, with the reciprocal relations of the farmers inside the *χωρίον*. Where an exchange takes place, it is an exchange of land within the *χωρίον*; where there is a tenancy it is a holding of one farmer within the *χωρίον* from another; where a farmer neglects to pay his taxes, the result is only considered so far as it affects other farmers within the *χωρίον*. All the offences punished by the Law are offences which may take place within a *χωρίον*. Now there are a few chapters the legal effects of which necessarily extend beyond the limits of a single *χωρίον*. These are, c. 7, which refers to a controversy between two *χωρία*, and chapters 9 and 10, which refer to the relations between the *μορτίτης* and his grantor. Secondly,

the chapters which deal with trees (31, 32) and one of those which deal with theft (c. 33) are not in place. They have nothing to do with cattle.

After c. 66, the chapters are put in rather at random. Chapters 67 and 81–4 deal with the cultivation and user of the land; cc. 68–70 and 80 with the produce of the land; and cc. 71–9 with cattle or other animals subservient to cultivation. It is not uncommon in mediaeval codes to find a group of chapters at the end of the code which seem to have been placed there without any regard to order, and, where this is so, we are entitled to infer either that this group of chapters represents a later addition to the original code, or that the compilers of the code, in the form in which we possess it, had before them several documents from which they drew their materials, and that the later chapters come from another source or other sources than the earlier ones. With the Farmer's Law the latter hypothesis is alone possible. Now, where a code is compiled from existing material, we are apt to find several chapters which resemble one another very closely in their language and provisions. This is so because compilers are unwilling to let anything pass which belongs to their subject. If they have, for instance, two pre-existing codes to work upon, their task is easy so long as the provisions of the two are in substance identical: they put the longer and more elaborate form into their compilation. Where the two are inconsistent, a choice has to be made: one is taken and the other left. But where a provision in one supplements a provision in the other or only diverges slightly from it, the compilers of the new code generally insert both, either putting one immediately after its corresponding form, or putting together at the end all the provisions which are more or less superfluous but which they cannot bear to relinquish. Let the reader compare c. 22 and c. 62; c. 38, c. 48 and c. 85; c. 49 and c. 53; c. 55 and c. 75; c. 59 and c. 80, and he will be convinced that the Farmer's Law, as it stands, is made up out of two or more pre-existing bodies of agricultural law.

Although the Farmer's Law is so made up, the result which it presents is on the whole consistent. The picture of agricultural life which it gives is shortly the following.

The country is divided into *χωρία*, which may be translated as districts. All the landowners within a district are cultivating farmers. If a farmer has not the means to cultivate his own land, he may let it to a more prosperous neighbour: but there is no trace, except in cc. 9 and 10, to which I shall return hereafter, of a large landowner not himself cultivating the land but living outside the district and receiving rent from the actual cultivator. Each district forms a unit for fiscal purposes; that is to say, each and all of the farmers of the district are responsible for the taxes of the whole district, and if one farmer fails to pay his due proportion, it has to be made good by the others.

Within each district, the whole of the land is originally common. Then a division takes place: part is divided into lots, which are allocated among the members of the community. A division may be set aside on the ground of injustice (c. 8), but this provision does not necessarily imply that each lot

is equal in value. The first division does not always extend to the whole of the land within the district. The Law contemplates the possibility of successive partial divisions (cc. 32, 81, 82). The land which has not been divided remains common-land (cc. 80, 81); perhaps the grazing-land within the district was always common, each farmer having rights of pasturage over it. The whole body of occupying farmers is described as the commoners (*οἱ κοινωνοί*) or commonalty (*ἡ κοινότης*) of the district (c. 81). The owner of a lot is sometimes spoken of in the plural; the lot was evidently conceived as belonging to the family rather than to the individual (cc. 2, 13, 15, 21, 32).

A lot might contain cornland, vineyard, figyard (c. 61), vegetable garden (c. 50), woodland (cc. 22, 39, 40, 56), and uncultivated land (c. 57). The chief products were corn and wine; the olive is never mentioned. Vineyards and gardens were marked off by fences and trenches (cc. 50, 51, 58); there does not seem to have been any separation between the cornfields (c. 1). There is nothing to show whether a lot might be composed exclusively of land of one sort, or whether each farmer received a share of cornland, another of vineyard, etc.

A district contained not only peasant-proprietors and their families, but also hirelings and slaves. There are references to wages in the case of the neatherd (c. 25), the watcher of the crops (c. 33), and the shepherd (c. 34). And c. 10 refers, in my opinion, to a farmer who cultivates another's land at a salary. It is possible that in some of these cases the hireling was a slave, whose wages went to his master. It is clear that a neatherd might be a slave (cc. 71, 72). On the other hand, the neatherd in c. 25 must be free, as he is responsible for the damage done by the animals under his care.

A farmer's power of disposition over his lot was apparently limited to dealings with another farmer of the same district. He could exchange his lot with him either for a season or in perpetuity; he might let his lot to him or hire him to cultivate it. But there is no trace of a power of sale to outsiders.

I proceed to the three points on which I differ from Zachariä.

I. According to him the Farmer's Law is a work of the Isaurian Emperors, Leo and Constantine, and was published either contemporaneously with, or soon after the Ecloga (*Op. cit.*, p. 250). He bases this view on certain similarities partly in phraseology and partly in matters of substance between the two works. That there is a general resemblance both in style and vocabulary cannot be denied; for instance, in our c. 7 we have *τηρείτωσαν οἱ ἀκροαταί* and in Ecloga xvii, 17 *συγκρινέτωσαν οἱ ἀκροαταὶ καὶ τηρείτωσαν τὰ ὄργανα*; in our c. 70 we have *τιμπτέσθωσαν ὡς ἀσεβεῖς* and in Ecl. xvii, 18 *ἀιρέσθω ὡς ἀσεβής*. But these resemblances prove nothing more than that the two works were composed at about the same time. Resemblances in phraseology quite as striking could be found between the Farmer's Law and the Byzantine papyri of the seventh and eighth centuries. They only prove—what needs no proof—that lawyers of the same epoch use the same phrases.

It remains to consider the agreements of substance which Zachariä brings forward. Now all these agreements of substance between the Farmer's Law and the Ecloga are due, as I hope to show, to borrowings by both from the Code, Digest, and other authorities of Roman law. And the fact that two bodies of law both draw from a common original is no evidence that the two are themselves due to the same author. It is only evidence that the original was known, directly or indirectly, to both. Moreover, although there is a superficial agreement in several points between the Farmer's Law and the Ecloga, it will be found on closer examination not only that this agreement, so far as it extends, is in doctrines borrowed from Roman law, but also that, even where there is a general agreement, there are such differences of detail between the two works as strongly suggest that the Roman law filtered down to them through different channels. If it can be shown that the authors of the Ecloga and the authors of the Farmer's Law got their Roman law from different sources, this discrepancy can only be accounted for in one of two ways. Either the Farmer's Law and the Ecloga are the work of different hands, or the authors of the Ecloga, if they also composed the Farmer's Law, based it on earlier materials which they were not at the pains to render consistent with their other legislation.

I take Zachariä's points one by one. (α) He compares Ecloga xvii. 7 with our c. 37. What the Farmer's Law lays down with reference to an ox is laid down in the Ecloga with reference to a horse: but the provision is not peculiar to these authorities. They simply reproduce Roman law, and provisions of a similar character are found in other Byzantine authorities and in many of the Germanic codes. Gaius, iii. 196, si quis utendam rem acceperit eamque in alium usum transtulerit furti obligatur. neluti . . . si quis equum gestandi gratia commodatum longius secum aliquo duxerit; Inst. iv. 1, 6; Dig. xlvii. 2, 40, pr. qui iumenta sibi commodata longius duxerit . . . inuito domino . . . furtum facit; Dig. xlvii. 2, 77 (76), pr., Proch. xxxix. 50; Epanagoge, xl. 78; L. Visig. viii. 4, 1 and 2, with Zeumer's note.

(β) Zachariä compares Ecloga xvii. 40 with our c. 57 and Ecloga xvii. 41 (latter part) with our c. 56. The resemblance in both cases is very close, but in both cases the provisions simply repeat Roman law. Ecloga xvii. 40 and our c. 57 are based on Cod. iii. 35, 1 damnum per iniuriam datum immisso in siluam igne uel excisa ea, si probari potest, actione legis Aquiliae utere; Dig. xlvii. 7, 7, 7 condemnatio autem eius (*i.e.* the actio arborum furtim caesarum) duplum continet; Paul. Sent. ii. 31, 24 (25) siue seges per furtum siue quaelibet arbores caesae sint, in duplum eius rei nomine reus conuenitur. Again, Ecloga xvii. 41 (latter part) and our c. 56 are based on Dig. ix. 2, 30, 3, 4, of which indeed the passage in the Ecloga is an almost literal translation.[4]

(γ) Zachariä compares Ecloga xvii. 47 with our c. 29. The resemblance

[4] It is worth noticing that the version in the *Ecloga* agrees very closely with the version of Dorotheus given in Σχὰ. Βασ., ix. 3, 30, 3 (V. 5, p. 304, Heimbach).

is not close. The Ecloga lays down that where in a scuffle one of the parties is killed *διὰ ξύλων τελείων ἢ καὶ λίθων μεγάλων ἢ καὶ λαχτέων* the slayer loses his hand; if the man was killed *δι' ἐλαφροτέρων τινῶν*, the slayer is beaten and banished. In the Farmer's Law the distinction is between killing an ox with a staff and killing him with a stone.

(δ) But what Zachariä lays most stress upon is the similarity of punishments in the Ecloga and the Farmer's Law and especially the large use in both of mutilation. The learned man, in his desire to claim originality for his iconoclastic favourites, goes rather too far in ascribing to them the introduction into the penal code of various kinds of disfiguring punishment. A characteristic of the Ecloga, according to him, is 'ein ausgebildetes System von verstümmelnden Leibesstrafen' (*Op. cit.* p. 331). He has to admit that even in the time of Justinian and earlier such punishments were occasionally inflicted by the magistrate *extra ordinem*; his point is that they did not enter into the normal penal system until the advent of the Isaurian dynasty. They form part of the humanitarian reform—the *ἐπιδιόρθωσις εἰς τὸ φιλανθρωπότερον*—of his heroes (*Op. cit.* p. 333). In Byzantine law mutilation as a form of punishment is based on several principles. One is that of punishing the offending member, as when you cut out the perjurer's tongue. Another is that of disfiguring the person in cases where the comeliness of the person may be supposed to have facilitated the offence, as when you cut off the nose for some aggravated forms of unchastity. Another principle is that of giving an appropriate *solatium* to the person wronged, as when you put out the eye of a man who has gouged out another's. The punishments of the Farmer's Law are all evidently based on the first principle. Now, as far back as Galen's time, the principle of concentrating the punishment on the offending member was applied by masters to unruly slaves. De placitis Hippocr. et Plat. vi. 9 *sub fin.* (ed. Kühn, v. p. 584) *οὕτω γὰρ εἰώθασι καὶ νῦν ποιεῖν οἱ τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας οἰκέτας καταδικάζοντες τῶν μὲν ἀποδιδρασκόντων τὰ σκέλη καίοντες τε καὶ κατασχάζοντες καὶ παίοντες τῶν δὲ κλεπτόντων τὰς χεῖρας . . . ἁπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνα κολάζοντες τὰ μορίᾳ δι' ὧν ἐνεργοῦσι τὰς μοχθηρὰς ἐνεργείας.* A main development of the later criminal jurisprudence consisted in the application of servile punishments to freemen. The *γεωργοί*, the free-farmers dealt with in the Farmer's Law, belonged to the class of *tenues* or *humiliores* who were put, for the purposes of criminal justice, on substantially the same level as slaves. Dig. xlviii. 19, 28, 11 igni cremantur plerumque servi . . . nonnunquam etiam liberi plebeii et humiles personae; xlviii. 19, 10, pr. They were subjected to the arbitrary jurisdiction of the magistrate *extra ordinem*. Dig. xlviii. 19, 13 hodie licet ei, qui extra ordinem de crimine cognoscit, quam uult sententiam ferre, uel graniorem uel leuiorem, ita tamen ut in utroque moderationem non excedat. The form of mutilation which occurs most commonly in the Farmer's Law—cutting-off the hand which had been used for an evil purpose—goes back to the first century. Suet. Claud. 15 proclamante quodam praecidendas falsario manus carnificem statim . . . adciri flagitauit; Galb. 9 numulario non ex fide uersanti pecunias manus amputauit mensaeque eius adfixit; Lamprid. Alex.

Sever. 28 eum notarium qui falsum causae breuem . . . rettulisset incisis digitorum neruis . . . deportauit. While it is true, as Mommsen says (*Strafrecht*, p. 982), that these are acts of arbitrary authority, at least they show the tendency; and it is clear that by the time of Justinian cutting-off hand or foot had become in certain cases a normal punishment. Nov. xvii. 8 *ἀπειλῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ ζημίαν μεγάλην καὶ χειρὸς ἀφαίρεσιν*; xlii. 1, 2 *εἰδότος ὡς ἀποκοπὴ χειρὸς ἔσται τοῖς τὰ ἐκείνου γράφουσιν ἢ ποινή*; cxxxiv. 13 *ἀπαγορεύομεν ἑκατέρας τὰς χεῖρας ἢ καὶ πόδας τέμνεσθαι*. It is possible, as Zachariä suggests (*Op. cit.* p. 332), that the wide extension of disfiguring punishments under the Christian emperors may have been due to a misapplication of the precepts contained in Mark ix. 43–8, Matthew v. 29, 30, xviii. 8, 9. Where the sinner is recommended to cut off an offending hand or foot or to pluck out an offending eye, the public authority may have felt itself justified in doing for him what he was reluctant to do for himself.

Of mutilations, besides cutting-off the hand, our Law recognizes cutting-out the tongue for perjury (c. 28), and blinding a thief in aggravated cases (cc. 42, 68, 69). I know of no early instances where these punishments were inflicted for these offences, but both cutting-out the tongue (Theoph. p. 111, 17 De Boor, 95 Paris, 172 Bonn), and blinding (Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 982, n. 2, 3) were recognized punishments long before the Isaurian emperors.

Other corporal punishments mentioned in the Farmer's Law are the lash, burning for incendiaries in aggravated cases, the gallows for serious crimes by slaves, and branding on the hand. Burning and the gallows may be shortly dismissed. The Roman law burnt incendiaries where the incendiary fire took place *intra oppidum* (Dig. xlviii. 19, 28, 12); and the same punishment was inflicted on coiners (Cod. ix. 24, 2). In Roman Law the *furca* was a regular punishment of slaves (Dig. xlviii. 19, 28, pr.). As regards branding, the expression *σφραγιζέσθω ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ* occurs once in our Law (c. 58). There is nothing similar in the Ecloga. It evidently means that the hand is to be marked with a cross. In classical times, only one offence, *calumnia*, is visited with branding, and no instance is known in which the punishment was applied (Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 495). But fugitive slaves are branded (Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*[2], p. 184, n. 4) and criminals condemned *in metallum* (Cod. ix. 47, 17 a constitution of Constantine which forbids branding on the face, while permitting it *et in manibus et in suris*). The gloss *ἐκστραυρδινεύεται. σφραγίζεται* (*Veterum glossae verborum juris*, Paris, 1606, p. 29) suggests that in the criminal procedure *extra ordinem* branding played as great a part as the lash.

The lash is frequently referred to both in the Ecloga and in the Farmer's Law, but there are distinctions between the two works as to its application. One is that the instrument in the Ecloga is the *ἀλλακτόν*, in the Farmer's Law the *μάστιξ*. Now the *ἀλλακτόν* is the fustis, the *μάστιξ* the scutica or lorum (Ducange, *s.v. ἀλλακτόν*; Reiske, *ad Const. Porph. de Cerim.*, ii. p. 53 ed. Bonn.). Another distinction is as to the number of blows inflicted. In the Ecloga, it is six (xvii. 20) or twelve

(xvii. 1, 19); in our Law, twelve (cc. 76, 77), thirty (cc. 78, 79), or one hundred (cc. 68, 69, 75).

I have now gone through the principal points of resemblance which Zachariä finds between the Farmer's Law and the Ecloga. It is obvious that they do not go very deep. It remains to point out some inconsistencies between the two works.

(*α*) Chapter 6 of our Law, like chapters 66 and 80, is intended to prevent people from taking the law into their own hands and is entirely in accordance with the legislation of Justinian and with the earlier law. It lays down two rules. (1) A farmer who has a claim on a field and who enters forcibly and reaps the crop loses what he has reaped, even though his claim was well founded. (2) If he had no claim, he must restore the crop and as much again. Cp. Theod. ii. 26, 2; iv. 22, 3; Nov. Valent. viii. 1, 3; Cod. Inst. iii. 39, 4; viii. 4, 7; Ed. Theoder. 10; L. Visig. viii. 1, 2. The rule in the Ecloga is different. A man who takes possession of an object without judicial sentence loses it if it was his own: if it was not, he is flogged (xvii. 5).

(*β*) As to incendiaries, the Ecloga lays down (xvii 41): *οἱ διά τινας ἔχθρας ἢ ἁρπαγὰς πραγμάτων ἐμπρησμὸν ἐν πόλει ποιοῦντες πυρὶ παραδιδόσθωσαν· εἰ δὲ ἔξω πόλεως χωρία ἢ ἀγροὺς ἢ οἰκίας ἀγρῶν ἐξεπίτηδες ἐμπρήσωσι ξίφει τιμωρείσθωσαν.* This passage is a translation of Dig. xlviii. 19, 28, 12. Cp. Dig. xlvii. 9, 12, 1; Paul. Sent. v. 20, 1, 2; Paul. in Coll. xii. 6, 1. The distinction made by all these authorities and followed in the Ecloga is between burning *intra oppidum*, *in oppido*, *in civitate*, and burning a *casa aut villa*. It is only an incendiary *intra oppidum* who is burnt alive or thrown to wild beasts. All incendiary fires in the Farmer's Law are necessarily *extra oppidum*; yet none the less it provides (c. 64) that those who out of revenge set fire to a threshing-floor or stacks of corn—*ἐν ἅλωνι ἢ ἐν θημωνίαις*—are burnt alive, while (c. 65) those who set fire to a place where they keep hay or chaff—*ἐν οἴκῳ χόρτου ἢ ἀχύρου*—lose their hands. It is not easy to see why the penalty in the one case should be so much more severe than in the other. Perhaps the threshing-floor here is the public threshing-floor of the village, which was used in common by all the farmers (P. Leipzig, 19, line 24, with Mitteis' note; P. Strassburg, 10, line 20, with Preisigke's note)*, while the *οἶκος χόρτου ἢ ἀχύρου* is simply the barn of the individual farmer (B.G.U. 606, *αὐλὴν βοῶν ἐν ᾗ κέλλαι δύο πρὸς ἀπόθεσιν ἀχύρου καὶ χόρτου*). In that case c. 64 would refer to a vindictive attack upon a village by the inhabitants of another village, while c. 65 would refer to an attack upon one farmer by another. It is possible that c. 64 is merely a reminiscence of Dig. xlvii. 9, 9, *qui aedes aceruumue frumenti iuxta domum positum combusserit, uinctus uerberatus igni necari iubetur*

* In *B.G.U.* 651 (A.D. 192) a man complains that his threshing-floor has been burnt by unknown persons—*διεφθάρθη μου ἅλως ὑπό τινων ἀδήλων καὶ ἀγνῶν*. This is evidently a private threshing-floor. In the LXX. and Byzantine writers ἅλως is sometimes used in the plural of corn in stacks: Exod. xxii. 6; Dreras, *Hist. Byz.* 34, p. 246, Bonn.

si uero scius prudensque id commiserit.[8] For the present purpose it is enough to point out the wide difference between the Farmer's Law and the Ecloga. The severity of the former may be paralleled from Ed. Theoder. 97, *qui casam domum aut villam alienam* (*i.e.* the casa or villa as opposed to the oppidum) *inimicitiarum causa incenderit, si seruus colonus ancilla originarius* (*i.e.* substantially the class to which the Farmer's Law extends) *fuerit, incendio conuenietur.*

(γ) Ecloga xvii. 13, deals with *ἀπελασία*. For the first offence the punishment is a beating, for the second banishment, for the third cutting-off the hand. The beasts that have been driven away must of course be restored. This is remarkable leniency for so serious an offence. The classical law was much more severe (Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 775) and the Farmer's Law follows in substance the classical authorities. Ἀπελασία by a freeman is punished with blinding (c. 42), by a slave with the gallows (cc. 46, 47). In c. 41 the theft of a single ox or ass is treated, in strict accordance with Roman law (Dig. xlvii. 14. 1, 1), as simply theft; that is to say, it is punished with whipping and the replacement of twice the value.

(δ) The Ecloga in dealing with injuries done by animals or slaves follows the Roman law, under which the owner of the offending animal or slave had the choice between making good the damage done and handing over the animal or slave to the party injured (Ecloga xvii. 9, which is a translation of Dig. ix. 1, 1, 11; Ed. xvii. 12). The Farmer's Law has a good deal to say about injuries done by animals and by slaves; but it never refers to the possibility of noxae deditio.

(ε) Where the Farmer's Law refers to witnesses, it refers vaguely to two or three (c. 3, and perhaps c. 28): see my apparatus criticus. This is an ecclesiastical phrase—'unjuristisch' as Bruns says in his commentary on the Syro-Roman Lawbook, p. 276. He there cites examples from the scriptures and the phrase continued in ecclesiastical legislation. SS. Apostolorum Canones, 75; Canones Nicaeni, 2. The phrase is never found in the Ecloga, which, where it refers to witnesses, always specifies the number required on the occasion.

These inconsistencies between the Farmer's Law and the Ecloga show that the relationship of the two is not so close as Zachariä would make it. I shall return to the origin of the Farmer's Law after dealing with the other points where I differ from Zachariä.

II. 'The Farmer's Law,' he says (*Op. cit.* p. 251), 'is acquainted with slaves, but not with free *ὑπὸ δεσποτείαν τελοῦντες γεωργοί* or *ἐννπόγραφοι*. It knows nothing of an attachment to the soil nor of the compulsory render of services by freemen to a landowner. The farmer can leave the land granted him on indemnifying the owner.' His authority for this is c. 16. 'We can hence point out as characteristic of the legislation of the

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[8] The compilers of the Basilica, after repeating Dig. xlvii. 9, 9, add *εἰ δὲ ἄξιος πάλαις τυγχάνει* διαπράξεται χειροκοπεῖται (ix. 39, 6). Is this derived from c. 65?

Isaurian Caesars . . . the abolition of compulsory service and the introduction of freedom to move.'

These observations appear to me to be based partly upon a misunderstanding of the scope of the Farmer's Law, partly upon a misunderstanding of some of its provisions. It is not a complete agricultural code, intended to apply to all the agricultural classes within the empire, and to determine their relations, not only as between themselves but also in reference to their landlords and to the state. It is concerned exclusively with a village community, composed of farmers who cultivate their own lands. The chapters which refer to the relations of landlord and tenant deal, with one exception (cc. 9, 10), with a letting by one farmer to another. Questions of tenancy only come in because one farmer is too poor to cultivate his own land and therefore yields the cultivation to another. The scope of our Law has to be determined altogether by internal evidence. If it deals, as it stands, only with *ἰδιοκτησίαι*—quibus terrarum erit quantulacumque possessio—this affords no ground for maintaining that the other classes of the agricultural population, as we know them both from earlier and from later authorities, have in the meantime ceased to exist.

Our Law deals only with the farmer who owns the land which he cultivates. Even if he appeared to have a right of migration, that would be no evidence in favour of the other classes to which Zachariä alludes. But it is very doubtful whether the Farmer's Law shows the existence of such a right, even in the farmer who is the subject of its provisions. To determine this point, it is necessary to cast a glimpse at the condition of the free landholding farmer, as it was apart from the innovations which the Farmer's Law is supposed to have made. The law, as we gather it from the Theodosian Code and from the Code and Novels of Justinian, was directed to fix the agricultural classes upon the land. Its principle throughout was one of rigidity rather than elasticity in social conditions; and this principle was applied with particular energy to the population settled upon the land. They were fixed there not exclusively or mainly in the interest of the large landowners—though the laws lay great stress upon this—but certainly as much in the interest of the public treasury, in order to secure the regular service of the taxes. (The authorities are collected in M. Gelzer, *Studien zur Byzantinischen Verwaltung Ägyptens*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 70 *sqq.*) The *colonus* who farmed his own land was member of a *vicus* and was just as much bound to remain with his *vicini* and pay his share of the taxes imposed upon the *vicus* as the *colonus* who farmed another's land was bound to remain with his *dominus* (Theod. xi. 24, 6, 3). It is no doubt true that, in spite of the laws, farmers of both classes were continually flitting: the constant repetition of prohibitions proves this. It is probable that the farmer who was not under a *dominus* would escape more easily than one who lived under a master's eye. Moreover, there is evidence that fugitives were sometimes allowed to remain in the places where they had taken refuge on condition of continuing to pay their share of the public burdens in their original home (P. London, iv. 1332 *των παρεσμενων ενθα καταμενων επι*

συντέλεια, cp. 1333).[7] The question remains whether there is anything in the Farmer's Law to show that its authors, whoever they were, gave a legal sanction to what was no doubt constantly done and whether, by virtue of that law, the free farmer could migrate *de jure* as he had at all times migrated *de facto*.

Now c. 16, which Zachariä appeals to, certainly does not prove that the farmer can leave his land if he indemnifies the owner. The meaning of the chapter becomes perfectly clear if we give proper force to the words ἀρραβῶνα λαβών. A man takes earnest-money—ἀρραβῶνα λαμβάνει—when he enters into a contract of personal service. He gives it—ἀρραβῶνα δίδωσι—in cases where, at the termination of the contract, his obligations may be satisfied by the payment of money. What we have in c. 16 is an agriculturist who cultivates for wages. If the γεωργός here had been a farmer paying either a fixed rent or a share of the produce, he would certainly not have received an ἀρραβών; he would perhaps have given one (see authorities in my *Rhodian Sea-Law*, pp. xcii, *sqq.*). Just as in chapters 12–15 we have a farmer who undertakes the cultivation of another's land on the footing of receiving a share in the produce and who, for one reason or another, fails to carry out his contract, so in c. 16 we have a *mercenarius*, a man who undertakes the cultivation of another's land at a salary and who also fails to carry out the agreement he has entered into. On his default he has to give τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ ἀργοῦ—that is to say, what the farmer (ὁ κύριος) would have got out of the land if the terms of the agreement had been loyally fulfilled. Several chapters refer to a farmer who leaves his land and goes elsewhere. Note that there is nothing in the Law which distinctly permits him to leave. If the farmer could migrate at the time when the Law was composed, it must have been in consequence of some imperial constitution now lost. The utmost that Zachariä could contend for is that the language and scope of several chapters in our Law, which refer to migration, show that migration not only existed but that it was accepted as legal and proper. As regards language, c. 14 refers to an ἄπορος γεωργός who ἀποδημεῖ, c. 18 to a γεωργός who διαφεύγει καὶ ξενιτεύει and who afterwards ἐπανέρχεται, c. 19 to a γεωργός who ἀποδιδράσκει. Now the words διαφεύγει and ἀποδιδράσκει certainly suggest that the disappearance of the γεωργός was not regarded with favour by the authorities. A man cannot properly be said to run away unless he is under a duty to remain where he is; nor does he fly unless he has a reasonable anticipation that some one will pursue him. The other words are not so strong; but the following examples show that ξενιτεύειν and ἐπανελθεῖν might properly be used of the absence and return of a farmer who had no right to leave. The edict of the prefect Liberalis of A.D. 154 (B.G.U. 372) deals with farmers who had illegally left their homes and orders them to return within three months: προτρέπομαι οὖν πάντας

[7] This must mean that they continued to συντελεῖν in the place from which they came. It was there that they were συντελεσταί (Just. *Nov.* 165, c. 1). If this is the meaning, the passages may be compared with our cc. 18, 19.

ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια. . . . καὶ μὴ ἀνεστίους καὶ ἀοίκους ἐπὶ ξένης ἀλᾶσθαι: Procop. Hist. Arc. 23, p. 129 Bonn. *καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπορουμένοις ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἀποδρᾶναί τε γῆν καὶ μηκέτι ἐπανιέναι.*

There is nothing in the contents of these chapters to alter the conclusion which may be drawn from their phraseology. C. 14 only refers to a temporary absence of the impoverished farmer. Chapters 18 and 19 are difficult, but, whatever their exact meaning may be, they strongly suggest that the farmer had no legal right to leave his farm. The first question in c. 19 is as to the reading. Zachariä (*Op. cit.* p. 254, *n.* 837) reads *τὰ ἐξόρδινα*—'So lesen,' says he, 'die alten HSS.'—and translates 'die ordentlichen Abgaben.' So far as I know, N alone reads *ἐξόρδινα*; the rest of my MSS. give *ἐκστραορδινα*. There seems to be no other authority for the word *ἐξόρδινα*, whereas *ἐκστραόρδινα* is confirmed by the eighth century accounts given in P. London iv, where the word occurs more than once. Τὰ *ἐκστραόρδινα* can only be the extraordinaria of the Roman law books (Theod. xi. 16 de extraordinariis sive sordidis muneribus).[1] It is true that this reading lands us in a difficulty. Where a farmer (says c. 18) is unable to work his vineyard and flies, those who are liable to the public taxes—*i.e.* his fellow farmers—are entitled to enter and cultivate. Where a farmer (says c. 19), although absent, continues to pay the extraordinary taxes, those who enter and cultivate must pay him the double of what they take. What happens in this case, it may be asked, to the ordinary taxes? One would think that the absent farmer in order to set himself right with his fellow farmers would have to discharge the ordinary as well as the extraordinary taxes. The answer may be this. The fugitive farmer in c. 19 is not described as *ἄπορος*. It may therefore be assumed that though he fled he *did* not leave his land derelict, but that it continued to be farmed by his family and slaves, from whom *τὰ δημόσια* might be collected. (It is curious that in P. Lond., iv., 1356 the extraordinary taxes are alone mentioned: *ἐξισωσαι τον μοιρασμον δι' οὗπερ διαστελλονται τα ἐκστραορδινα και ἀγγαρειαι του δημοσιου.*) Whether this explanation is right or not, the fact remains that the absent farmer, in order to retain his land, is obliged to bear a part at least of the taxes which fall upon the village. It is difficult to reconcile this with Zachariä's view that in the state of society described by the Farmer's Law the farmer can migrate freely from place to place.

III. There is still another point in which I am reluctantly compelled to differ from Zachariä. The Farmers' Law deals in two cases with the apportionment of the produce of the land between landlord and tenant. (*α*) Chapters 9 and 10 refer to the *μορτίτης* and the *χωροδότης*. Neither of these words occurs elsewhere in the Law, and indeed they are very rare in Byzantine literature. The share of the *μορτίτης* is nine sheaves, of the *χωροδότης* one. (*β*) Chapters 11–15 deal with the *ἡμισιατής* (the word is

[1] Commoner Byzantine translations of extraordinaria are *ἐξτραορδιτάρια* (*Bas.* vi. 31, 2 from *Cod.* xii. 23, 1) and *ἔξω τῶν ἀριθμούντων* (*Bas.* iv. 1, 1 from *Cod.* xi. 48, 1, and *Bas.* lvi. 15, 13 from *Cod.* xi. 75, 1).

diversly spelt). It is necessary to begin here with a point of phraseology. In the passages referring to the terms under which the *ἡμισιατής* holds, my MSS. vary: in c. 12 they vary between (*λαβεῖν*) *τὴν ἡμισείαν ἄμπελον* and (*λαβεῖν*) *τῇ ἡμισείᾳ ἄμπελον*; in c. 13 between (*λαβεῖν*) *χώραν τοῦ σπείρας τὴν ἡμισείαν* and (*λ.*) *χ. τ. σ. τῇ ἡμισείᾳ*. In chapters 14 and 15 there is no variety: all the MSS. give *ὁ τὴν ἡμισείαν λαβών*. The different readings do not, in my opinion, point to any difference in meaning. The words *τὴν ἡμισείαν λαβεῖν*, which is the better supported reading, must mean not to take half of the vineyard or cornland or whatever else the subject of the tenancy may be, but to take half of the produce, to take on the footing of dividing the produce in halves between landlord and tenant.

Zachariä draws the following distinction between the *μορτίτης* and the *ἡμισιατής*. 'Μορτίτης is the term for the farmer who cultivates another's land with his own means and renders therefor to the landowner—the *χωροδότης* or *κύριος τῆς χώρας*—a share of the produce.' Observe that Zachariä identifies the *χωροδότης* and the *κύριος τῆς χώρας*, which is wrong. 'The *μορτίτης* is to be compared with the *μισθωτός* or *colonus* in the narrower sense of the word, as he appears in the jurisprudence of Justinian . . . 'Ημισειαστής'—so Zachariä spells the word—'is the term for the farmer who cultivates a stranger's land with the means of the landowner, and on his side only provides the labour: from the produce he renders half to the landowner and keeps the other half for himself' (*Op. cit.* pp. 255, 256). From this distinction Zachariä draws conclusions which I will not enter upon, as I think the distinction erroneous.

In all the chapters of the Farmer's Law which deal with the *ἡμισιατής* the tenancy is from one farmer to another. The person who owns and lets the land is not a large landowner, not a church or monastery, but simply a farmer, and what is more he is *ἄπορος*. He is expressly described as *ἄπορος* in cc. 11, 12, and 14, and it is clear that cc. 13 and 15 deal with the same conditions as the others. In cc. 13 and 15 the landlord is described as *ὁ τῆς χώρας κύριος* or *ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀγροῦ*. Several places of the Law describe the farmer who owns a lot as *ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀγροῦ* or *τῆς χώρας*, *e.g.* c. 17. *Ἄπορος* is a word commonly used both of farmers and of agricultural land to describe in the one case a man who has not the means to cultivate his land, and in the other land which does not repay the labour of cultivation. Now, if the landlord in all these chapters is a person who has not the means to cultivate his land, it is difficult to see how he can have supplied these means to the *ἡμισιατής*. If the *ἡμισιατής*, as Zachariä thinks, only supplied the labour, where did the oxen, plough, carts, seed, etc. come from? Where the landlord was confessedly *ἄπορος*, they must have been supplied by the tenant. This view is borne out by an examination of the Egyptian documents which deal with tenancy on the system of an equal division of the produce. Tenancies of this kind are not uncommon in Egypt and become more frequent in the later Byzantine period. A few examples may be given of the burdens which under this form of tenancy were imposed upon the tenant. P. Oxy. ii. 277 (B.C. 19) *ἡ μὲν παραγωγὴ ἔσται καὶ τὰ ἄμητρα πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτεμίδωρον*

(the tenant), *τὰ δὲ θέριστρα ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ δοθήσεται*. P. Oxy. i. 103 (A.D. 316) the tenants get half in consideration of their labour, seed, and expenses: *ἡμᾶς τοὺς μεμισθωμένους ἀπὸ ἧς ποιούμεθα γεωργείας καὶ ὧν παρέχομεν σπερμάτων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων πάντων τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμίσει μέρος*. C. P. Raineri 42 (after A.D. 326) *τοῦ γεουχου τὴν προχρίαν τῶν σπερματων ποιουμενου*. This implies, as Mitteis points out (p. 154) that *prima facie* the seeds were at the tenants' charge. P. Fior. i. 17 (A.D. 341) *ἀνθ' ὧν ποιουμαι αναλωματων απο κατασπορας μεχρι σ(υγκομιδης)*. P. Leipzig 22 (A.D. 388) *ἐμοῦ* (the tenant) *ἐπιγινώσκοντος τά τε σπέρματα καὶ τὰ παντοῖα ἀναλώματα ἀπὸ κατασπορᾶς μέχρις συνκομιτῆς καὶ αὐτῆς*. The same form occurs in P. Leipzig 23 (A.D. 374 or 390). P. Oxy. vi. 913 (A.D. 442) *ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς μεμισθωμένους ἀνθ' ὧν ποιούμεθα καμάτων τῆς γεωργίας καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν καταβαλλομένων παρ' ἡμῶν σπερματων τῇ γῇ ἔχειν τὸ ἄλλο ἥμισυ μέρος*. These examples suffice to show that the Egyptian *ἡμισιατής* of the fourth and fifth centuries supplied a good deal more than merely the manual labour of himself and his family. To the same effect is the Byzantine conveyancing formula (*ἄκτος ἐκδόσεως ἀμπέλιον ἐφημισάρικον*) which is published by Sathas (C.N.), *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, vi. p. 620. Although this in its actual form is of the twelfth century (see Sathas, p. *ριβ'*) it is evidently based on much older models. It looks indeed as if the authors of the Farmer's Law had been acquainted with it in an earlier form. Cp. our c. 12 *οὐ κλαδεύσῃ . . . σκάψῃ τε καὶ . . . διασκαφίσῃ* with the formula p. 620 last line *κλαδεύων σκάπτων καὶ διασκαφίζων*. Now in the formula all expenses fall on the tenant: *παντοίων ἐπιμελούμενος* (the tenant) *ἐξ οἰκείων σου πασῶν ἐξόδων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων, μὴ καταβαλλομένου μου* (the landlord) *εἰς πάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐξόδους τὸ σύνολον*. It is evident that no general rule can be laid down as to the obligations of the *ἡμισιατής*. Their extent must have been in every case a matter of bargaining between himself and his landlord. In our Law the landlord is always indigent, and the tenant sometimes repentant (cc. 14 15). He undertakes obligations which he finds himself unable to fulfil, no doubt because these obligations were not confined to the performance of manual labours.[1]

[1] The system under which the cultivator pays as rent an aliquot part of the produce—one-half, one-third, or a greater or less proportion—is seldom referred to in the literary or legal sources of the classical period. The examples generally cited are Cato, *R. R.* 137; Plin., *Ep.* ix. 37; *Dig.* xix. 2, 25, 6. But it was evidently far more frequent than these scattered texts would suggest. *Lex de Villae Magnae colonis* in Bruns, *Fontes*, p. 295; see Cuq [Edmond], *Le colonat partiaire dans l'Afrique Romaine* in *Mémoires présentés à l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1re S. T. xi. 1re P. pp. 83-146. It is found all over Italy in the early Middle Ages. Examples of tenancy on the footing of an equal division (to confine ourselves to that) are: *Memorie e documenti per servire alla storia di Lucca*, T. v. P. 2. Doc. 140 (A.D. 772), 144 (A.D. 773); *Cod. dipl. Cavense*, T. i., No. 123 (A.D. 907), No. 183 (A.D. 953); *Regii Neap. Archivi Monumenta*, No. 128 (A.D. 968), No. 154 (A.D. 975). Tenancy *ad portiones* is referred to in the Dalmatian statutes: St. Ragus. v. 30; St. Brutus, 34, 44; St. Lesinus, 21, p. 186. Fustel de Coulanges (*Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire*, Paris, 1885, p. 177) gives examples from the French Polyptyques. It is not necessary, therefore, with C. F. von Rumohr (*Ursprung der Besitzlosigkeit der Colonen in neueren Toscana*, *Hamburg*, 1830, p. 138) to attribute an Eastern origin to the Tuscan *mezzeria*. It may well be indigenous in Italy. As regards the tenant's

Two chapters refer to the *μορτίτης*. According to c. 10 he has nine bundles and his grantor one. He who divides otherwise is accursed. According to c. 9 a *μορτίτης* who cheats loses the whole crop. It is to be observed that the Law, in prescribing the proportion in which the produce is to be divided, only imposes spiritual punishments for its violation. As a rule in Byzantine contracts the party who makes default is not only cursed but also mulcted. C. 10 sounds like a pious wish—an expression of what ought to be—rather than the command of a civil magistrate. It might be the canon of a council, addressed to ecclesiastical landlords and endeavouring to stereotype the form of their agricultural contracts. In the Codex traditionum ecclesiae Ravennatensis, there are many cases where the rent is one modius in ten. Here are some: p. 37 Bernhart = p. 18 Fantuzzi, sub redditu de omni labore modio decimo lino manna decima et pro uino solidum mancosum unum e xenio grano manu lectile quarum unum pullo pario uno; p. 50 B. = p. 36 F. sub reditu de omni labore modio decimo uino mesletatem olivas uero et glandatico in integro in dominico proficiat (described as terraticum); p. 50 B. = p. 37 F. sub redditu de omni labore modio decimo lino manna decima uino arfora quarta (this described as terraticum) pro herbatico et glandatico et e xenio et opere denarii treginta; p. 56 B. = p. 46 F.; p. 57 B. = p. 47 F. (three cases); p. 60 B. = p. 49 F. Although the rent of one modius in ten was apparently the normal rent, we also find one in seven and other proportions; but what is more to our purpose is that this tithe represents only a part of the farmer's obligations to his landowner. It refers only to the proportions which he was obliged to pay in corn or grain. The payment of a tithe by way of rent is also referred to in some of the Germanic codes: L. Visig. x. 1, 19 si quis terram uineam aut aliquam rem aliam pro decimis vel quibuslibet commodis prestationibusque reddendis . . . ab alio acceperit possidendam; L. Baiuw. i. 14, 1 De colonis uel seruis ecclesiae qualiter seruiant uel qualia tributa reddant. De triginta modiis tres donet. Fustel de Coulanges (*Op. cit.* p. 178) cites many French examples. The system of exacting one-tenth may have come down from the Romans; Appian *Bell. Civ.* i. 7, *Ῥωμαῖοι . . . τῆς γῆς . . . τὴν ἀργὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τότε οὖσαν . . . ἐπεκήρυττον ἐν τοσῷδε τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐκπονεῖν ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν δεκάτῃ μὲν τῶν σπειρομένων, πέμπτῃ δὲ τῶν φυτευομένων.*

The distinction made by Zachariä is too simple. The difference between *μορτίτης* and *ἡμισιατής* does not consist merely in the possession by the former, the want by the latter, of the necessary working-capital. It is deeper than this. The two tenancies are not *in pari materia*. The chapters which relate to the *ἡμισιατής* belong to the general scheme of the Farmer's Law, that is to say, they relate to the obligations of one farmer within a district to another within the same district. The chapters which relate to

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obligations under the Tuscan contract of *mezzeria*, see (for the fourteenth century) Catellacci (Dante) *Tre scritti di mezzeria in volgare del secolo xiv.* in *Arch. Stor. Ital.* S.v.T. xi. (1893), p. 378; (for the present time) Ross (Janet) *Old Florence and Modern Tuscany*, London, 1904, p. 221.

the μορτίτης are outside the general scheme of the Farmer's Law; they deal with the obligations of a tenant to a large landowner—a χωροδότης. This is the elementary distinction between the two cases, and the following minor distinctions are either expressed in the Farmer's Law or may be reasonably deduced from it, or from contemporary evidence. 1. The ἡμισιατής takes the land for a season or a year or at the utmost a short term of years. With the μορτίτης the tenancy is for a long term or is perpetual. This is suggested by the designation of the landlord—χωροδότης; and also by the fact that the μορτίτης who cheats loses not the land but only the crop. 2. The ἡμισιατής takes over the land as a going concern. It has been heretofore in the occupation of his landlord, and it may be presumed that the land is in cultivation and provided with the necessary farm-buildings. The μορτίτης on the other hand takes over land which has to be reduced to cultivation—γῆ ἄργός—and it is his duty to bring it into a condition in which it will produce regular crops. 3. The rent paid by the ἡμισιατής—the half of the produce—is a competition or rack-rent, while that paid by the μορτίτης is a customary or traditional rent. His predecessor in title took the land for a long term on condition of reducing it to cultivation, and he continues to pay the same rent by virtue either of some custom in the nature of tenant-right or simply of the landowner's unwillingness to turn out the successor of the original tenant. 4. The payment of half the produce must as a general rule have satisfied all the obligations of the ἡμισιατής, while, with the μορτίτης, there are a number of subsidiary obligations—services to be done on the landlord's lands, contributions in kind to be made to him—which materially increase the tenant's burden.

I have now dealt with the main points of difference between Zachariä and myself: it remains for me to express my own view on the origin of the Farmer's Law. The question has to be decided mainly from internal evidence; but some assistance may be gained by a comparison of contemporary and earlier legal documents, *e.g.* the papyri of the Byzantine period and the law of the Germanic nations. The vocabulary and phraseology of the Farmer's Law point to its being a work of the seventh or eighth century. It has the conveyancing ring of that period. Compare (to give one instance) c. 3 μενέτω ἡ καταλλαγὴ κυρία καὶ βεβαία καὶ ἀπαρασάλευτος with P. Louden. ii. P. 483, p. 328, l. 81 κεφάλαια φυλαξόμενα ἀτρωτα καὶ ἀσάλευτα καὶ ἀπαράβατα. I agree with Zachariä in thinking that the 'style of command' in the Farmer's Law suggests that it is not by a private hand but a work of legislative authority; still there is great difficulty to my mind in connecting it with the Ecloga.

In considering how far the Farmer's Law represents new law, it is necessary to draw a distinction. The book falls naturally into two parts, a civil part and a criminal part. The civil part determines the relations between farmers within an ascertained district; it is confined to this object and is not intended to apply to other classes of the agricultural population. It does not deal (except cc. 9 and 10) with relations between large landowners and their tenants; it never deals with relations between the State

and its subjects. The public taxes are only referred to so far as they affect the relations of neighbouring farmers. To this part belong cc. 1–21 (except 7, 9, 10), 31, 32, 78, 79, 81–84. This part of the Farmer's Law seems to me on the whole new legislation, occasioned by new settlements within the empire and based, in part at least, on customs which the new settlers had brought with them from their country of origin.

The criminal part of our law, which comprises most of the other chapters, deals with agricultural offences i.e. such offences as might be committed with reference to the land, farm-buildings, agricultural implements, and cattle. This part of the Law is based chiefly on earlier materials and the statement in the title that it is an extract from the book of Justinian is substantially correct,[1] if it is confined to the rules of criminal justice which the Law contains. The materials on which the compilers worked for this part of the Farmer's Law consisted of text-books put together in Greek out of the legislation of Justinian. The compilers no doubt had several books before them: otherwise it would be difficult to account for the duplicate chapters which I have already referred to. There are several provisions which originally had no reference to the agricultural classes, *e.g.* c. 70. The law in this part is mainly Roman law. It is true that the punishments are apparently intensified: I have already dealt with that. The Farmer's Law in the main, where it deals with theft and negligence, reproduces the Roman law of theft and the provisions of the *lex Aquilia*. There are, however, certain chapters, as my notes will show, where there are close parallels with the law of the Visigoths or of other Germanic nations. It is possible that the compilers of the Farmer's Law took these provisions from the customs of the settlers for whom the Law was primarily intended. However this may be, the barbaric character of the Law has been much exaggerated by Ferrini and others.

There are a few chapters which seem at first sight to have no business in the Farmer's Law. These are 7, 9, 10, 67. C. 7 has been the subject of so much controversy that I may be excused for dwelling upon it at some length —especially as it points to a possible source from which part of our Law may be derived. C. 7 deals with a controversy between two districts over their boundaries. The following points require notice: first, a distinction is made between controversies *περὶ ὅρου* and controversies *περὶ ἀγροῦ*; secondly, there is one tribunal—*οἱ ἀκροαταί*—for both classes of controversy; thirdly, *primâ facie* the decision goes in favour of long possession; but fourthly, if there is an ancient land-mark, no length of possession avails against the evidence which it supplies.

[1] On the title in P. see Heimbach (C.W.E.) in his Griechisch-romisches Recht im Mittelalter, p. 279; Prolog. Basil. p. 82. In the former work he suggests that the jurists whose names follow the Digest are those from whose *fragmenta* in the Digest the provisions of our Law are derived. It is more probable that the author of the title took the names at random from some list of the authorities for the Digest, such as is given in the Florentine MS. (See Mommsen's larger ed. i. p. liii*). I would read in P.: μαυρὸς (for μάρκος), αὐλπιανὸς (for ὀλυμπιανός), μοδεστῖνος (for ὀδέστου) ἰμμογενιανὸς καὶ παύλος.

The Roman authorities on boundary disputes are numerous and conflicting. Fortunately, it is only necessary here to state so much of the law as may assist us in ascertaining the date and provenance of c. 7. In the title of the Theodosian code de finium regundorum (ii. 26) controversies as to boundaries are divided into two classes, controversies *de fine* and controversies *de loco* or *de locis*. In controversies *de fine* the subject-matter in dispute was the narrow strip, generally of five feet and not exceeding six feet in breadth, which was normally drawn between two farms to allow labourers to pass and the plough to turn (Hygin. p. 126, Lachm.). Where a larger quantity of land was in dispute, the controversy was *de loco* (Frontin. p. 13, Lachm.). As regards terminology, a controversy *de fine* or *finalis* is sometimes distinguished from one *de loco* (Theod. ii. 26, 3, 4); while in other cases both are lumped together as *quaestiones finales, finalia iurgia* (Theod. ii. 26, 2, 5).

There is this difference of principle between the two cases that a controversy about the five-foot strip did not involve rights of property, while a controversy *de loco* did, and this difference carried with it originally two practical distinctions, one in the procedure adopted by the Court in its adjudication, the other in the evidence which it admitted.

The question where the five-foot strip ran was a question of fact determinable on the spot after an inspection of the visible evidence—the *veteres monumenta* of Dig. x. 1, 11, pr. In questions therefore which relate to the five-foot strip, the judge, who in the fourth century is the *praeses*, appointed an *arbiter* from the ranks of the *agrimensores* (Theod. ii. 26, 3, 5). The *arbiter* took a view in the presence of the parties and based his decision on the ancient landmarks (Theod. ii. 26, 1). In ascertaining what these were, he was of course entitled to refer to maps and other authorities (Dig. x. 1, 11, pr.). But it was not open to him to go into the question of long-continued possession as a foundation of title. The *arbiter* in a controversy *de fine* could determine the case, but he could only do it on the basis of the evidence which was properly available for him. If that evidence did not enable him to determine the case, it went back to the judge. No lapse of time availed against the evidence of the landmarks (Consult. ix. 4); but where there were none, or where the *fidelis inspectio* (Theod. ii. 26, 1) the *fidele arbitrium* (Theod. ii. 26, 4) returned an uncertain sound, the *arbiter* must have referred the question to the tribunal from which he derived his power. There is no evidence for Rudorff's view (*Grom. Inst.* p. 428) that in such a case the *arbiter* could fix a boundary.

Controversies *de loco* could not be determined by an *agrimensor*. These were questions of property to be determined by the judge, who, in determining them, had to take into account the *longi temporis praescriptio* (Theod. ii. 26, 3). If an *agrimensor* was sent on the spot, it was only as an expert whose evidence as to the landmarks might assist the judge in determining the question, where the *longi temporis praescriptio* did not operate as a bar to the plaintiff's claim (Dig. x. 1, 8, 1). There are therefore two great distinctions between controversies *de fine* and controversies *de loco*. Controversies *de fine* were determined by an *arbiter* who

was an *agrimensor, sine observatione temporis*; no length of possession availed against the evidence of the landmarks. On the other hand, controversies *de loco* were determined by the judge, in accordance with the ordinary rules which applied to the determination of questions of property. Whatever the evidence of the landmarks might be, the defendant could resist it, if he had been in possession for the requisite length of time.

Much practical inconvenience arose from this distinction (Frontin. p. 43, Lachm.). A constitution of A.D. 385 (Theod. ii. 26, 4) abolished it, so far as prescription was concerned. I agree with Godefroy in thinking that the first clause means: 'let the limitation of five feet be abrogated, and let the suit, whether the controversy be *de fine* or *de locis*, be determined without any hindrance as to time.' The rest of the constitution seems to say that both classes of controversy are to be determined by the same rule where there are old landmarks (sola sit una praescriptio si ueteribus signis limes inclusus finem congruum . . . praestiterit). Where there are old landmarks, there is no praescriptio prolixioris temporis; but nothing in the constitution says that lapse of time is not to count where there are no old landmarks.

A constitution of A.D. 392 (Theod. ii. 26, 5) seems to have restored the old law. Controversies *de locis* are to be decided *sollemniter*, i.e. with due regard to prescription. A constitution of A.D. 424 (Theod. iv. 14, 1), which established the prescription of thirty years for most cases, expressly excludes petitio finium regendorum: in eo scilicet quo nunc est iure durabit. A novel of Valentinian III of A.D. 452 (Valent. 35, 12) was apparently understood to include finales actiones within the prescription of thirty years (Interpret. ad fin.). Justinian abolished the distinction between controversies de fine strictly so called and controversies de loco,[11] and, as a corollary to this, applied the prescription of thirty years to all cases of disputed boundaries.

In countries governed by the Breviarium or subject to its influence, the constitution of A.D. 385 seems to have been accepted. L. Visig. x. 3, 4 nec contra signa euidentia debitum dominium ullum longae possessionis tempus excludat; L. Bainw. xii. 4; Canon 2 of second council of Seville (in Collectio canonum eccl. Hisp.; Matriti, 1808, col. 640), where the very words of the constitution are used. Now c. 7 of the Farmer's Law agrees much more closely with the constitution of A.D. 385 and with these authorities than it does with the legislation of Justinian. It recognizes the distinction between the two classes of controversy, which it would hardly have done after that legislation, while at the same time it applies to both the rules as to prescription which were laid down by the constitution of A.D. 385 and which seem to have prevailed in the West although apparently abolished by the constitution of A.D. 392.

The best commentary I can offer on the Farmer's Law is a literal translation. I have added in the notes a few parallel passages. It would be

[11] The point is disputed, but I agree with the arguments of E. M. Bekker, *Aktionen des Römischen Privatrechts*, i. p. 236, n. 26, which are accepted by P. F. Girard, *Manuel de Droit Romain*[4], p. 831.

easy to increase their number. I have confined myself to those where the resemblance is so striking as to suggest borrowing on the one side or the other. It is obvious that in codes like ours similar provisions do not necessarily imply relationship. The same circumstances occurring in different ages raise the same difficulties and are met by the same solutions. Pigs have always trespassed and will always trespass in search of acorns. There is no more delicate problem for legislators or jurists than to adjust the equities between owner of pig and owner of acorns. Because in different laws these problems are resolved on a similar principle, that is no evidence that one law is borrowed from the other or that both have a common origin.

Translation.

Chapters of the Farmer's Law by way of extract from the volume of Justinian.

1. The farmer who is working his own field must be just and must not encroach on his neighbour's furrows. If a farmer persists in encroaching and docks a neighbouring lot—if he did this in ploughing-time, he loses his ploughing; if it was in sowing-time that he made this encroachment, he loses his seed and his husbandry and his crop—the farmer who encroached.

2. If a farmer without the landowner's cognizance enters and ploughs or sows, let him not receive either wages for his ploughing or the crop for his sowing—no, not even the seed that has been cast.[11]

3. If two farmers agree one with the other before two or three witnesses to exchange lands and they agreed for all time, let their determination and their exchange remain firm and secure and unassailable.

4. If two farmers, *A* and *B*, agree to exchange their lands for the season of sowing and *A* draws back, then, if the seed was cast, they may not draw back, but if the seed was not cast they may draw back; but if *A* did not plough while *B* did, *A* also shall plough.

5. If two farmers exchange lands either for a season or for all time, and one plot is found deficient as compared with the other, and this was not their agreement, let him who has more give an equivalent in land to him who has less; but if this was their agreement, let them give nothing in addition.

6. If a farmer who has a claim on a field enters against the sower's will and reaps, then, if he had a just claim, let him take nothing from it; but if his claim was baseless, let him provide twice over the crops that were reaped.

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[11] Cp. Ed. Roth. 354, si quis campum alienum araverit, aeleus non suum, aut semen tem spargere presumpserit, perdat opera et fragis

7. If two territories contend about a boundary or a field, let the judges consider it and they shall decide in favour of the territory which had the longer possession; but if there is an ancient landmark, let the ancient determination remain unassailed.

8. If a division wronged people in their lots or lands, let them have licence to undo the division.[13]

9. If a farmer on shares reaps without the grantor's consent and robs him of his sheaves, as a thief shall he be deprived of all his crop.

10. A shareholder's portion is nine bundles, the grantor's one; he who divides outside these limits is accursed.

11. If a man takes land from an indigent farmer and agrees to plough only and to divide, let their agreement prevail; if they also agreed on sowing, let it prevail according to their agreement.

12. If a farmer takes from some indigent farmer his vineyard to work on a half-share and does not prune it as is fitting and dig it and fence it and dig it over, let him receive nothing from the produce.

13. If a farmer takes land to sow on a half-share, and when the season requires it does not plough but throws the seed on the surface, let him receive nothing from the produce because he played false and mocked the land-owner.

14. If he who takes on a half-share the field of an indigent farmer who is abroad changes his mind and does not work the field, let him restore the produce twice over.

15. If he who takes on a half-share changes his mind before the season of working and gives notice to the landowner that he has not the strength and the landowner pays no attention, let the man who took on a half-share go harmless.

16. If a farmer takes over the farming of a vineyard or piece of land and agrees with the owner and takes earnest-money and starts and then draws back and gives it up, let him give the just value of the field and let the owner have the field.

17. If a farmer enters and works another farmer's woodland, for three years he shall take its profits for himself and then give the land back again to its owner.[14]

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[13] Cp. Dig. x. 1, 7 pr. de modo agrorum arbitri dantur ei is qui maiorem locum in territorio habere dicitur ceteris qui minorem locum possident, integrum locum adsignare compelli tur; Theod. xiii. 11, 10; Rudorff, *Gromm. Iust.* p. 465. Μερισμός, μερισία might refer, not to the division of the common-land among the settlers, but to the apportionment of the general taxes among the tax-payers: the former explanation is far more probable.

[14] The comparison of this c. with c. 21 shows that here the tenant enters with the landowner's approval. Occupation free of rent for three years seems an inadequate reward to the farmer for his exertions in clearing the land. As a rule, in improvement leases in the early middle ages (see those in *Regii Neapolitani Archivi Monumenta*) the tenant is given a much longer period of exclusive enjoyment. But three years is sometimes found. Farmers who take unproductive land (γῆ ἀνάλογος) are relieved from taxation for three years εἰς τὴν τούτων ἀνεγερσίαν καὶ κατεργασίαν: P. Amherst, ii. 68, line 21; P. Oxy. iv. 721. In a lease from a monastery of A.D. 616 (P. Lond. ii. 483, p. 327) χέρσος γῆ is granted free of rent for three years (see note of editors). Cp. Theod. v. 11, 8; Cod. xi. 59 (58) 1, triennii immunitate percepta.

MEMORANDUM OF THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES ON THE PLACE OF GREEK IN EDUCATION.

The Council appointed on 17th January, 1911, a Committee which, after various investigations, presented a report on 19th December, 1911.

The Committee felt themselves precluded from entering into the controversial problems connected with compulsory Greek; and decided to confine their inquiries to ascertaining existing facts, and suggesting means by which Greek would receive an equal chance with other studies. They were materially assisted in this task by a valuable memorandum on the position of Greek in Scotch education, laid before them confidentially at their first meeting.

The Committee, after considering this memorandum, decided to draw up a schedule of questions and to send it to the Professors of Greek or other suitable authorities in all Universities in the British Isles (except Scotland) in order to ascertain the position of Greek both in Entrance Examinations and in Pass and Honours Courses. The answers to these questions may be summarised as follows:—

A—Entrance Examination (including Responsions at Oxford and Previous Examination at Cambridge).

It appears that no University except Oxford and Cambridge makes Greek compulsory on all students.* Durham and Trinity College, Dublin, make it so for classical students. Latin is compulsory for all or some faculties in many places. Greek *or* Latin in very few.

It appears that, even when the two are alternative, an almost negligible quantity take Greek and not Latin. The percentage of the total number of students taking Greek is usually very small.

B—Pass Courses (subsequent to Entrance Examination as defined above).

No University, except Oxford,† makes Greek compulsory for all, and only Trinity College, Dublin, makes Latin compulsory. As to making Greek, Latin or both, compulsory in certain Faculties (Arts, Divinity, Law, Medicine) there is considerable divergence; but it is common in modern Universities to make Greek *or* Latin compulsory in Arts.

As to percentages, it appears again that in most cases either

* An exception is made at Oxford and Cambridge in the case of students of Oriental origin, and at Oxford in the case of candidates for Diplomas and B.Litt.

† An exception is made at Oxford in the case of candidates for Diplomas and B.Litt.

none, or only about 1 per cent. take Greek without Latin, but there are notable exceptions here. At Cardiff the numbers given are "both, 13 per cent., Latin only, 70 per cent., Greek only, 17 per cent."; and at Manchester "both, 23 per cent., Latin only, 73 per cent., Greek only, 4 per cent." Of the whole number of students about 16—25 per cent. take Latin, and about 2—10 per cent. take Greek; but this last is based on very few returns.

It is everywhere (except at Oxford and Cambridge and at Trinity College, Dublin) possible to take Latin without Greek or Greek without Latin, for pass.

C—Honours Courses in Classics.

In most cases Greek or Latin cannot be taken separately; but there are some exceptions, *e.g.*, at Aberdeen, and in the Welsh University. The organisation of the Irish Universities and Colleges is still in a transitional state; at Belfast, Greek and Latin must be taken together, but in some Colleges they may be taken separately. At Birmingham they cannot be taken separately in the "School of Classics," which corresponds to the Honours Schools of other Universities. The proportion of the total number of students taking Greek who read for honours is high, varying from about 25 per cent. to 66 per cent.

D.

In a good many Universities Latin or Greek may be taken as a subsidiary with some other subject.

E.

To the question whether opportunity is given for beginning the study of Greek at the University, the answers are mostly in the negative, but there are some exceptions. The practice is mostly considered undesirable; but there are some emphatic opinions in its favour, *e.g.* from King's College, London, Manchester, Durham, Bristol, and two of the London Colleges for Women (Holloway and Westfield).

The Committee next proceeded to circulate to the head-masters and head-mistresses of a certain number of boys' and girls' schools, and to some other persons, a short set of questions involving matters of policy as to Greek in schools and at Universities. The answers received showed divergence of opinion, but may thus be summarised:

(1) As to the question whether an opportunity of beginning Greek should be given at the Universities, the general opinion was that this should be done in special cases; but only where it was impracticable to get the work done, as it ought to be, in schools.

(2) As to the standard of University entrance examinations in Greek and in Latin, the general opinion was that the standard was not higher in Greek.

(3) As to whether the standard for University entrance examinations in classics was higher than in modern languages, most considered that this was the case, but some dissented. Of the former several thought the difference lay in the nature of the subjects.

(4) The answers were unanimously against the allowing of Honours in one classical language only at Universities. Some added that, if Honours in a single language were allowed, it was essential that a Pass standard in the other should be insisted on.

(5) As to whether it is possible or desirable to teach Greek to pupils who have not learned Latin, there was a difference of opinion; but some thought it practicable and even desirable in special cases.

(6) As to whether Greek should be made a leading literary subject in girls' schools, some head-mistresses thought it impracticable; but two head-mistresses of important schools thought it might be done with advantage for a certain proportion of the higher girls.

In addition to the answers to their questions, the Committee has had valuable information and advice from various quarters, especially as to the cramping influence of too narrow a devotion to Attic Greek, which places at a disadvantage such authors as Homer and Herodotus. It was also pointed out that it was most desirable that it should be possible for a boy to begin Greek at a public school.

While it is probably inexpedient for the Society to take any corporate action on the subject of compulsory Greek, with regard to which its members hold divergent opinions, the Council consider that the Society may very properly use its influence to emphasise the importance of the study of Greek as an element of culture, and may make suggestions to obviate the danger lest the opposition to compulsory Greek should lead to a depreciation of the value of Greek altogether.

Generally speaking, the Council are of opinion that the intrinsic merits of Greek as a means of training are beyond dispute; but they feel the danger that local education authorities throughout the country may in many cases have some prejudice against it, and that, in consequence, there may be large districts within which it will be impossible for young students to learn it, however much they may desire to do so, and they therefore desire to call special attention to the recommendation made in Section 3 below.

The Council therefore make the following recommendations:—

(1) **Universities.** In the opinion of the Council it should be the policy of the Hellenic Society to advocate that wherever only one classical language is required, Greek should be admitted as an alternative to Latin. In the present state of things, this may practically mean compulsory Latin: but there are already exceptions (*e.g.* Manchester and Cardiff), and there may well be a change in the future, if this door be not barred by statutes or regulations. Further, any movement to allow

Classical Honours to be taken in one language only, at least without an adequate standard being required in the other, should be strongly opposed, both because the higher study of neither language can be properly pursued without a knowledge of the other, and because such a course would probably lead to the absence of anyone competent to teach Greek even in schools which took Latin as a leading subject.

(2) **The Public Schools.** A representation might be made to Headmasters, either individually or through the Headmaster's conference, urging that an opportunity of beginning Greek should be given where it does not exist at present to boys who have not already begun it at a preparatory school. It is hardly within the province of the Society to make proposals in detail for the regulation of the curriculum; but the Council are strongly in favour of such elasticity as will allow a prominent place in it to the great non-Attic authors, especially Homer and Herodotus. A corollary of this would be that the Universities should recognise these authors in their entrance examinations.

(3) **Other Secondary Schools.** The Council strongly recommends that Greek, although it could not be given a position of privilege, should at least have a fair opportunity on its merits, and not be placed at a disadvantage compared with other subjects; and that so far as practicable, an opportunity of learning Greek should be placed within reach of all who desire it or are capable of profiting by it. If difficulties of curriculum or other causes exclude the possibility of Greek being taught in some Secondary Schools, it should at least be arranged that there should be some school or schools in each educational district at which Greek could be learnt by those who wish to learn it.

(4) **Girls' Schools.** The Council is of opinion that the educational value of Greek as a literary subject and as an influence on modern life and thought, and its suitability for inclusion in a curriculum not so heavily burdened with the necessity of preparing for professional examinations, or cramped by similar practical considerations, should be brought home, as far as possible, to head-mistresses, to head-masters of schools not included in the above categories, and to the public generally. This might well be the subject of a pamphlet or a magazine article, such as might be written for the occasion and be available for wide distribution.

It was further suggested that some papers on aids to the stimulation of historical imagination in teaching Greek might be circulated, and other means advocated for the enlivening and reform of the teaching of Greek. It should also be made more widely known that the Society is in a position to lend important assistance through the possession of lantern slides.

(Signed on behalf of the Council)

ARTHUR J. EVANS,

President.

18. If a farmer who is too poor to work his own vineyard takes flight and goes abroad, let those from whom claims are made by the public treasury gather in the grapes, and the farmer if he returns shall not be entitled to mulct them in the wine.[15]

19. If a farmer who runs away from his own field pays every year the extraordinary taxes of the public treasury, let those who gather in the grapes and occupy the field be mulcted twofold.

20. If a man cuts another's wood without its owner's cognizance and works and sows it, let him have nothing from the produce.

21. If a farmer builds a house or plants a vineyard in another's field or plot and after a time there come the owners of the plot, they are not entitled to pull down the house or root up the vines, but they may take an equivalent in land. If the man who built or planted on the field that was not his own stoutly refuses to give an equivalent, the owner of the plot is entitled to pull up the vines and pull down the house.[16]

22. If a farmer at digging-time steals a spade or a hoe, and is afterwards recognized, let him pay its daily hire twelve folles; the same rule applies to him who steals a pruning-knife at pruning-time, or a scythe at reaping-time, or an axe at wood-cutting time.[17]

Concerning Herdsmen.

23. If a neatherd in the morning receives an ox from a farmer and mixes it with the herd, and it happens that the ox is destroyed by a wolf, let him explain the accident to its master and he himself shall go harmless.

24. If a herdsmen who has received an ox loses it and on the same day on which the ox was lost does not give notice to the master of the ox that 'I kept sight of the ox up to this or that point, but what is become of it I do not know,' let him not go harmless, but, if he gave notice, let him go harmless.

25. If a herdsman receives an ox from a farmer in the morning and goes off and the ox gets separated from the mass of oxen and goes off and goes into cultivated plots or vineyards and does harm, let him not lose his wages, but let him make good the harm done.

26. If a herdsman in the morning receives an ox from a farmer and the ox disappears, let him swear in the Lord's name that he has not himself played foul and that he had no part in the loss of the ox and let him go harmless.

The same term is occasionally found in the Neapolitan documents: *e.g.* R.N.A.M. 167—lease of A.D. 977; cp. also St. Ragus. v. 29 qui terram suam desertam, id est lidignam (*i.e.* laetitiam) alteri dederit ad laborandum, usque ad tertium fructum completum ipsam laboratori tollere non potest.

[15] οἱ ἀπαιτούμενοι τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ are the same people who if they fail to pay become *ol προσοφείλοντες τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ* (Edict of Ti. Julius Alexander in Bruns, Fontes[7] p. 245). Other examples of ὁ δημόσιος λόγος in Gelzer, *Studien*, p. 94, n. 1.

[16] This rule corresponds closely to L. Visig. x. 1, 6; L. Burgund. xxxi. The law of Justinian and of the Lombards is different; Cod. viii. 4, 11; Ed. Roth. 151. C. 66 appears to refer to the same subject.

[17] Cp. c. 62. Cedren. p. 458 Par.=801 Bonn. κερδίνια δὲ αἱ λβ' φόλλεις δυωδεκάδραχμον.

27. If a herdsman in the morning receives an ox from a farmer and it happens that it is wounded or blinded, let the herdsman swear that he has not himself played foul and let him go harmless.

28. If a herdsman on occasion of the loss of an ox or its wounding or blinding makes oath and is afterwards by good evidence proved a perjurer, let his tongue be cut out and let him make good the damage to the owner of the ox.

29. If a herdsman with the stick which he carries injures and wounds an ox or blinds it, he does not go scatheless and let him pay a penalty; but if he did it with a stone he goes scatheless.

30. If a man cuts a bell from an ox or a sheep and is recognized as the thief, let him be whipped; and if the animal disappears, let him make it good who stole the bell.[18]

31. If a tree stands on a lot, if the neighbouring lot is a garden and is overshadowed by the tree, the owner of the garden may trim its branches; but if there is no garden, the branches are not to be trimmed.[19]

32. If a tree is cultivated by some one in an undivided place, and afterwards an allotment took place and it fell to another in his lot, let no one have possession of the tree but him who cultivated it; but if the owner of the place complains 'I am injured by the tree,' let them give instead of the tree another tree to the man who cultivated it and let them keep it.

33. If a guardian of fruit[20] is found stealing in the place which he guards, let him lose his wages and be well beaten.

34. If a hired shepherd is found milking his flock without the owner's knowledge and selling them,[21] let him be beaten and lose his wages.

35. If a man is found stealing another's straw, he shall restore it twice over.

36. If a man takes an ox or an ass or any beast without its owner's knowledge and goes off on business, let him give its hire twice over; and if it dies on the road, he shall give two for one, whatever it may be.[22]

37. If a man takes an ox to work with and it dies, let the judges consider, and if it died in the very work for which he sought it, let him go harmless; but if it died in another work, he shall give the value of the ox.

38. If a man finds an ox doing harm in a vineyard or in a field or in

[18] Thefts of an ox-bell or sheep-bell are frequently referred to in the Germanic codes. L. Visig. viii. 2, 11 with Zeumer's note; L. Burg. iv. 5; Ed. Roth. 289. But in no case is there any reference to the thief's liability for consequential damage. With the latter clause cp. c. 55 and c. 75.

[19] Same law in Dig. xliii. 27, 1, 6 (see also Cod. viii. 1, 1) but not confined to a κῆπος.

[20] The ὀπωροφύλαξ may be appointed by the farmer to guard the fruit from thieves; but he may also be appointed by the landlord to ensure an equal division of the fruit between landlord and tenant, where a farm is cultivated on shares. Plin. *Ep.* ix. 37 medendi una ratio si non mutuus sed partibus locem ac deinde ex suis aliquos operis exactores, *custodes fructibus* ponam; Lex de villas Magnae colonis (Bruns, *Fontes*[7], p. 298) earum agrorum fructus conductoribus ullicisne eius dare debebunt; *custodes* exigere debebunt; P. Oxy. iv. 729 lo 36 ἀπ Βούλητος ὁ Σαμψαῖος (lessor) ὀπωροφύλακα φυλάσσειν τῷ τῆς ὀπώρας καιρῷ φύλακα πέμψει τοῦ ὄμμου ἥτις πρὸς αὐτάς.

[21] Or 'selling the milk.'

[22] Cp. L. Visig. viii. 4, 9; L. Burg. iv. 8; etc.

another place, and does not give it back to its owner, on the terms of recovering from him all the destruction of his crops, but kills or wounds it, let him give ox for ox, ass for ass, or sheep for sheep.[34]

39. If a man is cutting a branch in a thicket and does not pay attention, but it falls and kills an ox or an ass or anything else, he shall give soul for soul.[35]

40. If a man is cutting a tree and unwittingly drops his axe from above and slays another's beast, he shall give it.

41. If a man steals an ox or an ass and is convicted, he shall be whipped and give it twice over and all its gain.

42. If while a man is trying to steal one ox from a herd, the herd is put to flight and eaten by wild beasts, let him be blinded.

43. If a man goes out to bring in his own ox or his ass, and in pursuing it pursues another with it, and does not bring it in also with him, but it is lost or eaten by wolves, let him give for an equivalent to its master an ox or an ass. But if he gave full notice and pointed out the place and showed in his defence that he could not get hold of it, let him go harmless.

44. If a man finds an ox in a wood and kills it, and takes the carcase, let his hand be cut off.

45. If a slave kills one ox or ass or man in a wood, his master shall make it good.

46. If a slave, while trying to steal by night, drives the sheep away from the flock in chasing them out of the fold, and they are lost or eaten by wild beasts, let him be hanged as a murderer.

47. If a man's slave often steals beasts at night, or often drives away flocks, his master shall make good what is lost on the ground that he knew his slave's guilt, but let the slave himself be hanged.

48. If a man finds an ox doing harm and does not give it to its master on being paid for the damage done, but cuts its ear or blinds it or cuts its tail, its master does not take it but takes another in its place.[36]

49. If a man finds a pig doing harm or a sheep or a dog, he shall deliver it in the first place to its master; when he has delivered it a second time, he shall give notice to its master; the third time he may cut its tail or its ear or shoot it without incurring liability.[37]

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[34] This c., which should be compared with cc. 38 and 85, is in accordance with Roman law, Dig. ix. 2, 39, 1; and see notes on later chapters.

[35] According to Dig. ix. 2, 31 a putator, who, in cutting off a branch, carelessly kills a passer-by, is liable under the lex Aquilia. L. Visig. viii. 3 extends the same principle to injuries done to animals: si . . . pendens forte asse ruina huius arboris debilitauerit uel occiderit, pro quadrupe uno domino alium eiusdem meriti mox reformet.

[36] Cp. L. Visig. viii. 3, 17 si labia pecoribus uel aures qui in fructibus suis comprehenderit inciderit, illa que deformauit optimet, et domino pecoris alia sana restituere non moretur.

[37] This c. and the obscure c. 53—the text of both is rather doubtful—insist on the necessity of three trespasses before the person damaged acquires the right of killing the animal trespassing. There are authorities in the Germanic codes to this or a like effect. L. Visig. viii. 5, 1 (of pigs found trespassing in a wood); viii. 5, 5 (same law applied si in pascua grex alienus intraverit sen ovium sive vaccarum); L. Burg. xxiii. 4 si cuiuscumque porci damnum faciunt in vineis, pratis ac messibus cultis et silvis

50. If an ox or an ass in trying to enter a vineyard or a garden falls into the ditch of the vineyard or of the garden and is killed, let the owner of the vineyard or garden go harmless.[27]

51. If an ox or an ass in trying to enter a vineyard or a garden is spitted on the stakes of the fence, let the owner of the garden go harmless.[28]

52. If a man sets a snare at harvest-time and a dog or a pig falls into it and die, let its owner go harmless.

53. If a man, after a first and second payment of damage, kills the animal which has done the damage instead of delivering it to its owner in order that he may recover the damage it has done, let him give what he killed.

54. If a man shuts up a pig or a dog and destroys it, he shall restore it twice over.[29]

55. If a man kills a sheepdog and does not make confession but there is an inroad of wild beasts into the sheepfold, and afterwards he who killed the dog is recognized, let him give the whole flock of sheep together with the value of the dog.

56. If a man lights a fire in his own wood or in his field and it happens that the fire spreads and burns houses or cultivated fields, he is not condemned unless he did it in a strong wind.

57. He who burns another's hillside or cuts another's trees is condemned in twice the damage.

58. Let him who burns the fence of a vineyard be beaten and have his hand branded and let him also pay twice the damage done.

59. Let him who cuts another's vines when they are in fruit or who roots them up have his hand cut off and pay the damage.[30]

60. Let those who in harvest-time come into another man's furrow and cut bundles or ears of corn or pulse[31] be whipped and stripped of their shirts.

61. Where people enter another man's vineyard or figyard, if they come to eat, let them go scatheless; if they are there to steal, let them be bēaten and stripped of their shirts.[32]

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glandifera, et admonitus porcorum dominus his fuerit ut porcos suos custodiat et noluerit, the person damaged may kill the best pig; lxxxix. 3 vacca vero post tertiam conventionem, si in vinea inventa fuerit, occidatur a vinea domino similiter præsummenda. On the importance in Roman and other law of the number three, see a review by Gaston May in *N.R.H. de droit français et étranger*, 1911, pp. 89–98.

[27] Cp. Ed. Roth. 305 (ρεγ' in Greek version) si quis fossatum vinea campum suum fecerit et canallus aut alter peculius ibidem ceciderit . . non requiratur ab ipso cuius fossatum inmunitur esse.

[28] Cp. Ed. Roth. 304 (ρνδ' in Greek version) si canallus aut quislibet peculius in clausura alterius intus saliendum se inpalauerit non reddatur ab ipso cuius sepem est; L. Baiuw. xiv. 1.

[29] This agrees strictly with Roman law; Col. iii. 35, 5; Dig. ix. 2, 29, 7.

[30] Cp. Dig. xlvii. 7, 2, pr. secundum eat autem eos qui arbores et maxime oliveas succiderint etiam tanquam latrones puniri.

[31] '*Serpus* is a comprehensive word,' say the learned editors of P. Tebtunis I at p. 288 'including all sorts of pulse and even mustard.' In P. Leipzig 21, l. 20 and B.G.U. iv. 1092, l. 18 *serpus* are used of barley.

[32] Cp. Ed. Roth. 296 (ρνς' in Greek version) si quis super tres uuas de uinea alienam tulerit, componat solidos sex; nam si unus tres tulerit, nulla sit illi culpa. Perhaps both provisions are based on Levit. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiii. 24; xxiv. 19–22.

62. Let those who steal a plough or a ploughshare or a yoke or anything else,[33] pay damages according to the number of days from the day when the theft took place, twelve folles for each day.

63. Let those who burn another's cart or steal it, pay twice its value.

64. Let those who set fire to a threshing-floor or stacks of corn by way of vengeance on their enemies be burnt.

65. Let those who set fire to a place where hay or chaff is kept, have a hand cut off.

66. If people pull down others' houses lawlessly and spoil their fences, on the ground that the others had fenced or built on their land,[34] let them have their hands cut off.

67. If people take land on account of interest, and are proved to have been in enjoyment of it for more than seven years, let the judge take an account at the expiration of the seven years, and let him set down as principal the whole of the profits before and half the profits after.[35]

68. If a man is found in a granary stealing corn, let him receive in the first place a hundred lashes, and make good the damage to the owner; if he is convicted a second time, let him pay twofold damages for his theft; if a third time, let him be blinded.

69. If a man at night steals wine from a jar or from a vat or out of a butt,[36] let him suffer the same penalty as is written in the chapter above.

70. If people have a deficient measure of corn and wine and do not follow the ancient tradition of their fathers but out of covetousness have

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[33] ζεγὸν ἢ ἕτερα is the best supported reading, but there is some variety in the tradition. I do not like ἢ ἕτερα; perhaps we should read ζευγάτιον—a word which is found in P. Flor. ii. 167, 256, and which evidently means the yoke for a pair of oxen. Cp. P. Flor. ii. 134 τὸ τσεμοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀμοῦρι καὶ τὸ ση.

[34] The words ἂν εἰς τὰ ἴδια . . . ἐτέκτανεν were evidently found difficult by the scribes, but a comparison with c. 21 makes the meaning clear.

[35] The text and meaning here are doubtful. A reference to the app. crit. will show that I have altered the MS. text which I do not understand, although Zachariä succeeds in construing it; Op. cit. p. 251, n. 823. I do not think that this chapter refers to a case where the lender takes possession of property pledged to him to secure the interest on a loan and where the yearly rents and profits go against interest and (so far as they exceed it) go to sink the principal debt (Cod. iv. 24, 1). The chapter in my opinion presupposes a contract of antichresis (Dig. xx. 1, 11, 1). There are many examples in the papyri. The lender by virtue of the contract in lieu of interest either (a) enjoys the fruits of the borrower's land (B.G.U. i. 101 ἀντὶ τῶν τούτων τόκων συγχωρεῖτέ μοι σπείρειν καὶ ἀμπελίζεσθαι καὶ ἀποφέρειν εἰς τὰ ἴδια; B.G.U. i. 333; P. Leipzig, 19, instead of interest the borrower gives σαρτείαν καὶ διαμεδωσιν καὶ τριόδους πάσας) or (b) dwells in the borrower's house (P. Oxy. viii. 1105, δι' ἐνοικίου ἀντὶ τῶν τόκων; B.G.U. iv. 1113, where the loan is described as ἄτοκος). In B.G.U. iv. 1055 where the loan is described as ἄτοκος, the milk supplied by the borrower goes in discharge of the principal; ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ the lender ἀναλογίσασθαι τὴν τοῦ στεμμάτου τιμὴν ἐν τὸ προκείμενον κεφάλαιον. The object of the chapter seems to be to ensure that in contracts of antichresis, part at least of the rents and profits shall go in discharge of the principal debt; I can give no parallel; it may be based on Deut. xv. 2.

[36] The difference between πίθος, λῆνος and βουττίον is this. The λῆνος is the vat in which the grapes are pressed; the πίθος or βουττίον the jar or cask in which the wine is kept. Bas. xliv. 10, ψ'; Ps-Theod. Hermopolites in Ducange, s.v. βοῦττις.

unjust measures, contrary to those that are appointed, let them be beaten for their impiety.[37]

71. If a man delivers cattle to a slave for pasture without his master's knowledge and the slave sells them or otherwise damages them, let the slave and his master go harmless.

72. If, with his master's knowledge, the slave receives beasts of any sort and eats them up or otherwise does away with them, let the slave's master indemnify the owner of the beasts.

73. If a man is passing on a road and finds a beast that is wounded or killed and out of pity gives information, but the owner of the beast suspects that the informer has played the rogue, let him take an oath concerning the wounding, but concerning the killing let no one be examined.

74. Where a man destroys another's beast on any pretence, when he is recognized, let him indemnify its owner.

75. Let him who destroys a sheep-dog by poison receive a hundred lashes and give double the dog's value to its master; if the flock too is destroyed, let the slayer make good the whole loss, because he was the cause of the dog's destruction. And let testimony be given as to the dog, and if he fought with wild beasts, let it be as we have already said; but if he was an ordinary average dog, let his slayer be beaten and give the dog's value once only.

76. If two dogs are fighting and the master of one gives it to the other dog with a sword or a stick or a stone and by reason of that blow it is blinded or killed or suffers some other detriment, let him make it good to its master and receive twelve lashes.

77. If a man has a powerful dog which is arrogant towards its mates and he irritates his powerful dog against the weaker dogs and it happens that a dog is maimed or killed, let him make it good to its master and receive twelve lashes.[38]

78. If a man harvests his lot before his neighbour's lots have been harvested and he brings in his beasts and does harm to his neighbours, let him receive thirty lashes and make good the damage to the party injured.[39]

79. If a man gathers in the fruits of his vineyard and while the fruits of some lots are still ungathered brings in his beasts, let him receive thirty lashes and make good the damage to the party injured.

80. If a man lawlessly, when he has a suit with another, cuts his vines or any other tree, let his hand be cut off.

81. If a man who is dwelling in a district ascertains that a piece of common ground is suitable for the erection of a mill and appropriates it

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[37] The use of false measures is often described as impious by mediaeval legislators, no doubt on the authority of Levit. xix. 35; Deut. xxv. 13–16. In the Livre du Préfet, wine-sellers who use deficient measures are beaten, shorn, and expelled from the corporation (xix. 4, p. 56).

[38] Cp. Dig. ix. 2. 11, 5.

[39] Cp. Cod. iii. 35, 6 (on which is based Bas. lx. 3, 63 Theod.); L. Visig. viii. 3, 10 with Zeumer's note; L. Burg. xxvii. 4. See also Exod. xxii. 5.

and then, after the completion of the building, if the commonalty of the district complain of the owner of the building as having appropriated common ground, let them give him all the expenditure that is due to him for the completion of the building and let them share it in common with its builder.

82. If after the land of the district has been divided, a man finds in his own lot a place which is suitable for the erection of a mill and sets about it, the farmers of the other lots are not entitled to say anything about the mill.

83. If the water which comes to the mill leaves dry cultivated plots or vineyards, let him make the damage good; if not, let the mill be idle.

84. If the owners of the cultivated plots are not willing that the water go through their plots, let them be entitled to prevent it.

85. If a farmer finds one man's ox in another's vineyard doing damage and does not give notice to its owner, but, while he tries to chase it, kills or injures it, or fixes it on a stake, let him pay its whole value as damages.[49]

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[49] This chapter is in accordance with Roman and other authorities. Dig. ix. 2, 39, 1 quamvis alienum pecus in agro suo quis deprehendit, sic illud expellere debet, quemadmodum si suum deprehendisset . . . nec abigere debet sine damno nec admonere dominum ut suum recipiat; L. Visig. viii. 3, 13 si quis caballum aut pecus alienum in sines . . . inmenerit, non expellat iratus . . . Si pecora, dum per incandia inmoderationis expellit, conterrit, he keeps them and makes good their value to their owner; L. Baiuw. xiv. 3; Ed. Roth. 304. L. Burg. xxiii. 2 seems to be contrary.

TWO EARLY GREEK VASES FROM MALTA

THE objects shown in Figs. 1 and 2 were all found in a 'Phoenician' rock-tomb in a field to the south of Rabato, Malta. 'The tomb with vaulted ceiling was cut in the side of a hill.'[1] It contained cinerary urns with burnt bones, but no signs of bodies interred. Under a clay cup (Fig. 1*b*), a gold medallion was found, on which the winged orb displayed over the half-moon, flanked by two serpents, is gracefully figured in a kind of filigree work. The medallion has a diameter of 25 mm. and weighs 6·3 grms. A similar

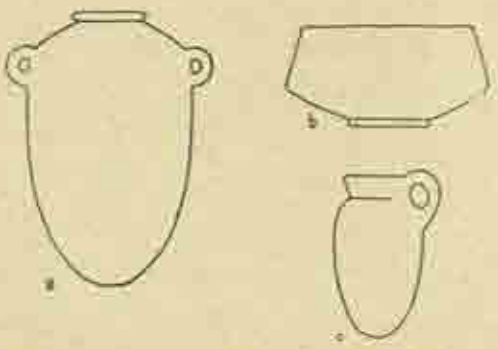

FIG. 1.—OSSUARY (*a*; 1 : 14) AND TWO OTHER VASES (*b*, *c*; 1 : 4).

medallion was found at Carthage (Douimes) in 1895 and described by Delattre.[2] With this medallion' (*i.e.* with the Maltese) 'a pair of silver bangles and fragments of two rings were found. Fragments of a small Greek vase were also discovered with the *débris*.' (Fig. 2.)

The vase was a skyphos of ordinary Proto-Corinthian type (Argive linear). Underneath is the usual ray pattern, while on the shoulder are short vertical strokes between bands of thin, horizontal lines. This is the earliest Greek vase as yet found in Malta, and serves to date the tomb in which it was found to the eighth or seventh century B.C. This agrees with the date assigned by Delattre on other grounds to the similar medallion found at Douimes.

[1] *Annual Report of the Valletta Museum*, 1908-9, p. 8.

[2] Delattre, *La nécropole punique de Douimes*, p. 110.

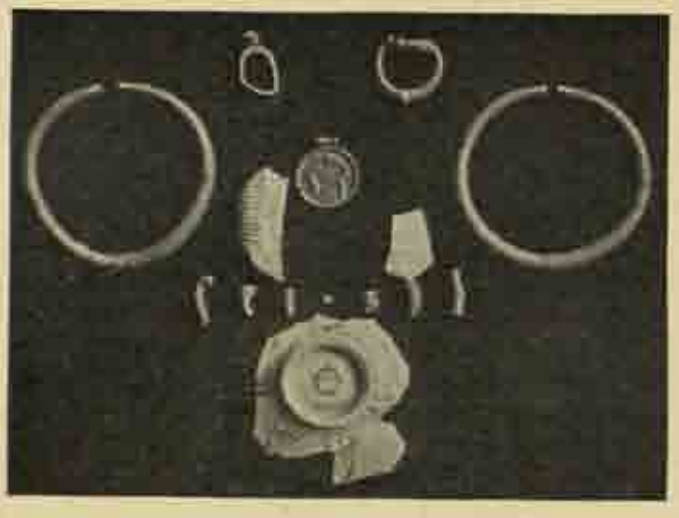

Fig. 2.—Proto-Corinthian Pyxis and Jewellery.

Fig. 3 shows four fragments of a Corinthian bowl which is now in the Roman Villa Museum at Notabile. It is said to have been found in the

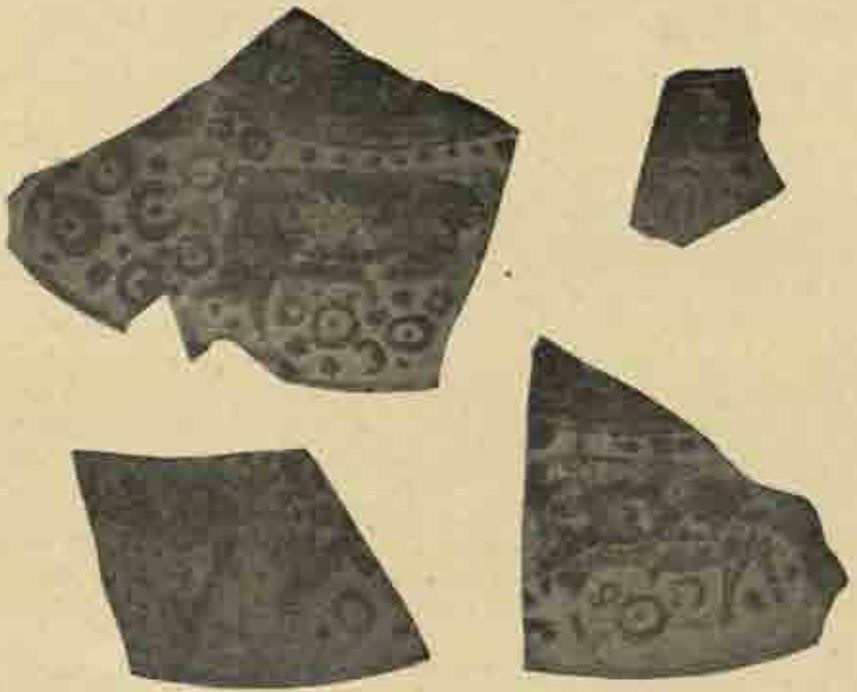

Fig. 3.—Fragments of a Corinthian Bowl.

ruins of the villa itself, a statement which there is no reason to doubt. But in any case it probably came originally from a Punic tomb in the island.

The slip is ochre to light yellow in colour, and the design is in reddish brown. The bottom of the vase shows concentric circles in the design colour, overlaid with others in purple and white. On the broadest band are dotted rosettes in ochre. The main design consists of lions, stags (?), and bulls (?) in brown, the chief muscles being bounded by incision and overlaid with purple which has now almost disappeared. The spaces are completely filled with *Füllornament* consisting of dots, rosettes with incised rays, and circles with centre marked.

The yellow colour of the clay assigns the vase to the earlier of the two periods into which Wilisch divides Corinthian ware, and it may therefore probably be placed in the seventh century B.C.

Such vases as these show that tombs of a Carthaginian type were being made in Malta as early as the eighth century. It has been usual to call such tombs Phoenician. This term has had a long vogue in Malta, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, but every fresh discovery serves to thrust it more completely out of use. Up to some ten or fifteen years ago the megalithic monuments of Hagiar Kim and Mnaidra were still described as Phoenician, a name to which they have not the remotest claim. To-day it is still usual to speak of some of the rock-tombs of Malta as Phoenician. If this means that these tombs were made by people who had dwelt in Phoenicia, it is almost certainly in all cases a misnomer, for we have no particle of evidence for any connexion between Malta and Phoenicia at all.[3] What we have is a large series of rock-tombs containing vases and other objects practically identical with those found in the Punic tombs of Carthage. Since these latter are always known as Punic, the same term and no other ought to be applied to the Maltese examples.

The only Maltese rock-tombs which could conceivably deserve the name Phoenician would be those which, if they existed, were just earlier than the foundation of Carthage. But such tombs do not seem to occur. The tomb which yielded the Proto-Corinthian vase is probably one of the earliest 'Phoenician' tombs on the island. No other tomb exhibits more archaic features; and yet this is shown by the medallion to be no earlier than some of the Punic tombs of Carthage. It would therefore be much more satisfactory to call all these Maltese tombs Punic, provisionally at least. If it should afterwards be found that some of them are earlier than the earliest tombs of Carthage it will then be time to consider whether these examples should be called Phoenician. The present system leads to the incongruous spectacle of Greek vases of the fourth and even third centuries B.C. labelled as coming from a Phoenician tomb.

It is to be hoped that eventually the Greek vases found in Punic tombs in Malta will enable us to fix the chronological order of the various types of

[3] The presence of Phoenician inscriptions proves nothing, as this language was used in Carthage for inscriptions down to the 5th century B.C.

tomb and of the objects found in them. Several fragments of two fine black figure vases were lately discovered in the rubbish from some violated rock-tombs, but no fifth century Greek wares have yet been found in unrifled chambers. For the earlier periods we have up to the present no evidence except the Proto-Corinthian vase above described. This however at least enables us to date to the eighth or seventh century the three types of vases shown in Fig. 1. Similar discoveries may at any moment date for us other types and enable us to establish a more or less complete pottery series.

I have to thank Dr. Zammit, the Curator of the Valletta Museum, for permission to publish and to reproduce these objects.

T. E. PEET.

THOINARMOSTRIA

In my commentary upon an inscription discovered near the village of Remonstapha in south-western Messenia, and published in the *J.H.S.* xxv. (1905), pp. 49 foll., I discussed the occurrences of the title *θοιναρμόστρια*, of which I gave what I then believed to be a complete list. Subsequently, however, a new inscription containing the term has been discovered and published, while a second still awaits publication, and I have recently noticed that I had overlooked an important text of Messene in which the word is twice found (*G.D.I.* 4650). I therefore take this opportunity of correcting my error and of supplementing my note, especially as the articles on the *θοιναρμόστρια* in the *Real-Encyclopädie* of Pauly-Kroll and in Roscher's *Lexikon* have not yet appeared.[1] Thanks to the kindness of Professor W. Kolbe of Rostock, the editor of the Laconian and Messenian section of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, I am enabled to give references to the numbers which the inscriptions will bear in the Corpus, this volume of which is now in the press and will, it is hoped, be published before the close of the current year. For the aid thus received and for the permission to refer to the still unpublished text *I.G.* v. 1. 592 I here tender to Dr. Kolbe my sincere thanks.

The term *θοιναρμόστρια* is found only in eleven Laconian and Messenian inscriptions, but can be restored with certainty in a twelfth (No. VI below). The following list will, I hope, be found to be complete :—

I. *I.G.* v. 1. 583; *C.I.G.* 1435.
II. *I.G.* v. 1. 596; *C.I.G.* 1436.
III. *I.G.* v. 1. 584; *C.I.G.* 1439.
IV. *I.G.* v. 1. 589; *C.I.G.* 1446.
V. *I.G.* v. 1. 606; *C.I.G.* 1451; *G.D.I.* 4522.
VI. *I.G.* v. 1. 608; Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, p. 25 No. 8.
VII. *I.G.* v. 1. 229.
VIII. *I.G.* v. 1. 592.
IX. *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 58 No. 6.
X. *I.G.* v. 1. 1388, *G.D.I.* 4689; Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 653; Ziehen, *Leges Graec. Sacrae*, ii. 58.
XI. *I.G.* v. 1. 1439; von Prott, *Leges Graec. Sacrae*, i. 15; *G.D.I.* 4650.
XII. *I.G.* v. 1. 1498, *J.H.S.* xxv. pp. 49 foll. No. 10.

[1] Nor has Dar.-Sagl. yet reached this point. *Graec. Suppliciorum*[2], 1910) is marred by Van Herwerden's account of the word (*Lex.* omissions and misprints.

Of these inscriptions, nine (Nos. I–IX) are from Laconia and the remaining three (X–XII) from Messenia.

In my note already referred to I was concerned to maintain two propositions: firstly, that the site of the Spartan Eleusinion mentioned by Pausanias (iii. 20, 7) lay at or near the ruined church of Ἁγία Σοφία at Kalyvia Sochiotika and secondly, that the title of *θοιναρμόστρια* is always connected with the worship of Demeter, or of Demeter and Kore.

The former view may be regarded as fully and finally established. Von Prott rendered the identification extremely probable in his article on the Spartan plain as described by Pausanias (*Ath. Mitt.* xxix. 8 foll.). I endeavoured to support his argument upon epigraphical grounds (*J.H.S. loc. cit.*), and the matter was placed beyond doubt by the excavation conducted by Mr. Dawkins, Director of the British School at Athens, in April 1910 and described by him in the *B.S.A.* xvi. 12 foll. Though the buildings of the Eleusinion have entirely perished, its site has been identified with certainty 'on the slope of the mountain immediately above the houses and gardens of the village' and a number of stamped tiles, leaden wreaths, clay figurines, and other small offerings have been discovered, together with the fragmentary inscription IX (see above).

The second view which I maintained seems, however, to be more open to question. True, six of the inscriptions cited above have been discovered at Kalyvia and may fairly be attributed to the Eleusinion close by (Nos. III, V–IX), two occur in a group of texts copied by Fourmont almost certainly at the same village (I, II), one (IV) is practically a replica of a text found at Kalyvia (VI), and two of the three Messenian inscriptions connect the *θοιναρμόστρια* definitely with the worship of Demeter (X, XII). Nevertheless there are three difficulties in the way of our assigning the office exclusively to this cult.

(1) In No. X, the famous mystery-regulation from Andania,[2] the full title used is *ἁ θοιναρμόστρια ἁ εἰς Δάματρος* (l. 32), which Meister understands as *ἁ θ. ἁ εἰς Δ. θοίναν*, while previous editors supply the word *ἱερέα* in place of *θοίναν*. In either case, the latter part of the phrase suggests that the *θοιναρμόστρια* might be attached to other cults than that of Demeter, since otherwise the addition of the goddess' name would be unnecessary.

(2) In No. V, an inscription found by Fourmont '*στῷ Σκαθοχαρίῳ prope templum Orgae*' and reproduced from his copy by Boeckh (*C.I.G. loc. cit.*), we have the puzzling phrase (ll. 3–5)

ΑΣΚΑΗΠΙΑΔΟΥΘΟΙ
. ΑΡΜΟΣΤΡΙΑΝΕΙΣΑΡ
ΝΙΑΣΚΑΙΑΓΟΡΑΧΟΝ

[2] For the *ἱεροί* and *ἱεραί*, who take a prominent part in the cult at Andania, see G. Cardinali, *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xvii. 185 foll., where, however, the evidence of *J.H.S.* xxv. 49 foll. is overlooked.

Boeckh read *θοι[ν]αρμόστριαν εἰσαρ . ιας* but confessed that he could extract no meaning from the latter word. Meister proposed to read *θοι[ν]αρμόστριαν εἰς [Δα]μία* and to see in Δαμία a variant form of Δαμάτηρ.[3] But Professor R. C. Bosanquet and I saw and copied the stone at Kalyvia in December 1903, and there could be no question whatever of the correctness of Fourmont's copy of the last two letters of l. 4. The stone (a statue-base of bluish local marble, broken on all sides save, perhaps, at the top right-hand corner and measuring 67 m. in height, 65 m. in breadth, and 56 m. in thickness) had suffered some minor damages since Fourmont saw it; in l. 3 the initial Α had disappeared, and in l. 5 nothing was distinguishable before ΑΣ: but the ΑΡ at the close of l. 4 was quite plain and Meister's conjecture can only be upheld by the dangerous expedient of supposing the ancient engraver to have made a serious error, which was allowed to remain uncorrected. To my mind the only likely restoration that suggests itself is *εἰς Ἀρ[εί]ας*; but if this is correct, it is fatal to the view that there is a necessary connexion between the *θοιναρμόστρια* and the Demeter-cult, for Ἀρεία is in Laconia a regular epithet not of that goddess but of Aphrodite. Thus Pausanias (iii. 17, 5) writes: *ὄπισθεν δὲ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ναός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης Ἀρείας· τὰ δὲ ξόανα ἀρχαῖα, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο ἐν Ἕλλησι*, and the same goddess is referred to elsewhere as *ἐνόπλιος*, *ἔνοπλος*, *armata*.[4] The theory has been put forward that Aphrodite Areia is identical with the Ariontia mentioned in the Damonon-inscription[5] ll. 24, 40, which refers to chariot-races, horse-races, and foot-races as held *ἐν Ἀριοντίας*. Whether we accept this view or that of Wide (*Lakonische Kulte*, 141 foll.), who sees in Ariontia an Erinys, lack of space absolutely precludes the restoration *εἰς Ἀρ[ιοντί]ας* in No. V.

(3) There is nothing to connect the *θοιναρμόστρια* of No. XI directly with the worship of Demeter. That inscription is a fragment of a sacred calendar inscribed upon a marble stele which was discovered at Messene and has been published by Wilhelm (*Ath. Mitt.* xvi. 352 foll.), Meister (*G.D.I.* 4650), and von Prott (*Leges Graecorum Sacrae* i. 15). Unfortunately the goddess (or goddesses) to whose cult it relates is not named in the extant portion, and though we know from Pausanias (iv. 31, 9) that there was at Messene a *Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἄγιον* we are hardly entitled to attribute this fragment to that sanctuary without further evidence. To do so merely upon the ground of the appearance of the *θοιναρμόστρια* in it is to beg the very question we are now discussing.

On the whole, therefore, it is safer, until the discovery of further evidence, to accept as at least possible the existence of *θοιναρμόστρια* in other cults than those of Demeter and Kore. The title, however, appears to be peculiar to Laconia and Messenia, and the extant inscriptions prove its existence

[3] See his notes *G.D.I.* 4522, 4496. The evidence for the worship of Δαμία (Δαμεία) in Laconia is collected and discussed by Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 219 foll.

[4] See the passages cited by Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 136 foll.

[5] *G.D.I.* 4416; *S.M.C.* 449. A new portion of this inscription was found in 1907 and is published in *B.S.A.* xiii. 174 foll. For the restoration of ll. 38–42 see *B.S.A.* xiii. 178.

earlier in the latter than in the former: for two of the Messenian inscriptions (XI, XII) belong to the late third or early second[6] century B.C. and the third (X) falls about the year 91 B.C., while the Laconian texts all belong to the Roman Imperial period and some of them to the second or even the third century of our era (*e.g.* IV, VIII).

Of the duties of the thoinarmostria, beyond that which the name itself implies, we learn only from the Messenian sources, for most of the Laconian texts contain a mere reference to the title in honorary or votive inscriptions, while IX is too fragmentary to tell us anything of her duties at the Eleusinion of Kalyvia Sachiotika. At Messene she takes part in the organisation of the sacrifices and of the banquet, together with the *προστάτας*, the *προστατίνα*, and, perhaps, the *κλαικοφόρος*,[7] and also apparently collects the contributions made to cover the cost of the ceremony. At Andania the *θοιναρμόστρια* and the *ὑποθοιναρμόστραι* (who are mentioned here only) take a prominent part in the procession which forms an important feature in the celebration of the mysteries, following the waggons which bear the mystic emblems and preceding two priestesses of Demeter. At the sanctuary from which the Remoustapha-inscription has been brought,[8] the thoinarmostria is responsible for the due observance of the rules relating to the festival and for the punishment of any who transgress them, and is subject to a heavy fine if she should neglect these duties. Such functions serve to show that the position must have been one of considerable eminence and honour, and this inference is fully borne out by the distinction of those individuals whom we know to have filled the office at the Spartan Eleusinion.

In conclusion, I should like to suggest what seems to me a probable solution of a riddle which hitherto has remained unanswered. In *C.I.G.* 1436, No. II of the inscriptions already cited, we find the phrase (ll. 7 foll.) *προσδεξαμένου τὸ ἀνάλωμα τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου* ΓΑΡΑΡ *ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Μᾶρ(κου) Αὐρη(λίου) Στεφάνου*. Of the letters printed in capitals Boeckh writes 'videtur error lapicidae esse,' and offers no explanation. I propose to read ΠΑΡΑΡ and to see in these letters an abbreviated form of *παρ(αδόξου) ἀρ(ίστου)*. This involves a very slight alteration of the text: the mistake may be due to the ancient engraver, for Γ and Π are not infrequently confused in inscriptions, or to Fourmont, or to the copyist of Fourmont's MS. Further, the lines drawn over the letters show that we have to deal with abbreviations, as appears, for example, in the ΜΑΡΑΥΡΗ of the following

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[6] Frankel's statement (*I.G.* iv. 768, note) that No. XI *teste Wilhelmo circa initia saec. tertii ad exercitum* is mistaken: Wilhelm dates it *um die Wende des dritten und zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (*Ath. Mitt.* xvi. 352).

[7] Wilhelm interprets Κλαικοφόρος as the name of a hero, comparing an inscription from the Asclepieum of Epidaurus, ἥρωι Κλαικοφόρωι (*I.G.* iv. 1300), to which we may now add a Troezenian text consisting of the same two words (*I.G.* iv. 768). Meister (*G.D.I.* 4650, note) sees in the κλαικοφόρος (= κλαιδοῦχος, κλειδοῦχος) a temple functionary, as in Aesch. *Suppl.* 291, Eurip. *I.T.* 131; *cf. G.D.I.* 4689, ll. 90 foll. A κλειδοφόρος is found amongst the temple officials at Notium in *B.C.H.* xviii. 216 foll. No. 3, l. 7.

[8] Kolbe takes it as certain that the sanctuary to which this stone originally belonged was not situated at, or close to, Remoustapha (*Nizzā d. Arch. f. Kunde*, 1905, p. 51).

line. Again, the position of the enigmatic letters between the epithet *ἀξιολογωτάτου* and the noun *ἀνδρός* makes it all but certain that they too conceal some honorific title or titles. Such titles are often abbreviated in Greek inscriptions of the Imperial period: λαμ. is often used to denote *λαμπρότατος*, κρ. or κρατ. to denote *κράτιστος*, and in two Spartan inscriptions we find *ἀξ.* employed to represent *ἀξιολογώτατος* (*S.M.C.* 243, 544). Moreover, in both of these the title is found closely associated with *ἄριστος*,[1] while in three Spartan texts of the same period we have the phrase *πλειστονείκης παράδοξος καὶ ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων* (*C.I.G.* 1363, 1364; *S.M.C.* 220).

MARCUS N. TOD.

[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xvi. p. 85, No. 2, ll. 10, 11.

THESEUS AND THE ROBBER SCIRON.

THE writer of the *Golden Bough*, Dr. Frazer, has most ably interpreted the inner meaning of the strange ritual in the grove of Diana Nemorensis near Aricia, with reference to primitive folk ideas about the deity who governs vegetation and human life. It seems possible to apply the main principle also to a part of the legend of Theseus. In some ways Theseus seems to be purely a mythological figure, to whom an historical place is assigned at the close of the Minoan supremacy, judging by the story of the ring. To him various myths after the type of the labours of Heracles have been attached, some purely invented to give him prominence, others based entirely on ritualistic elements. One of these—the myth of Sinis—has already been explained in the latter way by Dr. Farnell.

One myth seems to find quite a different meaning from what merely appears on the surface, if considered in connexion with certain points of ritual—namely, the myth concerned with the slaying of the robber Sciron at Megara.

The essential points in this story are the following:—

(1) Sciron is a foe to the state, and Theseus rids the land of him.

(2) He is flung over the cliffs into the sea.

(3) The rock is named from the deed—the Scironian rock.

(4) There is a tortoise below to finish the work of destruction—of destroying either Sciron, or those whom Sciron flung over the cliffs before Theseus' coming.

Two other points are important:—

(5) Evidently from the fact that Sciron had flung many over these same rocks, before he perished there himself, this was a spot especially marked by this act of destruction. The adjoining Molurian rocks[1] are connected with a similar story of persons being flung over them into the sea.

(6) Sciron had been noted at Megara once, not as a robber, but as a commander-in-chief or war-leader. He built the Scironian road.[2]

Detail 4 is explained by Miss Harrison in her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, as symbolising the gulf of Aegina,[3] but she notes an important point on page cxv, that in the metope of the 'Theseum,'

[1] Pausanias, i. 44.

[2] Pausanias, i. 44, and ch. 39.

[3] *Cf.* C. Smith, *J. H. S.* ii. 64.

depicting this labour of Theseus, a crab was represented instead of a tortoise. Why this change? Because this labour has borrowed from the scene of Heracles fighting the Hydra the incident of the crab sent by Hera to help the foe.[1] With the exception of this detail of the crab or tortoise, all the rest of the Sciron myth is derived from Attic ritual and similar folk-rites practised at the Isthmus, in Leucadia, at Rome, in Arcadia, and various other parts.

In the first place the action of hurling something or somebody over a cliff into the sea is frequently explained as involving human sacrifice in ritual—*e.g.* the malefactors sacrificed to Apollo at Leucadia,[2] also the death of the daughters of Cecrops,[3] possibly also the fate of Tarpeia, and the robber killed in the same manner as Sciron by the Heracles of the ancient oracular shrine at Bura in Achaia, mentioned by Pausanias (vii. 25. 10). The application of this to the Sciron myth is slightly strengthened by the fact that he is a robber, a foe, for criminals were often the victims chosen for this sacrifice.[4] But these facts by themselves are quite insufficient without the following.

We may perhaps connect with Sciron the following names and their connexion with Attic ritual and Theseus—Sciras, Scirophoria, Sciron (the most important sacred ploughing), and possibly Scyros (the island whence the bones of *Theseus* were supposed to have been brought).

Much vagueness at present attaches to the festival of the *Scirophoria*, belonging to Demeter and Persephone. Possibly the ploughing of the Sciron land belongs to this festival. At any rate it was originally of a primitive agrarian character, like the Thesmophoria. In the festival held in honour of Athena *Sciras*, the patron goddess of Theseus (just because he was the typical Attic hero), runners ran to the temple of Athena Sciras at Phalerum by the sea. They carried boughs, and on the way back gave vent to cries of joy and sorrow to express their mixed feelings 'at the coming of Theseus and the death of Aegeus.' Of the latter we may remember that he perished by flinging himself over the cliffs of the Acropolis into the sea, according to Servius; but this statement is probably a mere slip.

The Athenians invented a certain priest of Dodona, named Sciros, as the one who built the temple of Athena Sciras at Phalerum. On the Sacred Way to Eleusis there was also a village called Sciros, the foundation of which was dated in the time of Erechtheus, when that king warred with Eleusis.[5] There was also an Arcadian town of this name, and a month called Σκιροφοριών. The Etymologicon Magnum describes this month as follows:—'the name of a month among the Athenians; it is so called from the fact that in it Theseus carried *σκίραν*, by which is meant *gypsum*. For Theseus, coming from the Minotaur, made an Athena of gypsum, and carried it, and as he made

[1] See pediment scene from Early Acropolis temple.

[2] Farnell, *Cults*, iv. 145, 283.

[3] Farnell, *Cults*, iii. 21.

[4] *Cf.* Attic φαρμακοί in the Thargelia; Aristophanes, *Wasps*, l. 733.

[5] Pausanias, i. 36.

it in this month, it is called Scirophorion.'[9] Dr. Farnell has suggested[10] that 'Sciras,' the name of Athena's temple at Phalerum, probably is derived from the *white chalk* rock. A worker in *stucco* was called *σκιρίτης*, and we know also that it was specially the old *xoanon* of Athena *Sciras* that was daubed with *white clay*, because it was considered good for the olives, of which she was the patron goddess.[11] The Scholiast on the *Wasps*[12] commenting on *σκῖρον* describes it as 'a certain sort of white earth, like gypsum, which is called *σκιρράς*, and Athena is called Σκιρράς, inasmuch as she is daubed with white.'

This clay-daubing is not confined to Attica. Mr. Warde Fowler brings out this ritualistic act in his explanation of the puppets called the 'Argei,' the representatives of the dead vegetation god, which were flung into the Tiber. Clearly the 'Argeiletum,' misinterpreted by Virgil as the death of Argus in *Aeneid* viii, 345, refers to the white clay puppets borne along as symbols of the dead vegetation spirit. Beside the Alpheios the worshippers of Artemis used to daub themselves with clay in her ritual.[13]

Further, in the story of the death of Aegeus, we may note that he flung himself from the cliffs on seeing the black sail instead of the white.

Theseus is indifferently the son of Aegeus and the son of Poseidon: possibly the right connexion is that he is the Attic priest-king who organises (*Θησεύς* from *τίθημι*) the cult of Poseiden *Αἴγιος* at Athens. The black and white colouring in the story of his return voyage from Crete is paralleled somewhat in the story of the Demeter of Phigaleia, who donned black raiment in her wrath with Poseidon, and caused the vegetation to droop and die. It is also a primitive folk custom to observe by public mourning the need of the community and their longing for fresh crops for the new season. Then joy follows its supposed arrival. Instances may easily be found in the *Golden Bough*.

Again, the *Σκίρον*[14] was a district to the N.W. of Athens, the scene of one of the three sacred ploughings, 'in remembrance of the most ancient seed-sowing.' Miss Harrison says the order of importance of the three ploughings is probably inverted here; but in view of the above facts (note, for instance, the prevalence of the name *Σκίρον* and its connexion with ritual), it is probably after all in its right place—namely, the most important of the three from the point of view of early ritual—but as in the case of the Dionysium *ἐν Λίμναις* the facts through their great antiquity are lost.

The above details, especially those concerned with the festival of Athena *Σκιράς* and the death of Aegeus, seem to offer an explanation of the myth of the robber Sciron in its ritualistic significance.

Sciron and Aegeus fall over the cliffs into the sea, either voluntarily or involuntarily. Many had suffered the same fate at Sciron's hand, before a

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[9] Quoted from Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena*, p. 135.

[10] *Cults*, vol. i. p. 291.

[11] *Cults*, vol. i. p. 329.

[12] l. 925.

[13] Paus. vi. 22. 9.

[14] Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 167.

stronger than he came and flung him over in turn. The spot was famous for these repeated scenes. In the *Σκίρρα* festival haste is shewn—the runners hold a race to the cliffs of Phalerum, and they ran with vine-sprays, bearing grapes, in their hands.[15] This is vaguely connected with the Oschophorium and the festival of the *Ὠσχοφόρια*—the bearing of the grape-clusters, a feast said to have been instituted by Theseus on his return from Crete. It is significant in this connexion that Theseus is also connected with the *εἰρεσιώνη* or 'suppliant bough' in the festival of the Thargelia at Athens.[16] He is also connected with the festival of the Pyanopsia—also Attic—in which the special ritualistic act consisted in the cooking of a dish of pulse or beans supposed to be commemorative of the common meal shared by the companions of Theseus on their safe return from Crete. A 'suppliant bough' is also connected with this festival.[17]

Further, we require another small detail before drawing any conclusions—namely, that Theseus is said to have sailed from Athens to slay the Minotaur in the month of Munychion, and this period was still borne in mind down to the fifth century B.C., for Socrates' death sentence was delayed in execution, because no one might be put to death while the sacred ship, commemorative of Theseus' famous journey, was away from Athens. It was a special time of purification for the city.[18]

Now let us take these facts more in their time relation. Theseus' journey to Crete occurred near the end of April, and a season of purification for the state began. About the end of the next month occurred the ritual of the Thargelia, when the two scape-goats were publicly expelled from Athens to rid the city of all impurity. Again, a month later, we have the *Σκιροφόρια*—the ritual-race to the chalk-cliffs of Phalerum, the runners bearing vine-sprays. This period of purification lasts from two and a half to three months. Is this unduly prolonged? We may compare Roman primitive ritual. The Salii spent the best part of three months purifying Rome. There they went about clashing their shields to expel evil influences and induce the growth of the crops. Their work began in March. Possibly the rite of casting the Argei or white clay puppets into the Tiber is the end of the period of purification. That occurred in May.

To return to the ritual of the *Σκίρρα* festival, is it possible that the race to Phalerum once had for its object the casting away of puppet representations of the dead vegetation god, as in the Argei rites at Rome? The festival has some unknown connexion with the *Σκιροφόρια*, which again is linked with the month named *Σκιροφοριών*, when Theseus carried a clay-puppet of Athena, doubtless the same Athena Scirus whose image was daubed with clay. Theseus is really carrying out the dead vegetation deity—the same idea that underlies the Argei ritual at Rome.

Further, it is a danger to the community to keep them a moment too long. Therefore there is need of haste. A race is held. Sometimes the priest-king

[15] Farnell, *Cults*, vol. i. p. 291.
[16] Farnell, *Cults*, vol. iv. p. 269.
[17] *Cults*, vol. iv. p. 286.
[18] Plato, *Phaedo*, ch. ii.

himself performed the central action of the whole ceremony—the flinging away of the dead vegetation god. Thus king Perseus at Argos flung Dionysus into the lake to fetch Semele. Theseus personally flings Sciron the robber, over the cliffs. Maybe king Lycurgus furthered the descent of Dionysus into the sea in the well-known tale of Nysa,[19] for as the worshippers are called *τιθῆναι*—'nurses', we probably are concerned there with an infant Dionysus, or even a puppet representation of him. Homer himself was probably too late to understand the folk-tale told him of the god.

Aegeus suffers a similar fate from the cliffs of the Acropolis at Athens, but in his case, it is represented as self-inflicted. But the inconsistency in the story is instructive. Aegeus is said to have thus perished in the sea, and given his name to the Aegean—a sheer impossibility, as the Acropolis is several miles from the sea. He is one of the various victims who died for the purification of the city, hence the runners to Phalerum in the *Σκίρρα* festival return mourning his death.

The last point that remains is interesting, as showing how entirely the Athenians themselves had forgotten the meaning of the Sciron story that was attached to Theseus. It had evidently grown up very early in the history of Attica and possibly its attachment to Theseus is its latest feature. They misinterpreted a ritual practice into a connexion between Theseus and the island of *Scyros*—that was the burial place of the hero, 'who went to Hades' and either never returned or had to be fetched by Heracles. In the fifth century a show was made of bringing back the bones of Theseus from that island.

Probably in the story of Theseus' defeat of the robber Sciron and his mode of punishing him, in his relation to the Scirophoria, and in connexion with the island of Scyros, we have another instance of the 'priest who slew the slayer' and who shall in his turn 'himself be slain.'

Theseus himself goes down to Hades in the same ritual fashion as Sciron and his predecessors. He perishes at the *white chalk* cliffs and hence his bones are expected to lie at Scyros. He is the supporter of the ritual of the Athena Sciras. He is not too respectable to perish in this manner. Sciron, the robber, had once been a respectable ruler in Megara. The later Attic poets portray him as a robber.

It is a practice in primitive folk-ritual to kill off the king, as his strength wanes, because he is no longer fit to be the representative of the god. Possibly this may be the root idea lying in the myths of the peculiar sudden deaths of the early Attic kings, whose 'tombs' were pointed out in various parts. Theseus' 'tomb' was lost or else he was so imaginary that they had to look to Scyros for his bones. Dr. Lawson's mention of the centaurs or goat-men of Scyros in the Christmas mummeries of that island shews that there is some reason for expecting primitive folk ideas there. Of these early kings *Erechtheus* perished at the hands of Poseidon, the sea-god.[20] Human sacrifice for the land prevailed in his time, for he offered his daughters[21]

[19] *Iliad* vi. 129-137. [20] Euripides, *Ion* l. 282. [21] *Ibid.* ll. 278, 279.

But the main point is that he perishes at the hands of the god. *Aegeus* flings himself over the Acropolis or into the sea. He too is closely connected with Poseidon '*Aigios*' in name. He is also mourned by the runners in the festival of Athena Sciras. *Codrus*, another early Attic king, also perished for his country in battle, but details are wanting.

But in the deaths of these rulers, Sciron, Theseus, Aegeus, Erechtheus, and Codrus, we may possibly have the early ritual idea of destroying the king while in his prime, lest the power of the deity of whom he is the representative should decline and bring loss to the community.

Thus in the Oschophorium ritual and in the festival of the Scirophoria we may trace the idea of 'carrying out the old year,' and the latter with its probable connexion with the clay image of Athena, apparently an Athena Sciras fashioned by Theseus, the slayer of Sciron, shows also, with the other facts above mentioned, that we may equally well find in it allusion to the primitive folk idea of 'slaying the king' directly his powers become impaired.

D. G. Roberts.

THE SHRINE OF MEN ASKAENOS AT PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.[1]

OUR party was camping this summer near Yalowadj on the actual site of the ancient Pisidian Antioch, when Mr. Kyriakides, a Greek resident in the town, brought us news of buildings and 'written stones' on the summit of a neighbouring peak. Such news in Asia Minor not infrequently leads to a mare's nest, as Prof. Sterrett found in this very district, but Mr. W. M. Calder of Brasenose College determined to test the information. Next day, accordingly, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Kyriakides, he and I set out for the mountain, and we were fortunate enough to find the long-lost *ἱερόν* of Men Askaenos.[2] On the two following days Sir William and Lady Ramsay also visited the shrine, and took up some Turkish workmen to clear away a little of the *débris* encumbering the remains. Having no permit, we could not make any proper excavations, but merely opened up some of the inscriptions, and this only on a very limited scale. In the circumstances, we were unable to give, either to the inscriptions or to our more general observations, such a careful and minute study as we could have wished, so that this report is only provisional and nothing is to be taken as final until excavation confirms each point.

To reach the holy place of Men, we crossed the River Anthios and ascended a peak which rises East of Yalowadj on a spur of the Sultan Dagh to a height of some 5,500 feet. When three-quarters of the toilsome ascent was over, we came on a path that bore signs of having been once a made road. Soon dedications (Figs. 1 and 5), sculptured on the rocks to the left, informed us that we had found the traces of the ancient Sacred Way.[3] We followed it up towards a rocky ravine, dry in summer, but in winter apparently the bed of a torrent which rushes down from the summit of the ridge. Presently we lost sight of the ancient road, and had to scramble up the ravine as best we could. Some way up, we again found the Sacred Way, and now all interest became concentrated on a second peak to the right of the

FIG. 1.—DEDICATION FROM THE SACRED WAY.

[1] I have to thank the Carnegie Trust for a grant in aid of my expenses on this journey.

[2] Thus Prof. Ramsay's disbelief (expressed *e.g.* in *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 259) in Hamilton's identification (*Researches in Asia Minor*, i. p. 474) was confirmed.

[3] We intended to track it down to Antioch later, but time failed us.

first, where a group of rocks bore more engraved dedications, while above the rocks lay the ruins of a Christian church (see Plan, Fig. 2). Close to the church we found a spring, with medicinal properties as I thought, and refreshingly cool on the hottest day. Higher up the now wider ravine we came on the remains of a small theatre (or possibly a small single-ended stadion), hollowed out of the hill. Here the Sacred Way bifurcated[4] to pass round the 'theatre' on either side (Fig. 3), numerous statue-bases lining both forks; and with a final turn the Way brought us to the summit of the hill

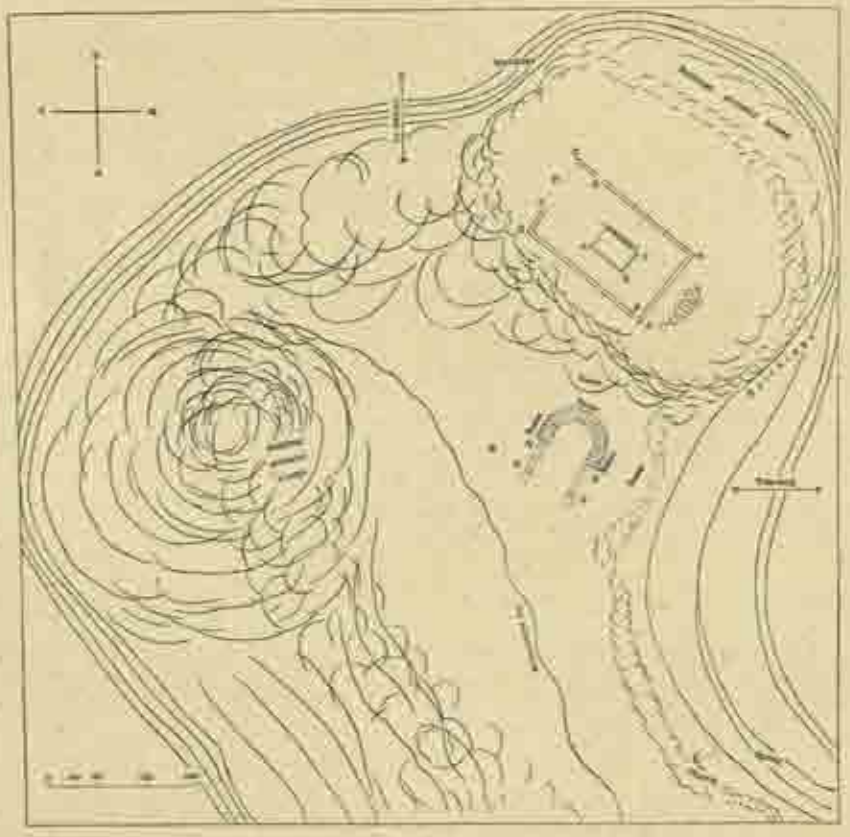

Fig. 2.—Sketch Map of Site. (Scale in feet.)

and we passed round to the gateway on the South of the precinct, inside which lie the ruins of a small building, the *ἱερόν* of Men Askaenos.

Before proceeding to discuss the most important discoveries, I give a brief account of some minor remains.

Across the Sacred Way, on the Northern slopes of the hill, are the remains of buildings which had probably been houses, perhaps for the numerous company of *ἱεροδοῦλοι* who, as Strabo tells[5] us, were maintained

[4] See note 11.

[5] Strabo 577.

at the shrine. Similar remains exist on the Southern and Western slopes also. Some of the Southern structures seem too massive to have been houses; and on this side statue-bases lie around, and traces of an ancient road may be seen, but only excavation could determine either the purpose of these buildings or the line of the road.

The only other remains found are on the summit of the hill East of the 'theatre'; here there was a small, strongly-built, square structure, of which only one course of stones is left above ground. The door, the strength of which was very striking, opens to the West, and so, possibly, we have here a tomb.

I now proceed to give in detail the more prominent results of our investigation of the chief remains.

The Christian Church.

The ruins of the Christian church are situated on a rock overhanging the Sacred Way at a distance of about 180 yards from the 'theatre.' The church was small but well built, and although, in its ruined condition, we were unable to trace its lines completely, we made out the semicircle of the apse: the orientation was not due East, but 15° North of East. We were interested to find that stones from the *ἱερόν* above had been used in its construction, as was proved by the discovery in its ruins of the dedication No. 53.[6] There was also a stone with a cornice.[7] It should be compared with mouldings at the *ἱερόν*.

Excavation of the church would be in all probability fruitful: the site is so remote from human habitation that all the original masonry must lie somewhere about, awaiting the excavator. Not many people could ever have lived on the hill because of its configuration—the houses whose remains we found were not very numerous—and many of those who worshipped in the church must have come from Antioch far below. Doubtless the spot was sacred from time immemorial: the nearness of the spring is in itself a sign of this.[8] Numerous analogies establish the rule that a spot, marked as sacred by signs or proofs of Divine power, remained sacred though the outward form of religion changed; and each new religion in succession had its own shrine at the holy place.[9]

The 'Theatre' (Fig. 3).

The 'theatre' lies in a hollow on the mountain-top, in a very ruined condition, but we were able to ascertain that its greatest breadth was 113 feet and its length inside 130 feet.[10] At *M* and *N* are cross-walls, and the

[6] See Fig. 14.

[7] Seen and drawn by Sir W. M. Ramsay.

[8] Cf. Prof. Ramsay, *Hist. Comm. Gal.* p. 43; *Pauline and other Studies*, p. 162.

[9] *Pauline and other Studies*, p. 163.

[10] Here, as elsewhere, we do not guarantee the measurements. For accurate measurement excavation is needed.

sides narrowed after that as shown on the Plan (Fig. 2). At *R* and *S* there seemed to be a *πάροδος*. It was quite impossible to determine the number of stone benches.

The photograph looks from behind over the 'theatre' and shows the bases of some of the statues which once lined the Sacred Way here: the Sacred Way itself may be seen winding round the south side of the 'theatre.'[11]

Some doubt exists as to the exact nature and purpose of the building. At first we thought it a theatre for the religious dramas which may have been enacted from time to time in the worship of Men, but its arms are unduly prolonged for a theatre. Or it may have been a very small stadion for games. A comparison with Delphi and its tiny stadion nullifies the objections which might be raised to this theory on the score of the

Fig. 2.—The 'Theatre.' (Photograph by Mr. Calder.)

smallness of the course. Games are mentioned in an inscription from Antioch[12] as occurring *diebus festis Lunae*, and it is not improbable that the bases[13] which lie so thickly in the neighbourhood of the 'theatre' once supported statues of victors in these games. However, bases were found also to the south of the *ἱερόν*. They seem to have been inscribed, but scarcely a letter can now be read, and there exists at present no evidence to show whether the statues had represented the god and his priests, or emperors, or victors in the games. If the 'theatre' was really a stadion, then only one end seems to have been built.[14]

[11] It needs a considerable effort of the reconstructive imagination to discover a Sacred Way in this part: the only place where its course seemed quite certain was to the north of the ravine; but the lie of the ground is decisive.

[12] Sterrett, *Epig. Jour.* No. 101.

[13] Mr. Calder observed traces of charring on some, due probably to shepherds' fires.

[14] See Prof. Ramsay in *Athenaeum*, Aug. 19, 1911.

The ἱερόν.

The actual *ἱερόν* of Men consists of a precinct, measuring 137 by 230 feet (inside measurement) and surrounded by a wall 5½ feet thick. Like the other structures we found, this wall and the ruined building inside the precinct were built of the very dark limestone, veined with white, of which the hills in this neighbourhood are composed. The stone is very soft and could have presented no difficulty to the workmen who hewed it in the quarries that we saw on the southern slopes of the hill.

Of the wall little now remains on any except the Western[18] side, where it stands to the height of perhaps ten feet. So little of the South wall (*CD* in the Plan, Fig. 2) still exists that we could not fix with certainty the Western limit of the gate. Considerable quantities of fallen masonry lie on the West. The other sides are not much encumbered with fallen blocks, probably because these sides are more easily accessible from the Sacred Way and therefore suffered more from the depredations of the builders of the Christian church.

Near the corner *A* there is a small break *P* in the wall. It is not more than three feet wide and was probably a small door to give readier access to the 'theatre.' At *H* on the West side there is another break, but we could not determine whether this represents an original door leading from the precinct to the houses across the Way, or is due merely to the falling out of a block of stone.

On this same West side the Sacred Way passed close by the wall, but at a level somewhat lower than that of the ground inside the precinct, so that six small supporting buttresses[19] were built in order to resist the pressure which the higher ground inside exercised on the wall. One buttress of a similar description is still traceable on the North side near the West corner, but the knoll which rises here between the wall and the Sacred Way, rendered further support unnecessary on this side. No traces of similar buttresses were seen on the other sides (*AD* and *DC*). If the wall had been of any great height, the configuration of the hill might have necessitated such support on the side *AD*, but not on *DC*.

Great part of the exterior surface of the extant West wall, buttresses and all, is covered with little sculptured dedications (Fig. 4). The type is approximately the same in all cases, the chief features being a temple-shaped front on a base, with supporting pilaster at either side, surmounted by a pediment crowned with akroteria. An emblem of Men usually appears on the front and in the gable. The dedications are inscribed, the inscriptions (pp. 121ff.) being happily in better preservation than those we saw but could not read on the rocks bordering the Sacred Way nearer Antioch (Figs. 1 and

[18] The orientation is not exact: see *infra*, p. 118.

[19] Their widths (starting from the corner *C*) are 2′ 8″, 2′ 1″, 2′ 1″, 2′, 2′ 2″, 2′ 1″ respectively: the distances between are 21′ 8″, 22′ 7″, 21′ 9″, 39′ 11″, 38′ 8″. The first is 14′ 10″ distant from the break *H*. They were built contemporaneously with the wall.

5). The uniformity of type of these little dedications suggests that they were adaptations of a common model, which was, most probably, the building inside[17] the precinct. If this was the case, they omitted anything that was strictly unessential to the general scheme: *e.g.* columns were not always clearly indicated at the sides of the façade (see Figs. 8-15).

Several small niches cut in the wall were also found. They appear to have been intended for such marble tablets as Fig. 16, offered by wealthier or more zealous devotees. In Fig. 15 such a niche is seen adjoining No. 65, and we found others on the rocks across the Sacred Way from the north wall.

The East and South sides are too ruinous to show any trace of such engraved dedications; but several were found on the North near the corners. There were none, however, where the view of the wall was hidden from

Fig. 4.—Dedications from the West Wall of the Peribolos.
(Photograph by Mr. Calder.)

the Sacred Way by the knoll. Clearly the worshippers desired that all men should behold the evidence of their piety, hence the choice of the West rather than the North wall for the inscribing of their dedications. For the Sacred Way leads close by the West wall, but not by the North: moreover, the former faces really West-South-West, not direct West, so that the sun shines on it for almost the whole day.

With regard to the emblems of Men found on the dedications, a series can be made out. At one end of the series stand those we found by the Sacred Way[18] far down the first hill (Figs. 1 and 5). In Fig. 5 we see three

[17] In the present state of the evidence, Sir W. M. Ramsay finds himself unable to agree with Mr. Calder and myself on this point.

[18] We had intended to return to photograph these when the sun should suit, but unfortunately we were always unable to get away from the *Iepòs* until night-fall.

façades of the usual type with a horned bull's head in the pediment and a pair of unmistakable horns within a wreath in the square. Fig. 1 shows in the square two horned bulls' heads with a degenerate and stylised bull's

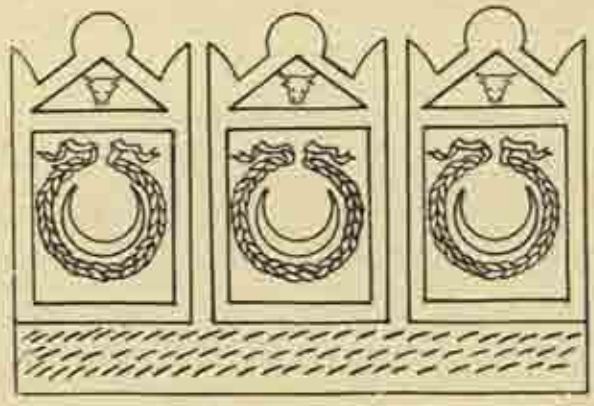

Fig. 5.—Dedication from the Sacred Way.

head above them; in the degenerate form the horns assume undue prominence; compare also No. 23 in Fig. 4 and Fig. 11. In Fig. 6 we see a clear pair of horns with the head vanished. On No. 22 in Fig. 11 a

Fig. 6.—Dedication from the West Wall of the Precinct.
(Photograph by Mr. Calder.)

crescent is distinctly the symbol. The stages then are (1) horned bull's head; (2) horns with vanishing head; (3) horns with vanished head; (4) crescent with no trace of horns. But whether the bull's head preceded the crescent in the order of development, or *vice versa*, there is nothing to determine, and these new monuments contribute little towards a further

knowledge of Men. They only make more evident how confused were the ideas of the ancients regarding the emblems of the god, a confusion already well known to us from coins and other monuments: cf. especially the relief published by Sir Cecil Smith in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899, Pl. I.

Passing now inside the precinct we notice certain irregularities.

(*a*) The side *DC* is not parallel to *AB*, but is thrust out somewhat to the South. The West and the South walls are accordingly a trifle longer than the others (see Plan, Fig. 2).

(*b*) The orientation of the precinct is not due East and West, but rather South-East and North-West (*AB* is at an angle of 39° and *DC* at an angle of 33°). This irregularity is due to the adaptation of the τέμενος to the lie of the hill, and with this we may compare the practice of Mithraic temples, which normally adapted themselves to natural conditions.[19]

Of the building which once stood inside very little now remains, but there is enough to show that it was rectangular in shape, measuring about 66 by 41 feet, and with the sides nearly or quite parallel to the peribolos walls. It is noticeable that it does not lie strictly in the middle of the precinct, for the space between it and the enclosing wall is considerably greater on the South and West sides than on the others.[20] The stones of which it was built lie, many of them at least, scattered over the precinct, but on the West side a few courses still remain in their original position, and these are crowned with a moulded course (Fig. 7). On the West side there are also clear traces of steps; but apparently none on the other sides. Between the gateway and the central building we found the cap of a pilaster which was 22 inches high and 45 inches broad: it projected 15 inches from the background. The height of the moulding mentioned above as forming the uppermost extant course of the stylobate was also about 22 inches, so that the capital and the moulding apparently had some connexion with each other.

We had some difficulty in determining the nature of the building. At first we thought it had been a temple, but it seemed strange that the temple of the chief god of the district should be so small. And why had it steps on one side only? And why was the orientation of the precinct and the supposed temple irregular? But these difficulties vanish when the building is seen to be, not a temple, but a great altar, perhaps such as has been excavated at Miletos by Dr. Wiegand and at Kos by Dr. Herzog.[21] Indeed the example at Kos shows all the curious features of the shrine at Antioch, for its precinct was clearly adapted to the configuration of the terrace on which it is situated; the altar does not lie due East and West, and there are steps on the West side only. Possibly, then, a restoration of the Antioch building may be suggested on the model of that at Kos. On this view the existing remains formed part of the substructure on which stood the altar proper, with a wall rising to

[19] G. Wolff, *Ueber die architektonische Verschiedenheit der Mithraeen*, p. 90; Cumont, *Textes et Monuments de Mithra*, i. p. 58.

[20] It is distant 26, 76, 46, and 58 feet from the S., N., E., and W., sides respectively.

[21] Wiegand, *Milet*, ii. pp. 73 f.; Herzog, *Arch. Anz.* 1903, p. 187.

some height round the altar on all but the West side, which was left open and had steps leading up to it. But unfortunately we have no evidence, either here or in other cases, as to what such an altar looked like, and the restoration can, as yet at least, be only a suggestion.

If this explanation of these ruins is correct, it is disappointing that it seems to bring us no nearer a solution of the character of Men. A further disappointment awaits those who believe that the engraved dedications copied the altar inside the τέμενος, for in the suggested restoration[23] there is no room for a pediment. The restoration, however, as applied to the Antioch altar, may not be complete; moreover, it is yet to be proved that the altar was the model for the dedications. Certainly gabled altars are known from ancient monuments, and excavation disclosed an extant example in the theatre at Priene. Pillars also are seen at the sides of some altars, notably one found at Pergamum.[24]

Fig. 7.—The Altar of Men Askaenos from the West, showing Moulded Course and Steps.
(Photograph by Mr. Calder.)

Altars similar to those found at Miletos and Kos have been found also at Priene, Thasos, and Magnesia. More magnificent examples of the type are the *Ara Pacis* and the Pergamene altar.[25] It will be observed how many of these altars come from the Eastern shores of the Aegean, so that it appears possible that the type was of Asiatic origin. But the altar at Antioch perhaps had its prototype in another and a more distant land.

It has long since been suggested that Men was of Semitic or of Persian origin. The suggestions carried enough weight to arouse considerable

[23] See especially the restoration of the altar at Miletos, *Arch. Anz.* 1902, p. 134, Fig. 10.

[24] Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Altar*, p. 1674; Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, p. 241; *Pergamon*, viii. No. 88.

[25] Petersen, *Jahresh.* 1906, p. 810.

discussion,[25] and they have not yet been satisfactorily refuted. Persian influence, politically and religiously, is well attested for certain parts of Asia Minor, especially for Pontus,[26] and Cappadocia.[27] Bardesanes[28] tells us that the magi were active in Phrygia and Galatia also. Now Strabo gives a general description[29] of an altar of these Persian priests. *ἐν δὲ τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ*, he writes, - - - - *ἔστι καὶ πυραιθεῖα, σηκοί τινες ἀξιόλογοι· ἐν δὲ τούτοις μέσοις βωμός, ἐν ᾧ πολλή τε σποδός, καὶ πῦρ ἄσβεστον φυλάττουσιν οἱ Μάγοι.* The words might have been used of this shrine of Men Askaenos at Antioch, except that as yet no trace of ashes has been found there. While Strabo's description is too general to mean very much, the archaeological evidence is more explicit. For a Persian fire-altar[30] has been preserved at Naksh-i-Rustem, where a large and a small example stand side by side on a rectangular substructure, in which steps leading to the altar have been cut on the West side only. Each altar is a square structure showing on each of the four sides two pilasters supporting a sort of rounded pediment. The crenelated top of the altar rises above the arch of the pediment (cp. the altar of Zeus Hagios at Tripolis, *J.H.S.* 1911, Pl. IV. 30). The altar does not lie due East and West.

Thus the characteristics of the Antioch altar, which enabled us to connect it with the Kos example, allow also a connexion with the more distant Persian type. If the latter was the prototype, a real and pointed pediment has only to be substituted in the Antioch altar for the rounded arch of the Naksh-i-Rustem fire-altar, when the form of the dedications on the peribolos wall becomes apparent. But the types of both are so simple that it is dangerous to attach much importance to the similarity.

A more important advantage of this theory is that it would throw some light on the nature of Men and explain why the ancients were not certain whether bull's head or crescent moon was the emblem of the god. Men would then have to be taken as the Iranian male moon-god, Maonha, and as a close connexion existed between moon and bull in ancient Persian mythology,[31] his chief emblem might be bull's head or crescent moon, as the worshippers willed. The confusion would thus be very ancient.

It may be objected that a Persian god is impossible at *Pisidian* Antioch, since the Pisidians were most probably never under Persian government.[32] But all the scanty evidence which exists goes to show that

[25] The chief arguments see Men in the Iranian Moon-god, Mao or Maonha (Roscher's *Lexikon*, s.v.) and in the god Lunus of Carrhae (Spartianus, *Caracalla*, vi. 6, viii. 3). Men is also frequently found associated with deities of undoubted Persian origin, such as Mithra and Anaitis. See the writers in Roscher's *Lexikon* (s.v. Men) and Daremberg and Saglio's *Dict. des Ant.* (s.v. Lunus), and also M. Perdrizet in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899, pp. 91 ff.

[26] Strabo 557: Th. Reinach, *Mith. Esp.* pp. 240 ff.

[27] Strabo 512, 559, 733.

[28] In Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* vi. 10, 16.

[29] Strabo 733.

[30] Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, tome V. p. 843, Fig. 396 (in the English edition, *Persia*, p. 244, Fig. 116).

[31] The legends are collected by M. Cumont, *op. cit.* Vol. I. pp. 127–8.

[32] At the time of the expedition of Cyrus the Pisidians were independent and hostile to the Persians (Xen. *Anab.* III. ii. 23; cf. I. i. 11. The references I owe to Mr. Calder).

the inhabitants of Antioch were Phrygians, and that the Phrygian language was used in districts south of Antioch.[32] The town does not appear to have been called 'Pisidian' until Roman times, and then only to distinguish it from its Syrian sister. It was a city of 'Phrygia towards Pisidia' (Strabo, 577).

Certain difficulties arise both when this altar of Men is connected with the series found along the shores of the Levant, and when it is derived from a Persian forerunner. At present the former alternative seems more probable, but in the state of the evidence and pending excavation it would be rash to deny the possibility of the latter. Perhaps there was a connexion between the Aegean and the Persian structures—but that requires much proof and as yet there is too little evidence to justify any positive assertion.

It is much to be desired that the site should be excavated in the near future. Especially because of its remoteness from human habitation, it is highly likely that much evidence regarding early Anatolian religion lies buried in the ruins of both church and *ἱερόν*, and excavation might set several problems at rest.

The Inscriptions (Figs. 8–15)

Almost all the inscriptions which we copied at the shrine came from the West peribolos wall.[34] As already stated, the stone on which they were engraved is very soft and so peculiarly susceptible to the influences of wind and weather, which have combined to destroy the original sharpness of outline in the lines and in the letters of the dedications. The same influences have marked the surface with minute pits, so that the general appearance of the stone is that of worm-eaten wood. Accordingly certain difficulties of reading presented themselves to us; usually I give what we considered the most probable reading without wearying the reader with the various alternatives which in dubious cases suggested themselves to us.

1. *Μηνὶ εὐχήν.*

(*a*) Α(*ὖλος*) Νερά-
τιος Πόσ-
τουμος.

(*b*) Α(*ὐκιος*) Σέντιος
Μάξιμος.

(*c*) Γ(*άϊος*) Οὐείβιος
Οὐειτάλης (*i.e.* Vitalis).

(*d*) Α(*ὖλος*) Νερά-
τιος Α-
[*βρων*?] or -ρ[*άτωρ*].[35]

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[32] See Sir W. M. Ramsay in *Expositor*, Sept. 1911, pp. 260 ff. The evidence proving that Antioch was a Phrygian city has often been collected, and is conclusive.

[34] Nos. 1–51 are from the West Wall. The provenance of the others, when known, is stated in the commentary on each. The figures make a rough attempt to reproduce their appearance.

[35] [My copy shows Α(ὖλος) Νερά[τιος] with great hesitation. The intrusion of P is unexplained. The letters after P are broken, and only the tops remain.—W.M.R.]

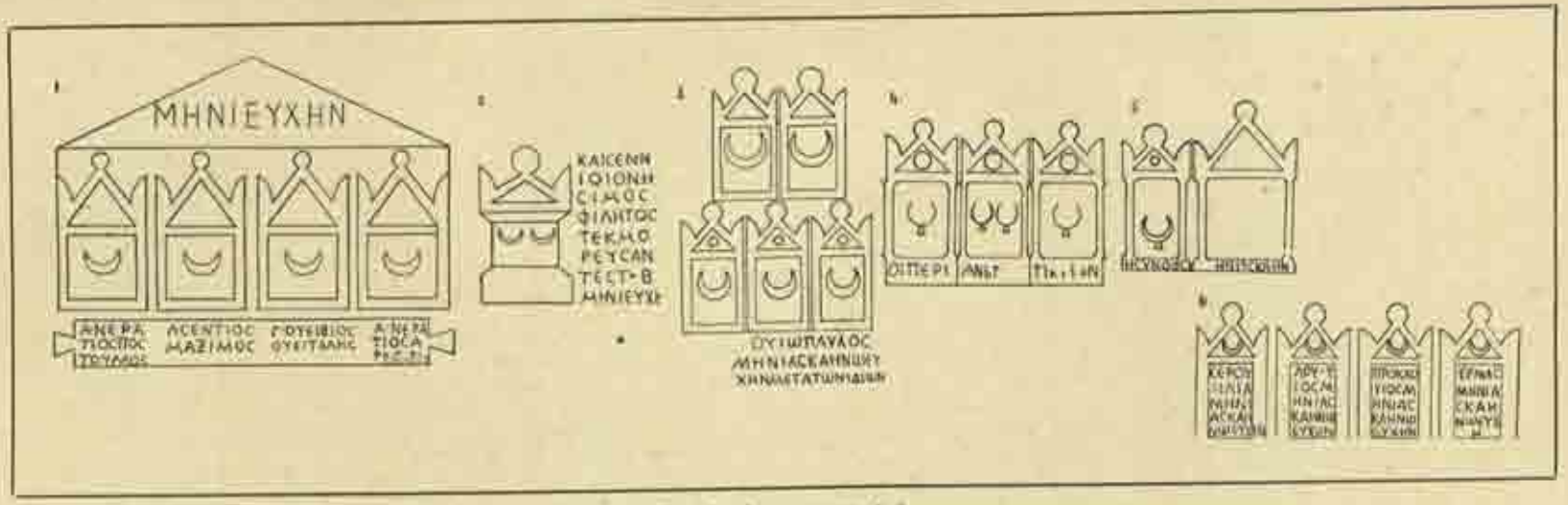

Fig. 8.—Inscriptions 1–6.

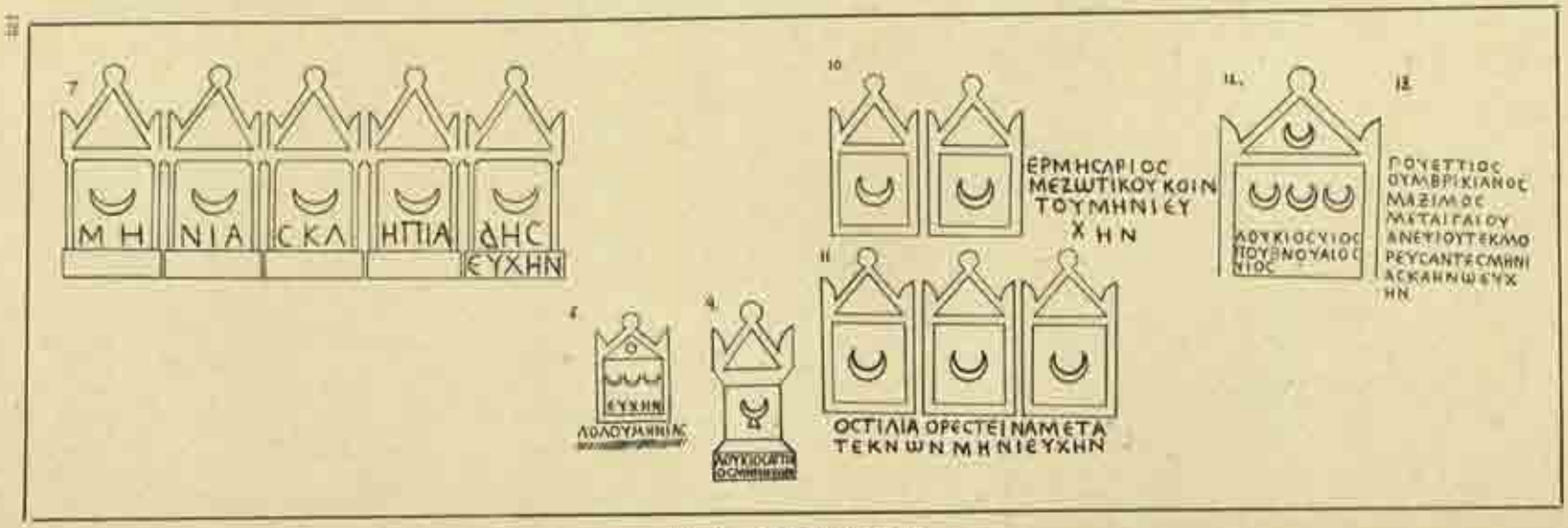

Fig. 9.—Inscriptions 7–13.

In No. 44 we find (*b*) writing his name in Latin characters.

All four names are correctly expressed in the Latin form; yet none appear to be names of freedmen, except possibly the last, where the *cognomen* is uncertain. The persons mentioned were therefore *cives Romani*, who had degenerated from the use of Latin. The disuse of Latin is not likely to have occurred among the *cives* until the third century.

M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa governed the Province Galatia A.D. 79–80, under Vespasian and Titus. In Galatia he was known best as Neratius Pansa (to judge from coins which omit or abbreviate his first *nomen* and *cognomen*). If the family Neratius mentioned in (*a*) and (*d*) took their *nomen* from this governor, they must have either belonged to the native population (which gradually received the full *civitas*) or been of libertine origin. The latter is less probable, as in ordinary circumstances his *liberti* would depart with him.

2. On left side of buttress.

Καισέννι-
ιοι Θεή-
σιμος
Φίλητος
τεκμο-
ρεύσαν-
τες τὸ β'
Μηνὶ εὐχ[ήν.

A. Caesennius Gallus governed Galatia A.D. 80–82. A family of Antioch gained the *civitas* at this time by Imperial gift through the governor of the Province, and the *nomen* persisted for two hundred years in the family. Caesennius Philetos, probably the same person as here, erected an altar to Zeus Kyrios, which we copied at Gondane, a village not far from Antioch, in 1911.[36] No *praenomen* is given either of the brothers. Plainly the *cognomen* was their distinguishing name.

The participle τεκμορεύσαντες is interesting. The Ξένοι Τεκμορεῖοι were first made known by the discoveries of Prof. Sterrett,[37] who regarded the epithet as local and derived from a (supposed) place Teknoreion. Prof. Ramsay in his *Hist. Geog.* p. 410, brought forward a theory that 'the Teknoreioi were the Xenoi who used the sign (τέκμωρ).' But Dr. Ziebarth *Griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 67) and Dr. Judeich (*Altertümer v. Hierapolis*, p. 120) rejected this explanation in favour of the older view. However, at Gondane Prof. Ramsay discovered in 1905 an inscription[38] in which he read τεκμορεύσας δίς (Q 4, 34).[39] Accordingly in his *Studies*, p. 346 (cf. *Pauline and other Studies*, IV), he argued that τεκμορεύσας was 'indubit-

[36] See the following article, p. 167.

[37] *Wolfe Exped.* Nos. 368, 370, and 372.

[38] Published *Cl. Rev.* 1905, p. 419; *Studies*, pp. 329-339.

[39] *Studies in the History of the Eastern Roman Prov.* (often quoted below as *Studies*, and the inscriptions in the final paper as Q 1 etc.).

ably connected with *τέκμωρ* and *τεκμορεῖοι*, an old and dead epic word revivified in that artificial Greek of Phrygia, and a derivative invented to designate a new society.' Compare also *διός* and *πρωτανακλίτης*, pp. 153, 163.

Our inscriptions finally prove Prof. Ramsay right so far at least as the existence of the verb *τεκμορεύειν* is concerned, for the participle occurs in 14 of the 70 we copied.

In the *Studies*, p. 347, Prof. Ramsay went on to argue that the Tekmoreians formed a brotherhood 'bound together in the worship of the Emperor and the old native religion for the purpose, among other things, of resisting the new religion . . . . . This word *τεκμορεύειν* must have been an invention of the period and place where it was found, because it is non-Greek in character, and in view of the circumstances then reigning on imperial estates in Galatic Phrygia this newly coined word must have been connected with the anti-Christian revival, and denoted a compliance (voluntary among pagans, enforced on recanting Christians) with the ceremonies of the association. The term and the custom connected with it are, in that case, comparable to the certificates of compliance with pagan religious regulations, which were given to recanting Christians in Egypt, but which might equally be given to good pagans, if they desired them.'[40]

Objections were brought against this theory because the verb *τεκμορεύειν*, admitting its real existence, ought to mean 'serve as an official in the Tekmoreian association.'[41] But this meaning is now seen to be impossible, for 'three or four[42] of these inscriptions show that the word *τεκμορεύειν* does not refer to the holding of any office, whether in the society or in the city. Here groups of persons, and even a large family of brothers, sister, children, and freedmen or foster-children, perform the act called *τεκμορεύειν* together.'[43]

The new inscriptions do not prove that *τεκμορεύειν* meant a recantation of Christianity under persecution; but they supply some evidence in support of the theory, which is that the Tekmoreioi were a society of pagans which Christians joined to avoid persecution. See the commentary on, *e.g.* No. 14, but especially No. 65.

It seems impossible to read Τ · Β in line 7 except as *τὸ β'* 'for the second time,' like *τεκμορεύσας δὶς* Q 4, 34. Whatever the act implied in *τεκμορεύειν* may have been, it seems to have been possible to perform it twice, either at a second place or on a second occasion. Either a second proof of faith was required from some person whose religious attitude seemed doubtful, or the act was reckoned a meritorious one (perhaps as being onerous) and a person boasted of performing it twice.

3. Οὕτω Παῦλος
Μητρὶ Ἀσκαηνῷ εὐ-
χὴν μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων.

[40] *Expositor*, Sept. 1911, pp. 270–1.
[41] *Expositor*, *loc. cit.*
[42] See especially Nos. 13, 34, 64, 65, 68.
[43] *Loc. cit.*

Sir William Ramsay notes that the inscription is 'quite complete and clear.' Mr. Calder is equally positive about the reading. Otherwise the emendation *Λούκιος* would be tempting.

Οὐίω may possibly be a native name and perhaps belongs to the same series as *Οὐας*, *Ὄας*, *Ὦας*, *Οὔης*, *Οὖω*, which Mr. Calder sends me.

A somewhat daring supposition, made by Mr. Calder but not adhered to now, is that *Οὐίω* stands clear of the general grammar of the sentence, like the *θεῷ* or D. M. which heads many *stelai*, and that it is a Greek attempt to write Jehovah. We know already such attempts as *Διονύσῳ Ἴαῳ* and *Ἴαῳ Ὀρσελίῳ*.[46] On the forms of Jehovah see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, pp. 321 f. But all the other dedications are to Men simply (with the improbable exception of Ma, No. 43).

Ἀσκαηνός is the reading in all the *ἱερόν* inscriptions which contain the epithet, so it is now certain that Waddington was right to emend the *Ἀρκαῖον* of Strabo 577 to *Ἀσκαῖον*, which is the form found in Strabo 557. He also published an inscription[47] containing the form *Ἀσκαινός*, but in view of the ease with which a ligature between H and N might escape notice, it is an easy supposition, as Sir W. Ramsay suggests, that in this case *Ἀσκαηνός* is the true reading. This suits better the *Ἀσκηνός* of the coins of Sardes.

A metrical inscription, found this year at Yalowadj by Mr. Calder and soon to be published by him, threw an interesting light on the meaning of the ethnic. The dedication was made 'to the god who rules over Askaia.' Now Men was the god of Antioch and the region round it, and as we stood on the mountain-top beside his altar, rising mountains cut off our view on the South and East, but left us a wide prospect towards the West across a vast and fertile plain, part of which had once formed the estates of Men. As we stood there, the words, *Ἀσκαίης τῷ μεδέοντι θεῷ*, rose irresistibly to our lips, and it was clear to us that *Ἀσκαία*, the *ἐριβῶλαξ Ἀσκανίη* of Homer,[48] was nothing but the spacious land enclosed between the Sultan Dagh on the East and the Egerdir Lake on the West, the plain of which Men's altar commanded so wide a view.

This use of *ἴδιος* in later Greek like *suus* in Latin is quite common, but the usage is not necessarily derived from Latin: it is most probably due to the degeneration of Greek. See Perrot in *Explor. Arch. de la Galatie*, p. 55.

4 *οἱ περὶ Αὐ[βρόσιον ?] -ον.*

Nothing can be made of the scratches at the end of the dedication. We have here a corporate body, possibly of magistrates, or more probably a *θίασος*,[49] making a joint offering.

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[46] Both are published by Calder in *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 196; Οὐί denotes the same local god as Dionysos Ἰαΐ: the dedication is at Semlin, but the tribal epithet shows that the god belongs to the Orondian mountains, where Dionysos was at home. Miss Ramsay's Report, quoted by Mr. Calder, was only privately printed; it contains the identification of Ἰαΐ, and will be published.

[47] Le Bas-Waddington, *Asie Mineure*, 668, 1607. On Men Askaenos, see Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, II. p. 560.

[48] Hom. *Il.* xiii. 793.

[49] The dedications belong as a general rule to the humbler classes, and a board of magistrates is not to be expected.

In view of their relative positions on the wall and their similarity of type it is probable that No. 5 was dedicated by the same group of people as this.

For the name Ἀμβρόσιος cf. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902, p. 369, No. 143 A. As it is usually Christian the name seems impossible here; and a more probable reading is Ἀνδρ—with late form of δ.

5. ἡ σύνοδο[ς Μ]ηνὶ [Ἀ]σκαην[ῷ.

Cf. No. 4 and note.

Probably the pediment and the front of the second of this group should have a filling similar to its companions. If so, the work remained unfinished or has been obliterated.

σύνοδος seems to have been a word of general character denoting an assembly of people, such as a club of artisans, a religious society, or a board of magistrates. See Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, pp. 136–7.

6.	(*a*) Σερου-	(*b*) Λου(κιος) υἱ-	(*c*) Πρόκλο[ς]	(*d*) Ἑρμᾶς
	εἰλία	ὶὸς Μ-	υἱὸς Μ-	Μηνὶ Ἀ-
	Μηνὶ	ηνὶ Ἀσ-	ηνὶ Ἀσ-	σκαη-
	Ἀσκαη-	καηνῷ	καηνῷ	νῷ εὐχ-
	νῷ εὐχήν.	εὐχήν.	εὐχήν.	ήν.

Apparently Servilia and Hermas are parents of Loukios and Prokles; in that case Hermas would be a *libertus*, whose *praenomen* and *nomen* are omitted, showing carelessness of the forms of Latin naming. Proculus, a *cognomen*, here designates the second son. According to Greek custom (which evidently ruled in this family, where the formal Roman name-system was little used), each person is in familiar usage designated by one familiar name; but *e.g.* (*b*) was L. [*nomen*] son of Hermas.

Servilia takes precedence of her husband as being the person who managed and erected the dedication, a characteristic touch. She did not, however, describe Hermas as her husband, but left this to obvious inference. The prominence of women in Asia Minor (and particularly in Antioch, see *Acts* xiii. *ad fin.*) has been commented on by many recent writers.

An alternative interpretation of these relationships is that Servilia was a widow with three sons, Loukios, Proklos, and Hermas, υἱός being omitted in the last case. But in view of the carefulness of the whole dedication this is a less probable interpretation.

7. Μηνὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης
εὐχήν.

8. εὐχήν
Λόλου Μηνὶ Ἀσ-
[καηνῷ.]

Λόλου is a native name. For the ending cf. Μὴν Τιάμου and Τιείου Σαύσου, Θαύθου. (These two personal names are sometimes grecized to

Σούσους and Θοίθους respectively.[48]) The ending *-ου* is both fem. and masc.

The indeclinable personal names in *-ου* were first described by Sir W. Ramsay in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 60, *à propos* of Tieiou, which is there rightly treated, not as gen. of a name Tieios, but as an indeclinable noun. This is proved by inscriptions more recently discovered. This class of names seems specially characteristic of the road-line across Southern Phrygia near the Pisidian frontier.

9. Λούκιος Ἀττιή-
ος Μηνὶ εὐχήν.

It is not probable that we should read Ἀττιή[δ]ος instead of Ἀττιῆος.

The letters at the end of the first line are rather cramped (see the epigraphical copy, Fig. 9), and it seems probable that Ἀττιῆος should be regarded as a misspelt *nomen*, Latin Atteius, and not as an otherwise unknown form Attieus.

10. Ἑρμῆς Ἄριος
μὲ Ζωτικοῦ Κοΐν-
του Μηνὶ εὐ-
χήν.

μέ for μετά is found occasionally in inscriptions of Phrygia, and the same preposition is probably found in the neo-Phrygian inscriptions: see Ramsay in *Oesterreich. Jahreshefte*, 1905, col. 107 (*Beibl.*).

The name Arios is uncertain: it is probably the Latin Arrius, and in that case Hermes was probably a *libertus*.

Zoticus Quintus is an example showing that we should be slow to presume a recurrence to the Greek style of nomenclature: the full name was doubtless Q. [*nomen*] Zoticus; probably a freedman is meant (compare No. 59). It is, however, possible that Arrius Hermes and Quintus Zoticus were *incolae* whose ancestors had been admitted to the *civitas*.

11. Ὀστιλία Ὀρεστεῖνα μετὰ
τέκνων Μηνὶ εὐχήν.

This is correct Latin nomenclature, of a *liberta* or *incola*.

12. On left side of buttress.

Λούκιος [υἱὸς]
Πουβ[λ]ού[λ]ιος
υἱός.

The reading in line 2 was very doubtful.[49]

[48] See Mr. Calder in *C.J. Rev.* 1910, p. 79.

[49] [The name in the second line seems probably to be a *nomen*. My notebook suggests Λούκιος Πουβλού[λ]ιος υἱός, a degenerate usage for L. Publilius, L.f.; but the reading on the stone is ΠΟΥΒΝΟΥΛΙΟΣ.—W. M. R.]

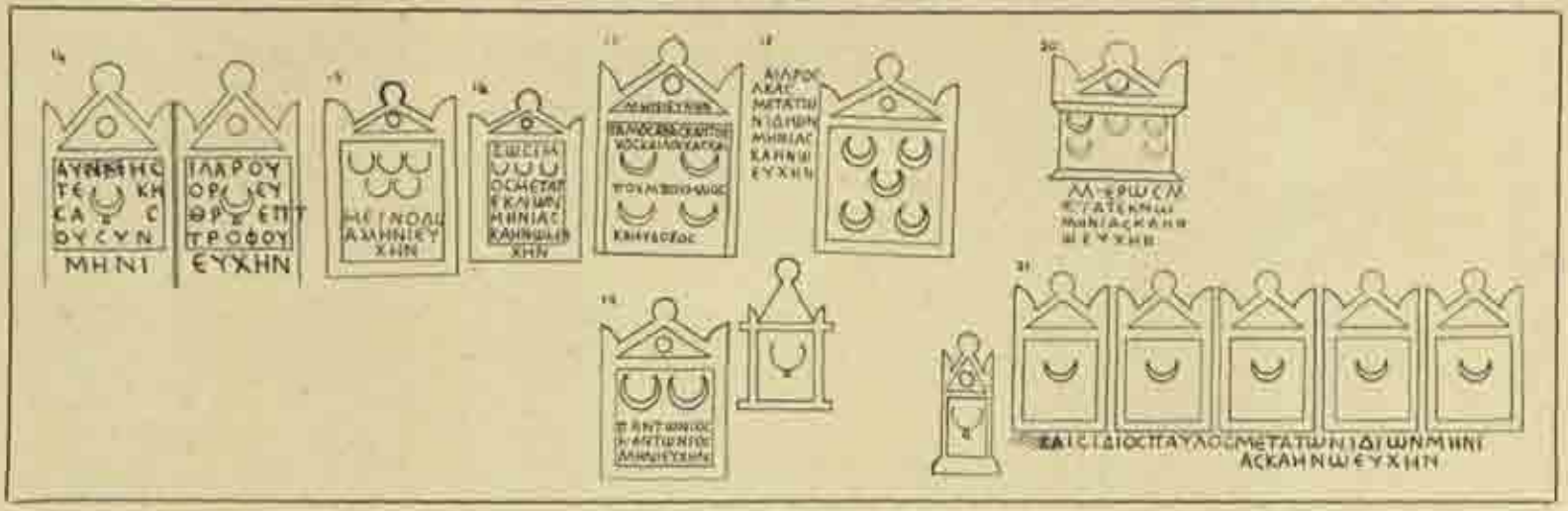

FIG. 10.—INSCRIPTIONS 14-21.

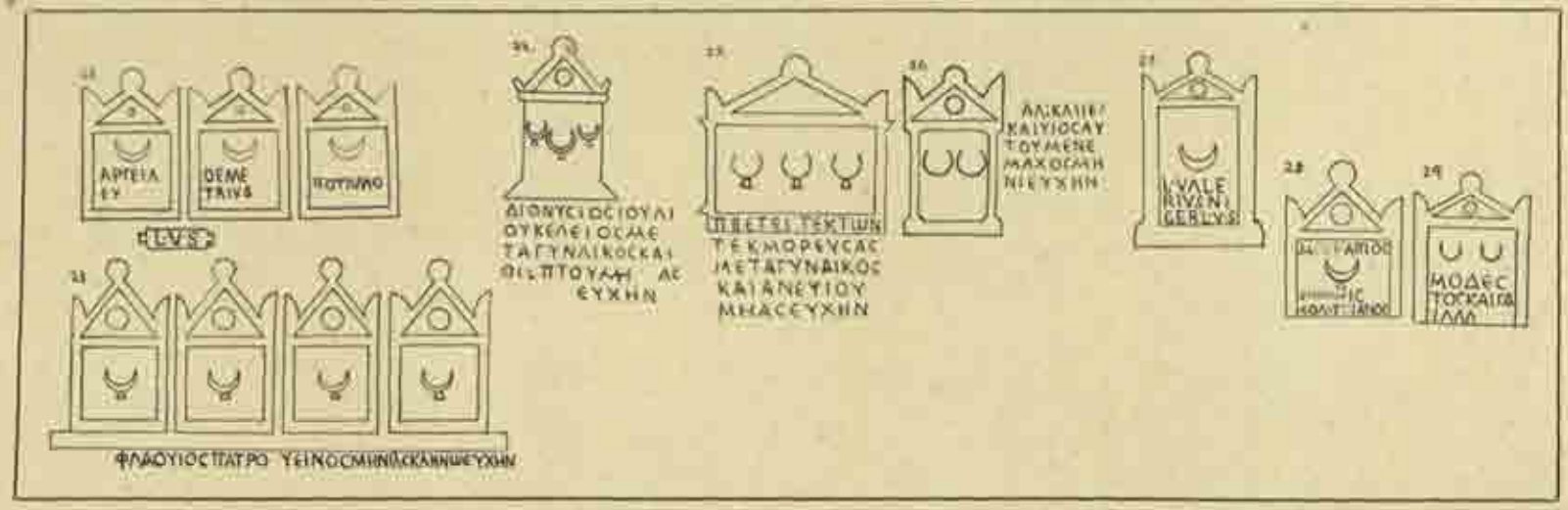

FIG. 11.—INSCRIPTIONS 22-29.

13. On left side of same buttress.

Γ(άιος) Οὐέττιος
Οὐμβρικιανὸς
Μάξιμος
μετα(ί) Γαΐου
ἀνεψιοῦ τεκμο-
ρεύσαντες Μηνὶ
Ἀσκαηνῷ εὐχ-
ήν.

μετα(ί) should be taken as a slip of the engraver, not a poetic form. But it is also possible to transcribe μετὰ Ἰ(ουλίου) Γαΐου. For the abbreviation of I for Ἰούλιος cf. *C.I.L.* xii. 1047, etc. But the form of the first name indicates a good understanding of the principles underlying the Roman name. It seems, therefore, not very probable that the second name would so violate Roman usage, as this theory would require. The correctness of the nomenclature suggests an earlier date than most of the dedications.

In this inscription two cousins have performed the act of τεκμορεύειν together. In No. 14 a foster-child joined in the act. In No. 68 two brothers, their sister, and children and foster-children, ἐτεκμόρευσαν. This recalls how entire households were converted to Christianity, cf. the cases of Lydia and the jailor at Philippi. Apparently it was customary in Phrygia, as among Armenians to-day,[10] for a household to contain several families, as married sons and daughters shared the parents' roof. See *Studies*, etc., Index under *Religious Laws*; *Household*, and Calder in *Klio* 1910, p. 239.

14. On front of same buttress.

Αὐ[ρ]ηλλ[ῆς] Ἰλάρου
τεκμορεύ-
σας θρεπτ-
οῦ Συντρόφου
Μηνὶ εὐχήν.

For Αὐρήλλης we seemed to have Αὔπμης on the stone, but it was much worn, and Αὔπμης appears an impossible name.[11] Hilarus must be a *Tiberius* with *nomen* and *cognomen* omitted.

Probably the engraver has omitted μὲ or μετὰ before θρεπτοῦ. On θρεπτοί (θρεπτά, θρέμματα) and foundlings in early Christian times, see Ramsay, *Cit. and Bish.*, ii. pp. 546–7.

15. On right side of same buttress.

Μειτοδώ[ρ-
α Μηνὶ εὐ-
χήν.

[10] From the *Athenæum*, Aug. 12, 1911.

[11] [That ΑΥΝΜΗΣ should be a native Pisidian name, like ΟΥΙΩ No. 12 and ΛΟΛΟΥ is not impossible. I missed this inscription.—W.M.R.]

Here we have a name, Μειωδώρα for Μηνοδώρα, derived from the god's name.

16. On right side of same buttress, to right of No. 15.

Ζώσιμ-
ος μετὰ τ-
έκνων
Μηνὶ Ἀσ-
καηνῷ εὐ-
χήν.

Ζώσιμος is apparently the name either of an *incola* or a slave.

17. Μηνὶ εὐχήν
Γάλλος (?) Ἀβασκάντου
υἱὸς καὶ Λουκᾶς καὶ
Πουμπούμλιος
καὶ Εὔδοξος.

The reading Γάλλος is not certain, for the Γ and ΛΛ are so engraved that they might be read as Τ and Μ respectively. Whether Gallos is here the Latin name or the native word 'priest' used as a personal name remains doubtful.[a]

For the connexion of Ἀβάσκαντος and the evil eye, see *Cl. Rev.*, 1910, p. 79 (Calder).

The form Πουμπούμλιος is interesting as an Anatolian mispronunciation of the Latin Pompilius.

18. Φ]αΐ[δ]ρος
Ἀ]κάσ[του
μετὰ τῶ-
ν ἰδίων
Μηνὶ Ἀσ-
καηνῷ
εὐχήν.

These are slave names. The filiation implies that Akastos had been manumitted.

For the phrase *μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων*, cf. No. 3.

19. Π(ούβλιος) Ἀντώνιος
Α(ὐρήλιος) Ἀντώνιος
Μηνὶ εὐχήν.

The name Antonius was of very frequent occurrence in the Eastern provinces.

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[a] [I read Γάιος on the stone; and, though the change of Μ with oblique sides to ΛΛ is easy, yet the name Gaius occurs both in Greek and in Latin characters in a Bithynian bilingual inscription, published by Dr. Wiegand in *Ath. Mitth.* 1908, p. 151, and no change is necessary.—W.M.R.]

20.
Μ(ᾶρκος) Ἔρως μ-
ε]τὰ τέκνω[ν
Μηνὶ Ἀσκαην-
ῷ εὐχήν.

Eros was a freedman whose *nomen* is omitted.

21. Καισίδιος Παῦλος μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων Μηνὶ Ἀσκαηνῷ εὐχήν.

The *praenomen* before Καισίδιος was omitted. The nomenclature, when the *praenomen* is restored, is correct Latin usage.

22. Three dedications in company.

(*a*) Ἀργεία εὐ(χήν). (*b*) Demetrius. (*c*) Ποταμό[ς

(*d*) L(ibentes) v(ota) s(olverunt).

The mixture of Latin and Greek is interesting, particularly as it is not merely a stereotyped formula like L.V.S., which persists amid the Greek: *cf.* No. 42.

These are almost certainly three slaves of one household.

23. Φλαούιος Πατρούεινος Μηνὶ Ἀσκαηνῷ εὐχήν.

Since Φλαούιος is here written out in full, it probably is used as a *nomen* and not as a pseudo-praenomen.[52] Possibly a *praenomen*, now missing, once stood before it. Yet the forms of the letters suggest a late date.

24. On left side of buttress.

Διονύσιος Ἰουλί-
ου Κέλε[ρ]ος με-
τὰ γυναικὸς καὶ
θ[ρε]πτοῦ Μη[νὶ] Ἀσ-
καηνῷ] εὐχήν.

The father of M. Julius Eugenius, bishop of Laodikeia Katakekaumene, was called Celer (see Mr. Calder in *Klio*, 1910, p. 233). But that family belonged to Laodikeia, far away. Probably Dionysius was slave, not son, of Celer.[54]

25. Front of same buttress: right side is blank.

Π(ούβλιος) Βετεί(λιος) τέκτων
τεκμορεύσας
μετὰ γυναικὸς
καὶ ἀνεψιοῦ
Μη(νὶ) Ἀσ(καηνῷ) εὐχήν.

[52] [The full form of Φλαούιος is not inconsistent with its use as a pseudo-praenomen, as was frequent under the second Flavian dynasty.—W. M. R.]

[54] [That Dionysius was slave or freedman may be taken as certain.—W. M. R.]

Βέτει seems to be an abbreviation of Βετείλιος, Latin Vetilius. If so, the name is in correct Latin form.

Τέκτων might conceivably be a personal name, cf. *Hiad*, v. 59. The *Hiad*, however, gives no norm for usage of names in Asia Minor about 200–300 A.D. Mention of trades occurs not infrequently in Anatolian inscriptions. In all the cases which Prof. Sterrett found, and in Ramsay, *Oesterr. Jahreshefte*, 1905, col. 95, τέκτων indicates the occupation.[28] This is most probably the case here, too, and also in No. 39.

26. Κ]αλικλῆ[ς
καὶ υἱὸς αὐ-
τοῦ Μενέ-
μαχος Μη-
νὶ εὐχήν.

In line 1 Є should be read as C. The stroke following is accidental. The type of naming is perhaps pure Greek, not Roman, though it is not safe to dogmatize, considering the example of Νίκανδρος Μενεκράτεος quoted below. If Kallikles was a Greek resident, the bad spelling and engraving show that he belonged to the uneducated and humble stratum of the non-Roman population of the *colonia*.

27. L(ucius) Vale-
rius Ni-
ger l(ibens) v(otum) s(olvit).

This person is evidently an *ingenuus*, with his name in correct form.

28. Μ. Σεράπιος (?)
]ις
]οΛ[ ]τοιανὸς.

The text is quite uncertain.[29] The type of naming is Latin.

29. Μόδεσ-
τος καὶ Γ'ά-
λλα.

The name Γάλλα occurs at Antioch. See Sterrett, *Epig. Journ.*, Nos. 105, 106. Modestus was probably a *civis*, or a freedman with *praenomen* and *nomen* omitted, and Gailla his wife.

30. Κ. Λό[λλ]ιος μετὰ γυναικὸ-
ς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ
θρεπτοῦ τεκμορεύσα[ν]-
τες Μηνὶ εὐχήν.

[28] Prof. Sterrett took Τέκτων and Σεκοῦνδος (for Σεκοῦνδος) as personal names, see Ramsay, *Cit. and Bish.* I. pp. 311 f. in correction of Sterrett, *Epig. Journ.* 53 B 32, 41 A 20.

[29] [My copy suggests (Π)ρ(ε)σκεὸς as possible, but this did not occur to me before the stone.—W.M.R.]

The reading on the stone seemed to be Κλάμιος, but I find no example of such a name, and it is certain that Κλάνιος was not the reading. The abbreviation of Κόϊντος to Κ is quite common, and it is easy to mistake ΛΛ for Μ, and *vice versa*, when the form Μ, and not Μ, is employed. In many cases it is impossible to judge whether Μ should be treated as ΛΛ or as μ, except from the context.

31. Μ(ᾶρκος) Ἰούλιος
Ἥλιος Μηνὶ
Ἀσκαηνῷ εὐ(χήν).

The dedication was never finished. Ἥλιος (though the reading is not quite certain) should be regarded as a slave name, and M. Julius Helios was therefore a freedman.

32. Γάιο ⟨Ι⟩ς Κόϊντος
Λο⟨ύ⟩κιος Τροφί-
μ]ου Κουίνθ[ο]υ
υ]ἱοὶ Μηνὶ εὐχήν.

The illiterate artist has written both Κόϊντος and Κουίνθου. The variation between τ and θ was common in Anatolian pronunciation.

The Roman nomenclature appears here in a very degenerate form, but the type is clear. In the father's case the *nomen* is omitted and the *cognomen* has precedence of the *praenomen*, while the sons have the *praenomen* only. Q. Trophimus was probably a *libertus*, but the name is reduced to *praenomen* (*gaudent praenomine molles auriculae*, Horace, *Sat.* 2. 5. 32) and the old slave name used as *cognomen*. The latter comes first as best known and most distinctive. The family may, however, be Romanized *incolae*, speaking Greek but bearing Roman names as *cives Romani*.

33. Μηνὶ Ἀσ-
καηνῷ
εὐχὴν
Κάστωρ
Διονυσί-
ου μετὰ
τῶν ἰδίω-
ν.

The engraving of the letters in this and in several other cases was so careless that no drawing could adequately represent the forms.

The name Castor was used in Galatia; the predecessor of Amyntas, last king of Galatia, was so called. The type of nomenclature seems Greek (see 40).

34. Τ]άκινθος [Μν]ησιθ[έου
τεκμορεύσας.

The father bears a typically Christian name, yet the son, whose name although more usually pagan, was in use among Christians, is now making a

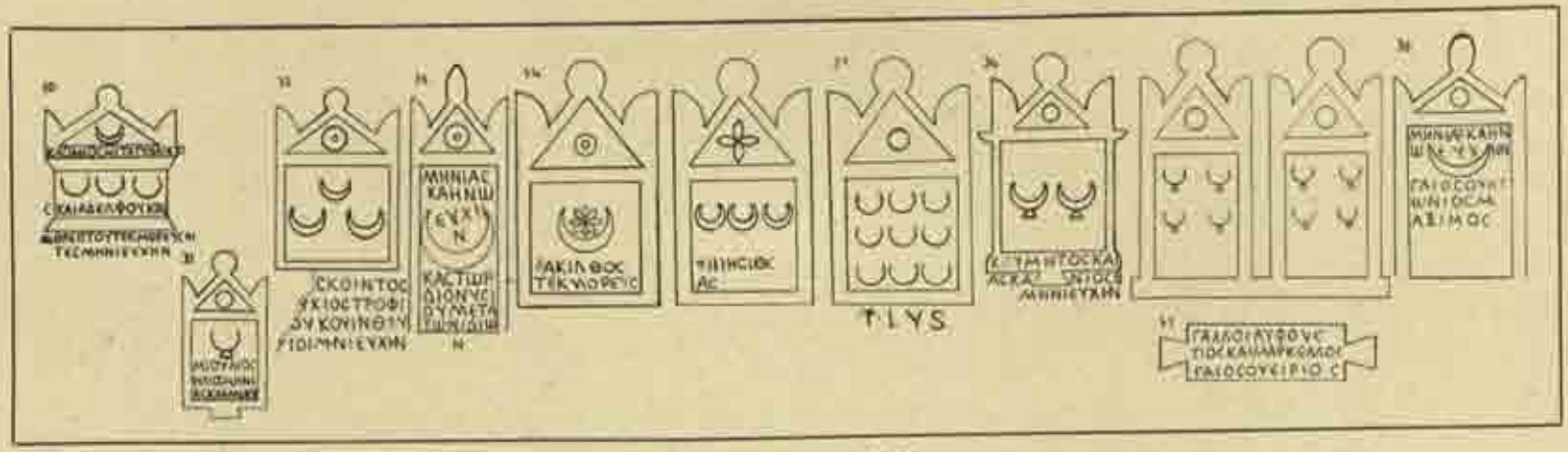

Fig. 12.—Inscriptions 30-38.

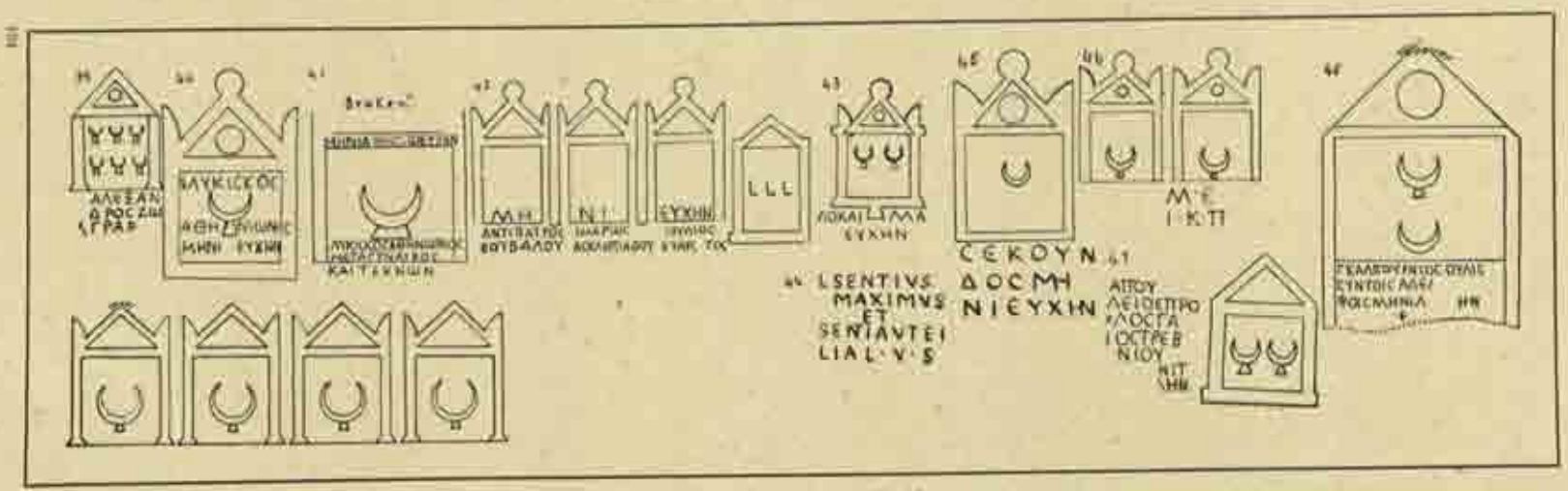

Fig. 13.—Inscriptions 39-48.

dedication to a pagan god. Then it may be that he has forsworn his own and his father's religion of Christianity, has performed the act called τεκμορεύειν as proof, and now makes his offering to his new deity. See *supra*, p. 124.

35. L.V.S.

The scratch in front may possibly be P. Then we should have the formula *P(osuit) l(ibens) v(oto) s(oluto)*, with the name of the dedicator missing.

36. Κ[α]ύμητος (?) καὶ
Ἀσκάνιος β
Μηνὶ εὐχήν.

The name Καύμητος is not certain.

Ἀσκάνιος β, *i.e.* Ἀσκάνιος Ἀσκανίου. For such a usage cf. Ramsay's *Studies*, etc., p. 338, l. 25; p. 339, l. 9, etc. The name is typically Phrygian, but is probably a revival of a name learned through literature rather than a real survival of an old Phrygian name. On such introduction of names from literature, see Ramsay in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 36, where a list of examples, some more, some less probable, is given.

37. Γάλλος Αὐφούα-
τιος (?) καὶ Μάρκελλος
Γάϊος Οὐεί[β]ιος.

The distribution of these names is uncertain. We seem to have only two people, Γάλλος Αὐφούστιος with *praenomen* omitted, and Μάρκελλος Γάϊος Οὐείβιος with *cognomen* placed first.

38. Μηνὶ Ἀσκαην-
ῷ εὐχὴν
Γάϊος Οὐλτ-
ώνιος Μ-
άξιμος.

Correct Latin nomenclature in Greek characters. The *nomen* is perhaps Voltinius (compare Πομπούλιος, Pompilius, and Πουβλούλιος, Publilius).

39. Ἀλέξαν-
δρος ζω-
γράφ[ος.

I.e. Alexander the painter. In No. 25 we have a carpenter as dedicator.

40. Λυκίσκος
Ἀθηνίωνος
Μηνὶ εὐχήν.

41. Μηνὶ Ἀ[σκαην]ῷ εὐχὴν
Λυκίσκος Ἀθηνίωνος
μετὰ γυναικὸς
καὶ τέκνων.

Evidently dedication No. 40 is by the same person as No. 41, and therefore no letter is missing before Λυκίσκος. The nomenclature is in all probability

Greek, and not abbreviated or incorrect Latin (yet compare the caution stated in No. 26). If such names are to be accepted as purely Hellenic they would designate *incolae* of Hellenistic (or Phrygian) origin, living in Antioch, where they formed the mass of the population. Such *incolae* gradually attained the Roman *civitas*, and probably this process of Romanization was completed during the second century. Hence names of this class would belong either to the period before about A.D. 150, or to the period when the Roman system of naming was falling into disuse (towards the middle of the fourth century or later). This inscription bears no signs of the later period: the names point rather to the earlier period.

42. Μηνὶ εὐχήν

(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)
Ἀντίπατρος	Ἰμέρως	Ἰούλιος	L(ibentes)
Βουβάλου	Ἀσκληπιάδου	Εὐάρε[σ]τος	

Considering that the first two give the father's names in the second line, it is possible that we should read Εὐαρέ[σ]το[υ in (*c*). But Sir W. Ramsay writes 'I noticed the difficulty in copying and read -τος.'

The LLL seemed certainly to belong to the group of three. For the using of both Latin and Greek by the same dedicators, cf. No. 22. L is three times repeated, one *libens* for each dedicator. Julius Eumestus is certainly a *libertus*, and probably Boubalus and Asklepiades were libertine clients of the same household; hence all are grouped together with LLL. Eumestus is *nullo patre*, being himself a freedman; the others were sons of *liberti*.

43. Λοκᾶ[ς] Μ(ηνὶ) Ἀ(σκαηνῷ)
εὐχήν.

There is some doubt as to the reading in line 1. Most probable seems the reading given above. With Λοκᾶς for the more frequent Λουκᾶς cf. Δούδης and Δύδης.[57] But it is possible that we have not a broken-down *sigma*, but an *iota*, and in that case we must read Λοκάϊλλα. If this is the true reading, it is possible that the lady was named after the empress Lucilla. MA should probably be interpreted as above, equivalent to M A ., and not treated as the Goddess Ma.

44. L(ucius) Sentius
Maximus
et
Sentia Uteï-
lia l(ibentes) v(ota) s(olverunt).

The husband joins with three friends in the dedication No. 1. There all four bear good Latin names and all write them in Greek.

Unless Uteilia is an error of the engraver for Utilia,[58] it seems to be a neut. plur. used as fem. singular (a phenomenon well-known in the transition from Latin to French).

[57] The comparison is Mr. Calder's. (Compare also the discussion of the form Koundeia in *Studies in the Eastern Provinces*, pp. 365 f., and the examples there quoted.—W.M.R.)

[58] The double nomen would be unfavourable, though not fatal, to this opinion.

45.
Σεκοῦν-
δος Μη-
νὶ εὐχήν.

On Sekoundos (probably a different person) see *infra*, p. 142.

46. Only a suggestion can be made as to what these letters represent.

Μ(ηνὶ) ε(ὐχὴν)
Ἰ(ούλιος) κ(αὶ) Π(αῦλος).

47.
Ἄπου-
λεῖο[ς] Πρό-
κλος Γά-
ιος Τρεβ.
ω[νίου
]λιτ[20]
Μην[ί

Almost every interpretation is open to the gravest objections. Apuleius, Proculus, and Gaius, are not likely to be three sons of Trebonius, for they bear respectively a *nomen*, a *cognomen*, and a *praenomen*. The last part of line 5 with 6 might explain how Trebonius in the genitive came to be placed alongside of C. Apuleius Proculus, if we admit that this Latin name came to be so strangely disarranged. ΛΙΤ might be restored [πο]λιτ[ευομένου].

48. On front of a buttress (whose right side is blank).

Γ(άιος) Καλπούρνιος [Ἰ ?]οῦλις
σὺν τοῖς ἀδε[λ-
φοῖς Μηνὶ Ἀ[σκα]ηνῷ
εὐχήν.

If the reading is as given, the nomenclature exemplifies the degeneration of Latin nomenclature in Greek-speaking lands. Instead of [Ἰ]οῦλις, however, some native name, such as [Μ]οῦλις, should more probably be restored, giving the correct Roman name of a freedman.

49.
L(ibens) m(erito).

50.
G(aius) Valer(ius)
cum s[u-
is fili-
is l(ibens) v(otum)
s(olvit).

The curious distribution of the words in this dedication is most probably due to the engraver's having followed the line of a natural break.

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[20] [The reading is perhaps ΜΤ or more probably ΑΙΤ.—W. M. R.]

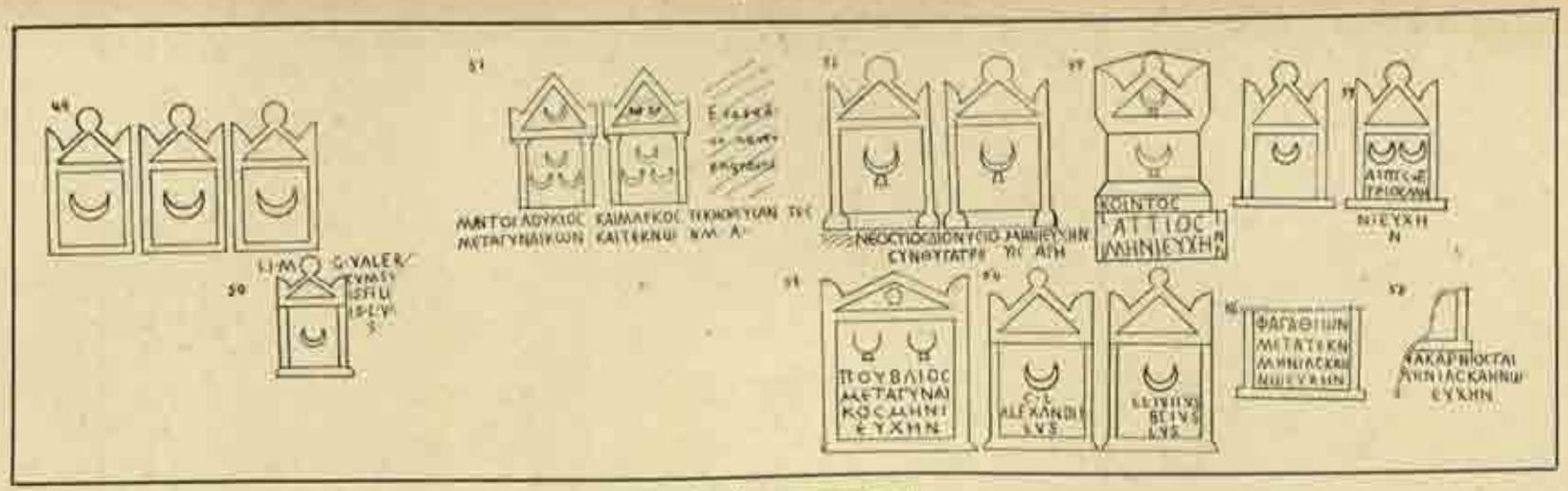

Fig. 14.—Inscriptions 49–58.

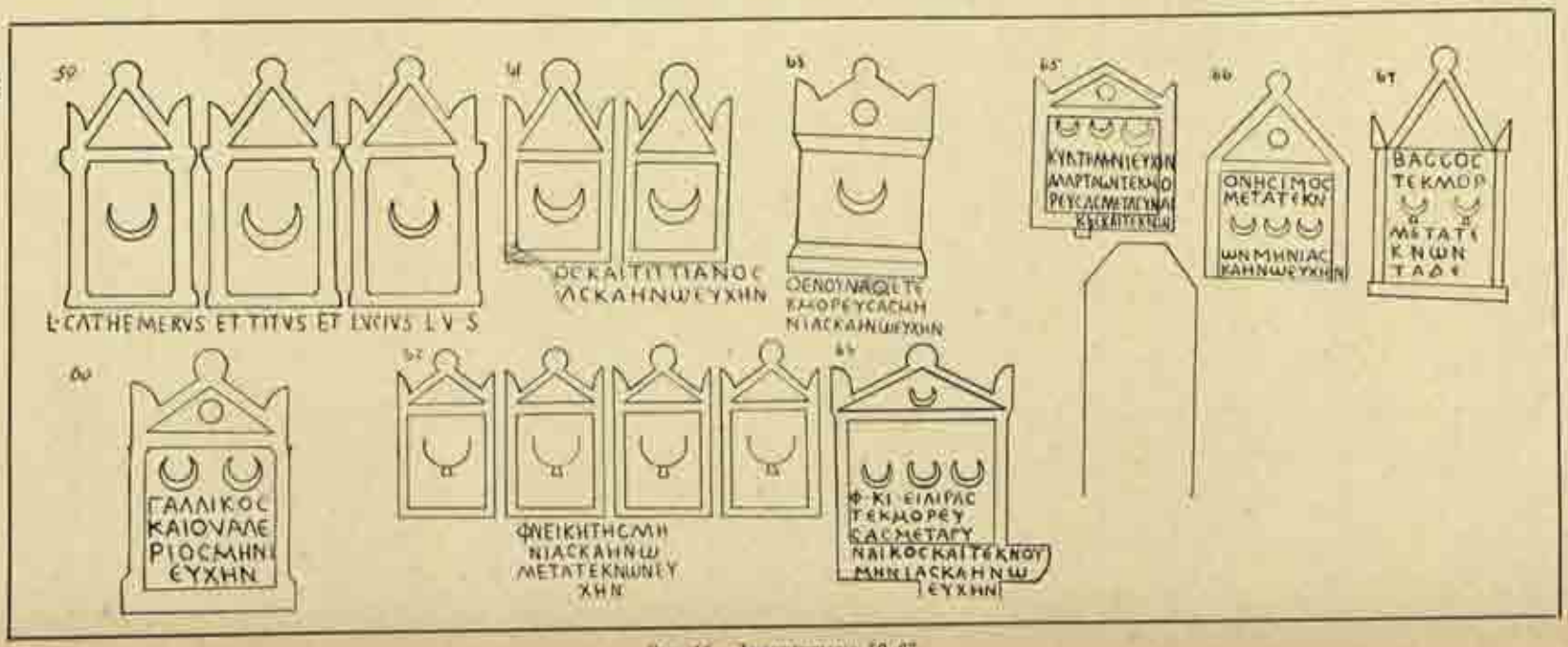

Fig. 15.—Inscriptions 59–67.

51. Μάντος Λούκιος καὶ Μᾶρκος τεκμαρεύσαντες
μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων Μ(ηνὶ) Α(σκαηνῷ).

There was an unfinished look about this dedication, and we were unable to determine whether the third space had ever been engraved. A comparison with No. 55 strengthens the suspicion of erasure.

The first name seemed not to have the form of a *nomen* and must be a *cognomen*. Sir W. Ramsay writes 'My copy was Μάντος, and I think that this is the true text.' Mr. Calder agrees and quotes the inscription Ἀρτέμεις Ἴα Μάντουν | τῇ συμβίῳ αὐτοῦ, *i.e.* Artemis to his wife Ia Mantou.[89] Μάντουν is the Phrygian dative of a nominative Μάντος or Μάντου: on the Phrygian dative in *-v* see Ramsay in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift f. vgl. Sprachf.* xxviii. p. 384, and *Oesterr. Jahresh.* 1905 col. 81. This may be the feminine name corresponding to that in our inscription.

52. Εἰρη?]νέος υἱὸς Διονυσίου Μηνὶ εὐχὴν
σὺν θυγατρὶ [μο]υ Ἰσ[μ]ήρῃ.

This inscription is on the rocks across the Sacred Way from the North peribolos wall. In the same cluster of rocks we saw also several niches intended to receive such marble votive tablets as No. 68.

Mr. Calder suggests that Ἰσμήρη may be connected with Ἴσμαρος, name of a mountain in Thrace. If so, it preserves an echo of the Thrako-Phrygian immigration into Anatolia.

53. Πούβλιος
μετὰ γυναι-
κὸς Μηνὶ
εὐχήν.

This inscription was on a block found in the church.

54. G(aiae) l(ibertus) G(aiae)] l(ibertus) In[I]us
Alexand[er B[e]us
l(ibens) v(otum) s(olvit). l(ibens) v(otum) s(olvit).

On a fallen block in front of No. 39.

Considering the similarity and contiguity of the two dedications, it is probable that both men were freedmen of the same lady, whose *nomen* was Julia. The stone was so worn that it is quite possible we should read C in place of L in the second case. The restoration Gaiae is given accordingly.[90]

55. Κόϊντος
Ἄττιος
Μηνὶ εὐχήν.

[89] Sterrett, *Epig. Jour.* No. 142; his transcription is corrected as above by Prof. Ramsay in *Expositor*, Oct. 1888, p. 263. It is perhaps more probable that Ἴα is gen. of a masc. name Ias. Artemeis, son of Ias, to his wife Mantu or Mantou, as Prof. Ramsay now believes.

[90] [In copying the inscriptions I felt confident that they were memorials of two freedmen of the same lady. In the second case the stone has L, carelessly engraved for C.—W. M. R.]

Ἄττιος is probably the Latin name rather than a Phrygian derived from Attis or other Phrygian word.

Of this inscription, Mr. Calder took a photograph which seems to show traces of smaller letters and to indicate an erasure of an earlier inscription, but it is not safe to trust a photograph alone.

56. Φ(λαούιος) Ἀγαθίων
μετὰ τέκν(ων)
Μηνὶ Ἀσκαη-
νῷ εὐχήν.

If Flavius is to be taken as a *nomen* with *praenomen* omitted, T. Flavius Agathion would be a freedman; but perhaps Flavius is here used in the fourth-century style as a pseudo-praenomen.

57. Ἀ[π]π[ω]ς [Ν]ε-
τριος Μη-
νὶ εὐχή-
ν.

The reading is very uncertain, though all attempted it.[a]

In line 1 there is a difficulty. The above transcription gives Ἄππως, which is probably the same as the common name Ἄππους (occurring, *e.g.* in Prof. Ramsay's article in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, xxviii. pp. 381 ff. No. 1), cf. Τοῦδω and Θούθους (*Cl. Rev.* 1910, p. 79). But the reading on the stone seemed to be Αἴπως. Now Kaibel, *Inscr. Graec. Ital.*, etc., No. 933, published an inscription whose first line runs,

Μάγνης ἐκ Φρυγίης· Σκυθίη δέ με παρθένος Αἴπη.

Kaibel conjectured *ἀγνή* for the Αἴπη of the copy. Professor Ramsay, in dealing with this inscription in his *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 260 and note 17, takes Ἄππη to be the lady's name. But since Αἴπως seemed to be the name in our inscription, it may be that there really once existed a masc. name Αἴπως with fem. Αἴπη.[b]

58. Ο[ὐ]ακάρι[ο]ς Γάϊ-
ος Μ]ηνὶ Ἀσκαηνῷ
εὐχήν.

It was doubtful whether Οὐακάριος or Οὐάκαρος should be read. The seeming *iota* between Ν and Ο may owe its existence merely to an accidental prolongation of the line from above.

For the order of names cf. No. 32. But Γαΐου is equally possible.

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[a] [This was the first inscription that I read: my companions had read it on the previous day: we ought to have gone back to it after our eyes had become used to the character and look of the letters on these stones.—W. M. R.]

[b] I am indebted to Mr. Calder for the references. In *Hellen. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 201, Prof. Ramsay preferred Αἴπη.

59. L(ucius) Cathemerus et Titus et Lucius l(ibentes)
v(ota) s(olverunt).

The repetition of the name Lucius suggests that something is wrong. The most obvious correction is to suppose a misreading of the first L for C. But Sir W. Ramsay writes that 'there was no misreading: but careless engraving of L for C seemed highly probable. The text was quite clear.' The *nomen* is apparently omitted and in that case L. [*nomen*] Cathemerus was a freedman.

60. Γαλλικὸς
καὶ Οὐαλε-
ριος Μηνὶ
εὐχήν.

In this inscription the letters, though late in form, are of quite unusual excellence in cutting.

The nomenclature is imperfect Latin.

61. -]ος καὶ Τιττιανὸς
Μηνὶ Ἀσκαηνῷ εὐχήν.

Τιττιανὸς is the Latin name Titianus.

62. Φ(λαούιος) Νεικήτης Μη
νὶ Ἀσκαηνῷ
μετὰ τέκνων εὐ-
χήν.

Perhaps Φ(λαούιος) is here as in No. 64 used as a pseudo-praenomen; and its use would indicate a date about the period of the second Flavian dynasty; but see on No. 50. [T.] Flavius Nicetes would be a *libertus*.

63. Ὀενούναο[ς] (?) τε-
κμορεύσας Μη-
νὶ Ἀσκαηνῷ εὐχήν.

The curved, somewhat elongated letter between Ο and Ε (really Ϲ) is probably a fault in the stone. The name, though uncertain, has the Pisidian wealth of vowel sound noted by Prof. Ramsay in *Ath. Mitth.* 1883, p. 74.

64. Φ(λαούιος) Κί(γκιος ?) Εἰλίρας
τεκμορεύ-
σας μετὰ γυ-
ναικὸς καὶ τέκνου
Μηνὶ Ἀσκαηνῷ
εὐχήν.

The abbreviation ΚΙ probably stands for some Latin *nomen* such as Cincius or Cilnius.

Εἴλαρας is probably the Latin Hilaris. The transposition of the vowels between the Greek and the Latin form is interesting.

65. Κόντις Μηνὶ εὐχὴν
ἁμαρτάνων τεκμο-
ρεύσας μετὰ γυναι-
κὸς καὶ τέκνων.

This dedication is on a block now lying in front of the West wall.

In the second line the reading ἁμαρτάνων was not free from doubt but seemed the most probable. Thus we have an interesting juxtaposition of participles. Probably the second aorist participial form was unknown to the composer, who knew little Greek; and we must interpret the present as equivalent to an aorist participle. Quintius erred and performed the action called τεκμορεύειν in token of his repentance. Now the Tekmoreioi Xenoi worshipped the pagan deities, Men and Artemis, and when a pagan dedicator acknowledges himself to have sinned, in this general fashion, he probably refers to the error of Christianity, for sin was not a common pagan idea, except in the sense of a violation of ritual. If only ritual impurity were meant, some definite act would be implied and would be designated by the proper verb (as in similar confessions[44]). The important fact is clear that τεκμορεύειν implies some religious act of atonement or expiation on account of error, and has therefore a religious, not an official sense.

66. Ὀνήσιμος
μετὰ τέκν-
ων Μηνὶ Ἀσ-
καηνῷ εὐχήν.

Ὀνήσιμος became, for historical reasons, a common Christian name, but was also a very suitable slave name, and conveys no evidence of religion.

67. Βάσσος
τεκμορ(εύσας)
μετὰ τέ-
κνων
τάδε.

Bassus seems to be a Roman with *praenomen* and *nomen* omitted, just as Paul (*Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 208 ff.) and the official Sekoundos in Sterrett, *Epig. Jour.*, No. 96, are called by their *cognomina* only.

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[44] Inscriptions of this class, confessions with atonement, are common in certain parts of Asia Minor. A number are given in Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, I. pp. 149-154; and he has collected others in a series of articles in the *Expository Times*, 1899; but many more are now known. They were sometimes called *ἐξομολόγησις*, a borrowed Latin term.

68.

Fig. 16.—Votive Marble Tablet found at the Shrine.

Λ(ούκιος) Ἀντιόχων καὶ
Ἀντίοχος ἀδελφὸς
καὶ Μάξιμα ἀδελφὴ
μετὰ τέκνων καὶ
θρεπτῶν τεκμο-
ρεύσαντες Μηνὶ
Ἀσκαηνῷ εὐχήν.

This tablet is of the shape and size required to fit small niches, several of which are seen vacant on the peribolos wall, *e.g.* near No. 65, and also on the rocks below the Sacred Way where it passes round the North side of the precinct.

There can be no doubt that the artist of this tablet tried to represent the crescent moon with no memory or thought of bull's horns.

It is not certain whether the nomenclature is of (1) Greek or (2) Roman type.

(1) The father Antiochos has two sons Loukios and Antiochos, together with a daughter Maxima. The description of their relationships is curious. Λ was established in Anatolia as an abbreviation of the *praenomen* Λούκιος. But Λούκιος is used in Greek fashion as the sole name (as in more than one instance in our lists: *e.g.* Nos. 32, 17; cf. Nos. 53, 59). Here then, to economize space, Λ served for the whole name, as it had been used when Λούκιος was only a *praenomen*.

(2) If a degenerate Latin custom may be supposed, the children were L.

[Julius f.] L. f. [Maximus], [C. Julius L. f.] Antiochus, and Maxima L. [Juli] f. This is less probable.

It is, however, most probable that the nomenclature has degenerated from the Roman type to a vulgar Greek fashion of the fourth century, in which Greek and Roman names were mixed and used indiscriminately.

Two other small fragments of similar marble tablets were found at the same place.

69.

Fig. 17.

-ν
τεκμο-
[ρεύσας Μηνὶ Ἀσκ(α)]ηνῷ.

In line 3 the letters in ligature seem to be only K, H, and N, which would give Ἀσκ]ηνῷ. But as this form is not found except on coins of Sardes, and as all the other inscriptions from the *Ἱερὸν* read Ἀσκαηνός, it may be thought safer to suppose an engraver's error.

70.

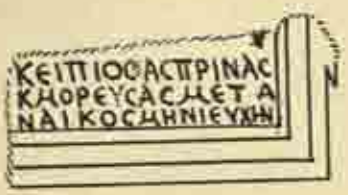

Fig. 18.

Κείπιος Ἀσπρίνας
τε]κμορε[ύ]σας μετὰ
γυ]ναικὸς Μηνὶ εὐχήν.

The name Κείπιος occurs in another inscription from Antioch: see Sterrett, *Epig. Jour.*, No. 136.

The correct form is Ἀσπρῆνας, but *οῖα* and *εῖα* were often interchanged in Anatolian Greek, and the writing on the tablet was clear.

The line of breakage shows that we have the first line of the inscription preserved to us. A small trace remains at the right hand side of the tip of a leaf.

The Nomenclature of the Dedications.

From the names of the dedicants we may expect to learn (1) to what class of the community they belonged, and (2) in what period the dedications were engraved.

(1) It was obvious from the day we began to copy the dedications that the dedicants were in considerable proportion freedmen, and that for the most part they belonged to a rather humble class of the population. The

comparison of a paper by Mommsen in *Ephem. Epigr.* vii. pp. 450 f., on the representation in Greek of the names of Roman freedmen during Republican times, must lead to the conclusion that many of the dedicants were freedmen or slaves. Incidentally, Mommsen on p. 452 quotes the name Νίκανδρος Μενεκράτεος, which taken by itself would appear to be of the ordinary Greek type: the man is, however, marked as Roman by the addition Ῥωμαῖος, and a person of this Greek name must be a Greek of some city, who had been presented with the Roman *civitas*, though his *praenomen* and *nomen* were omitted by a Greek writer careless or ignorant of Roman usage.[46] The complicated Roman nomenclature was rarely understood by Greeks, and mistakes in Greek rendering of Roman names[47] are extraordinarily common from the beginning of Roman intercourse with the Greeks until the disappearance of the old Roman nomenclature.

By the Roman practice the Greek name of a Greek slave became his *cognomen*, when he was set free; and when a free Greek citizen obtained the Roman citizenship, his Greek name generally became his *cognomen*.[48] It is highly probable from these dedications that the dedicant frequently used his *cognomen* alone as most familiar to the world in which he lived; but in some cases the circumstances show that he was Roman, and that his *praenomen* and *nomen* are omitted. As to a number of these *cognomina*, we can be certain that they are of servile character; and in others this is at least probable.

Thus it seems safe to say that the system of naming implied in these dedications is as a whole Roman, and that the cases where the strictly Greek type of nomenclature was followed are few; and perhaps none of these are quite certain. In fact the words used regarding this subject in regard to Antioch in Professor Ramsay's *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 271 seem to be hardly too strong (though they are so emphatic):—

> 'The amusements, the public exhibitions, the education, were more Roman in the *coloniae* [of Augustus in Galatia] than in the surrounding Hellenic cities: so also were the magistrates, the *public* language, the law and the institutions generally. In this Roman atmosphere the rest of the populace, the *incolae* [Hellenic or Phrygian or, as time passed, Pisidian] lived and moved; they caught the Roman tone, adopted [to a certain extent] Roman manners, learned the Latin tongue [for public use, as appears from inscriptions of Romanized *incolae*], and were promoted to the Roman citizenship more freely and quickly than were the people of Hellenic cities. In most *coloniae* of this class[49]

[46] It must, of course, be assumed that all *civitate donati* received a Roman name.

[47] As Mommsen says, l.c. p. 452 *gentilicia Romana abhorrent a cognominibus Graecis.*

[48] The two cases are sometimes hardly distinguishable by mere names.

[49] Iconium as a *colonia* of Hadrian, receiving probably no Roman population, but merely higher rights than previously, presents a total difference in character from Antioch, as inscriptions show clearly. So also probably would be the case with Julia Augusta Germa in Galatia, or Julia Augusta Nysica Claudiopolis in Trachéiotis, both (as Professor Ramsay holds) founded by Domitian and named after his ill-starred niece Julia Augusta, if their epigraphy were known.

> Roman citizenship was made universal among the free population at an early date. In Antioch the inscriptions, Greek and Latin alike, show no trace of Hellenes, but only of Romans. Every free inhabitant of Antioch, of whom epigraphic record survives, bears the full Roman name [69]; one or two apparent exceptions, such as the official Sekoundos in Sterrett's *Epigraphic Journey*, No. 96, belong to the [late] third [or fourth] century, when Roman names were losing their clear form: Sekoundos was a Roman, and Secundus was his *cognomen*, but his two first names [*praenomen* and *nomen*] were omitted in Greek usage, just as St. Paul's are never mentioned.' [70]

The Romanization of the *incolae* (who constituted the mass of the population) of Antioch was proceeding, according to Professor Ramsay, during the first century, 'but one cannot suppose that [the completion of the process] was much, if at all, earlier than the second century.' [71] It did not extend to the familiar use of Latin: 'all probability points to the opinion that Greek was the familiar language spoken at Antioch in the home life, except among the Italian immigrant or colonial families, and even among these the knowledge [and use] of Greek spread in course of time. As the Roman vigour died and the Oriental spirit revived during the third century, Greek seems to have become the practically universal language of the Antiochian population, though some few inscriptions recording government documents were written in Latin as late as the fourth century.' [72] This inference from the previously known inscriptions is on the whole confirmed by the dedications, which however show that, if we date them rightly in the third century and the opening years of the fourth century, Latin persisted to some small degree into that period. Still they present Greek as the nearly 'universal language of the Antiochian population,' and Latin as quite exceptional. Two bilingual dedications, 22, 42, showing that Greek and Latin were used in one household, are specially interesting. Of the whole seventy only seven are in pure Latin, and of these two, 35, 49, are only LVS and LM.[73]

In these dedications we are among Roman households, with their *liberti* and *servi*. Most of the dedicants wrote, and therefore spoke, Greek in preference to Latin; but most of their names were Roman in type; and among those who bear names which might be taken as Hellenic in type, designating *incolae* who apparently did not possess the *civitas*, it is highly

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[69] (This can no longer be said; there are some names at Antioch purely Greek in form; but even as to these some doubt remains about *civitas*, as is stated later. W.M.R.)

[70] I have incorporated note 28 (from p. 446) and made, at Prof. Ramsay's suggestion, some slight changes, additions, and abbreviations in the text. The remark about Secundus was proved right in 1911, when we found that his fuller name was Saturninus Secundus. He governed Pisidia Provincia in the fourth century.

[71] *Ibid.* p. 272.

[72] *Ibid.* p. 278, the following paragraph on that page stating the further problem.

[73] The Latin votive formula was added by persons who wrote the rest of the dedication in Greek: in such cases we must understand that the household was Roman.

probable that some or even many hide their Roman character by omission of part of the full name, using only their familiar name.

As examples of Greek usage in Roman libertine names, the following of Republican date are quoted from Mommsen, *loc. cit.*:—

Γάιος Σήιος Γαΐου = C. Sehius C. l.
Λ. Σολπίκιος Λυσιμάχου υἱός : Lysimachus was *libertus*.
Ἀρτεμίσιος Φλαμίνιος Λευκίου = L. Flaminius L. l. Artemisius.

Two principles regarding libertine names under the Empire are added. In the first place, Mommsen holds that the Republican custom of omitting the Greek term ἀπελεύθερος, and stating the *patronus* simply in the genitive, was wholly disused in the Imperial time, and he finds only one doubtful example where that old Republican usage was preserved (viz. in the beginning of the second century after Christ). There is here no case to prove or disprove the principle, for a *dominus* is never mentioned.

In the second place, Mommsen lays down as a universal principle in Imperial time, that the *nomen* of a *libertus* was never suppressed in Greek. He mentions however Ἀρχέβιος Καίσαρος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος, and this usage is probably wider: Nos. 10, 14, 18, 20, and 54, seem to be of the same class. Compare also 10, 20, 32, 59, where *praenomen* and *cognomen* are given without *nomen*: this would be dead against Mommsen's rule, but the Latin character in 59 favours the attribution to a freedman, and M. Ἔρως must certainly be a *libertus*.

In general it must be remembered that these dedicants were not stating their legal name, but merely their familiar name; and that strict legal principles must not be applied in judging about them.

(2) As to the date of the dedications, their general appearance would place them in the second or third century after Christ.[74] They are for the most part so roughly engraved on the poor, friable limestone that they lack more definite characteristics. But No. 68, which is engraved on marble, is more decisive: it could not be placed earlier than A.D. 300, and with it must go all that contain the strange word τεκμορεύσας. These can hardly be dissociated from the group of inscriptions of the Tekmoreian Guest-friends,[75] which have been placed on indisputable evidence in the period 220-315 A.D. The rest, which are placed confusedly on the same wall, above, below, and between the class containing that participle, and which have nothing to distinguish them definitely from that class, must belong to the same period (which, roughly speaking, may be called the third century).

If this dating be correct, how can the utter lack of names containing the pseudo-praenomen Aur. be explained? Elsewhere it has been regarded as an unfailing characteristic of a group of third-century inscriptions that a certain number of names with Aur. as a sort of pseudo-praenomen are sure to occur among them. Here, among nearly 100 names, none of that type occur. The reason, however, has been already foreshadowed. The pseudo-praenomen

[74] One certainly in the early fourth century, No. 68.
[75] Ramsay, *Studies* pp. 305–380.

was, as Sir W. M. Ramsay suggested in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 30,[78] assumed very widely as the mark of Roman rank, when Caracalla about 212 A.D. conferred the full *civitas* on all *peregrini* and *Latini* domiciled in the Roman Empire. The name Aurelius, therefore, could not occur except by accident and very rarely among the citizens of a Roman *colonia*, who possessed the *civitas* independently of Caracalla's gift and had their own Latin *nomina* and *praenomina*. They and their *liberti* are the dedicants and we have inferred from the situation that they usually had *nomina* (though many of these are not engraved). On the other hand, with a few rare exceptions, the people mentioned in Q 1–Q 25 were the population on Imperial estates, who occupied a very inferior position before the law of Rome and whose families rarely had the *civitas* before Caracalla.

The contrast between the nomenclature in these two contemporary groups of documents, though striking, is quite natural.

All that is here said is, as must be repeated, provisional. It is difficult, and often impossible, to distinguish between Roman freedmen and Greeks who had received the *civitas*, or to decide whether a name like the simple Lyeiscus [77] is to be regarded as the purely Hellenic name of an *incola* of Antioch or the *cognomen*, used alone, of an *incola civitate donatus*. Excavation, by revealing more inscriptions, may facilitate distinction and give more certainty regarding date. If we could attain certainty as to the time when all *incolae* received the *civitas*, this would be an important step.

The following lists may be useful: they are arranged according to the numbering of the dedications.

I. *Cives Romani* (many others are probable); some or many are libertine.

1. Α. Νεράτιος Πόστουμος.
   Γ. Οὐείβιος Οὐειτάλης.
   Δ. Σιντιος Μάξιμος (also in 44).
   Α. Νεράτιος Α[-
2. Καισέννιος Ὀνήσιμος.
   Καισέννιος Φίλητος.
6. Σερουειλία.
9. Α. Ἀττιῆος.
11. Ὀστιλία Ὀρεστεῖνα.
12. Α. Πουβλούλιος (?)
13. Γ. Οὐέττιος Οὐμβρικιανὸς Μάξιμος.
19. Π. Ἀντώνιος.
    Δ. Ἀντώνιος.
21. Καισίδιος Παῦλος.
23. [?] Φλαούιος Πατρούεινος.
24. Ἰούλιος Κέλερ.
25. Π. Βετε[λιος].
27. L. Valerius Niger.
28. M. Σεράπιος? Πομπειανός?
30. Κ. Αὐλλιος.
31. Μ. Ἰούλιος Ἥλιος.
37. Αὐφούστιος Γάλλος.
    Γάιος Οὐείβιος Μάρκελλος.
38. Γ. Οὐλτώνιος Μάξιμος.
42. Ἰούλιος Εὔαρεστος.
44. Sentia Utellia.
45. Σεκοῦνδος.
46. Γάιος Ἀπουλεῖος Πρόκλος Τρεβωνίου.

[78] In *Studies*, p. 355 he says 'this observation . . . . is now abundantly justified' by observation during nearly thirty years.

[77] One could hardly hesitate at first sight to declare that Lyeiscus son of Athenion was a simply Hellene *incola*; but one remembers that Nikandros, son of Menekrates, was a Roman; and hesitation begins.

48. Γ. Καλπούρνιος [Μ]οῦλις.
50. G. Valerius.
53. Πούβλιος.
55. Κόϊντος Ἄττιος.
56. Φλαούιος Ἀγαθίων.
58. Οὐακάρνιος Γάϊος ?
Cp. also 54, 57.
60. Οὐαλέριος. Γαλλικός.
64. Φ. Κί. Εἰλίρας.
67. Βάσσος.
70. Κείπιος Ἀσπρίνας.

Praenomina.

Αὖλος.
Γάϊος, also C.
Κόϊντος or Κοϊνθος.
Λούκιος, also L.
Μᾶρκος.
Πούβλιος.
Titus.
Add also:—
29. Γάϊλλα, dim. of old *praenomen* used as *cognomen*.

Pseudo-praenomen.

Φλαούιος, perhaps in 56 (cf. 23), also in 62, 64.

Nomina.

1. Νεράτιος, Σέντιος (also in 44), Οὐείβιος (also in 37).
2. Καισέννιος.
6. Σερουειλία.
9. Ἄττιῆος (Atteius ?).
10. Ἄριος (Arrius).
11. Ὁστιλία.
12. Πουβλούλιος ?
13. Οὐέττιος.
17. Πουμπούμλιος.
19. Ἀντώνιος.
21. Καισίδιος.
23. Φλαούιος ?
24. Ἰούλιος (also in 42, 54).
25. Βετείλιος.
27. Valerius (also in 50).
30. Κλόμιος ? Λόλλιος ?
37. Λύφούστιος, Οὐείβιος.
38. Οὐλτώνιος.
47. Ἀπουλεῖος, Τρεβώνιος.
48. Καλπούρνιος.
55. Ἄττιος.
57. Νέτριος ?
58. Οὐακάρνιος ?
60. Οὐαλέριος.
64. Κί(γκιος ?)
70. Κείπιος.

Cognomina.

(*a*) Latin.

1. Πόστουμος, Μάξιμος (also in 13, 38, 44), Οὐειτάλης.
3. Παῦλος.
13. Οὐμβρικιανὸς Μάξιμος.
14. Ἴλαρος (cp. 64), Hilaris, slave.
23. Πατρούεινος.
24. Κέλερ.
27. Niger.
29. Μόδεστος, slave.
37. Γάλλος or Γάμος, Μάρκελλος.
38. Μάξιμος.
44. Ὑteilia.
45. Σεκοῦνδος.
47. Πρόκλος (also in 6).
54. Belus (Oriental), slave.
60. Γαλλικός.
61. Τιττιανός.
64. Εἰλίρας (Hilaris), slave.
67. Βάσσος.
70. Ἀσπρίνας.

(*b*) Greek (slave or free) names used as cognomina of *liberti* or of Greek *incolae* who attained the *civitas*. Most of these are indubitably slave names, and so indicated: others are perhaps the same.

2. Ὀνήσιμος, Φίλητος.
3, 21. Παῦλος (probably Latin).
6. Ἑρμᾶς, slave?
10. Ζωτικός, Ἑρμῆς, slave?
16. Ζώσιμος.
20. Ἔρως, slave.
22. Demetrius, slave.
Ἀργεία, slave.
Ποταμός, slave.
31. Ἥλιος, slave.
32. Τρόφιμος, slave.
42. Εὐάρεστος, slave.
48. [M]οῦλις?
54. Alexander.
56. Ἀγαθίων.
59. Cathemerus, slave.
62. Νεικήτης.
65. Ἀντίοχος.

II. Native Phrygian or Pisidian names.

3. Οὐίω (Παῦλος).
8. Λόλου.
36. Ἀσκάνιος (may be due to literature[78] and not to real survival).
48. [M]οῦλις?
51. Μάντος or Μαντός (*bis*).
63. Ὀενούναος?

III. Greek names, perhaps of *incolae* who were not *cives*[79] (possibly of *liberti* or romanized *incolae*, with *nomen* and *praenomen* suppressed).

4. Ἀνδρ . . .
7. Ἀσκληπιάδης.
15. Μεινοδώρα.
16. Ζώσιμος.
17. Γάμος Ἀβασκάντου Εὔδοξος.
18. Φαῖδρος Ἀκάστου.
24. Διονύσιος.
26. Καλικλῆς and Μενέμαχος.
33. Κάστωρ Διονυσίου.
34. Τάκινθος Μνησιθέου.
39. Ἀλέξανδρος.
40–1. Λυκίσκος Ἀθηνίωνος.
42. Ἱμέρως Ἀσκληπιάδου, *libertine*?
Ἀντίπατρος Βουβάλου, *libertine*?
52. Εἰρηνῆος Διονυσίου.
54. Alexander
66. Ὀνήσιμος.

MARGARET M. HARDIE.

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[78] On the influence of Classical literature on the personal names in this district see Ramsay in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 35.

[79] Distinction between I. (*b*) and III. is hard and often impossible.

THE TEKMOREIAN GUEST-FRIENDS

In a former article on the Tekmoreian Guest-Friends[1] many difficult problems were stated relating to (1) the organization of the Imperial estates which originally were the property of the God Mên at Antioch-towards-Pisidia, and (2) the constitution and character of the Association of Tekmoreioi; and a partial solution of them was proposed. That Saghir was likely to be the best point for excavation and discovery of additional documents was pointed out on p. 350. In 1911 we camped at Kökuler for three nights, as this was the nearest point to Saghir to which waggons could reach.[2] We spent the two intervening days in visits to Saghir; but, as nearly three hours were needed in going and two hours in returning on each day, the actual time in Saghir was very inadequate. On the third day we visited Gondane, and went on towards Oinan-Ova across the mountains. In Saghir we found a score of inscriptions, mostly small fragments, and revised one or two of those already published: this was certainly the chief centre of the Tekmoreian Association. In Gondane we found one new inscription. The need for longer study is as great as ever. That Gondane should be a sort of secondary centre for the Association is probably due to the fact that it lay on the great road from Apollonia and the west to Antioch and the east, whereas Saghir was remote and high on the slopes of Sultan-Dagh.

(1) As to the organization of the Imperial Estates we have no new information. This is of less consequence, as the suggestions already made in that paper have been approved by Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des Kolonates*, 1910, pp. 298 ff. (especially 301).

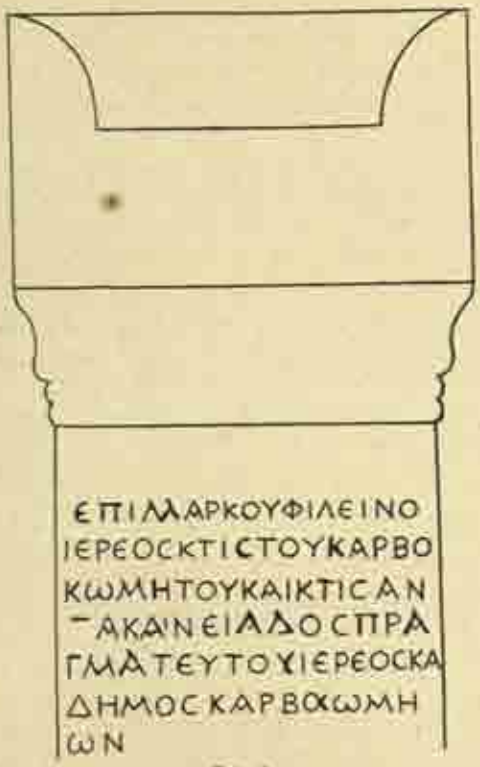
In this department only the reading of the small inscription of Karbokome (*Studies*, p. 309) has been improved. This was copied by me first in 1905, revised by Mr. Calder and myself in 1907, and again by us all in 1911. As already stated the letters are in several places worn and difficult; and the difficulty is complicated by the ungrammatical character of the composition. The inference already drawn that the *procurator* and *actor* of the Emperor acted in ordinary regular course as priests of the local cult, ruling the native population on the Estates under the old religious form,

[1] *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, pp. 305 to 378. The inscriptions in that article are quoted as Q 1 etc. (Q = Quatercentenary Publication, Aberdeen).

[2] Waggons can go to Saghir empty, but not with any load.

is only confirmed by the improved text. The inscription does not mention that the *actor* was slave of Caesar, nor does it state that the eponymous official was *procurator* of the Emperor; but the circumstances leave no doubt on this point (which was also the case on the Ormelian Estates), and my theory has been accepted by Rostowzew, *loc. cit.* p. 301.

It is an extremely important point, never previously observed on any Anatolian Imperial Estates, that the administration was conducted under this form. It implies that the old relation of the tenants to the God was maintained in Imperial times to the Lord Emperor.[1] These tenants were his property, not actually as slaves, but in a status which naturally developed



ἐπὶ Μάρκου Φιλείνο[υ ἱερέος κτίστου Καρβο-κωμήτου καὶ κτίσαν-τ]α καὶ Νειάδος (?) πρα-γματευτοῦ ἱερέος κα[ὶ δήμου Καρβοκωμη[τ-ῶν

FIG. 1.

into the later Colonate; and the general situation was as described in my previous paper. The Estates were divided among *κῶμαι*. Each *κώμη* had its lot of lands, and its resident *plebs* (λαοί or ὄχλος), who cultivated it and probably paid rent to the Lord Emperor through his *procurator* and *actor* priests. The allusions to *μαθῶται* (which were restored conjecturally) now disappear from the texts. Perhaps the non-existence of any revenue-

[1] [Κυρ]ίων Σεβ[αστοῦ], Κυρίων Αὐτοκρατόρων, Διὶ Κυρίῳ. The Ormelian priests were of native families (*ἐκ γένους*), succeeding by some unknown rule.

farmers,[4] owing to direct relation of the tenants to the official priests, furnishes the simplest explanation of the failure of *μισθωταί* here, whereas they are so often mentioned on the Ormelian Estates, and the presence of one is the sole evidence that Imperial Estates existed in Oinan-Ova (*Studies*, p. 311).

The text is worth repetition with an epigraphic copy. The wearing of the stone has broadened the lines of the letters so that they are hard to trace with certainty. Λ, Δ, and Α can hardly be distinguished from one another.

There is no difference between the three epigraphic copies except in l. 4.[5] After ΚΑ all mark an iota very slightly and doubtfully. After ΝΕΙ 1905 has Λ and Δ (incomplete in the lowest line); the others have ΑΔ or ΛΔ. At the end 1905 places Γ, which belongs to l. 5. In 5 all agree in ΤΟC as most probable;[6] but 1911 gives ΤΟΥ as possible. The text still remains uncertain and unsatisfactory: probably the engraver blundered, and the composer knew little Greek.

The name Κανειάδος is unendurable: perhaps read *καὶ Νε(κ)άδος*, assuming that the engraver has dropped a letter Κ, and that ι after ΚΑ was intentional. The suggested Νείλλος and [γ]ερεύς in Q 1 are impossible.

(2) As to the character of the Tekmoreioi the new inscriptions make a distinct step forwards, and permit some improvement in the published texts. The Association was clearly a religious one, as soothsayers (*χρησμοδόται*) are mentioned in one of the new texts; and in Miss Hardie's article above it is conclusively proved that the act called *τεκμορεύειν* (an incorrectly formed, and therefore artificial verb) had an expiatory character. Apart from the *βραβευταί*, whose Anatolian village character was discussed in *Studies*, p. 312, and the *ἀναγραφεύς*, who was also probably a village official,[7] the chief or president of the Association was called *πρωταναικλίτης*. The name is now restored with certainty in Q 1 and Q 17 and occurs frequently in the new texts. It seems to mean 'he who reclines first at table.' The ordinary classical terms for 'taking one's place at table' are *κατα-*, *παρα-*, *συγκατα-κλίνεσθαι*. I find no example of *ἀνακλίνεσθαι* used in this sense, except in the Synoptic Gospels.[8] We must of course understand that *ἀνακλίνεσθαι* was used in the Gospels as being the common term in Palestinian Greek-speaking society;[9] are we then to understand that the same term was

[4] These *publicani* under the Empire were of totally different character from those of Republican times; and all comparisons between them ought to disappear from commentaries and works on New Testament times: their true character has been shown by Rostowzew, *Studien z. Gesch. d. röm. Staatspacht* and after him by Ramsay in *Hastings' Dict. Bib.* v. p. 394 b.

[5] In *Studies*, p. 309, I say that ΚΤΙCΑΝ in 3 is uncertain. These letters are quite clear, yet give a hopeless reading: Calder notes that all six letters are certain.

[6] 1905 corrects ΤΗC to ΤΟC; as the letters became blurred and broad, C was evolved out of Y.

[7] On the contrary, Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 67, regards Anagraphens and Brabeutai as officers of the Association.

[8] Luke uses also *κατακλίνεσθαι*. All four Gospels and Septuagint use also *ἀναπίπτειν*. *Ἀνά* has the distributive sense in these compounds.

[9] I put this in a rough fashion, implying no definite opinion as to local usage. The term *ἀνακλίνεσθαι* has not yet been found in Egyptian papyri; but perhaps the idea does not occur.

employed also in the Greek spoken in the Antiochian region? Whether or not that be so, the following hypothesis, in accordance with my previously stated views on the character of the Association, may be here advanced.

The title given to the leader implies that a common meal was a prominent feature in the ritual of the Association. Such a meal, however, was a feature of many (probably of all) such religious societies in the ancient Greek world: the meal followed a sacrifice to the deity in whose worship the society met. The occurrence of an official cook[10] in some societies perhaps shows an appreciation of the material enjoyment of the meal; but in origin, doubtless, the Mageiros had a religious significance; and it may be doubted whether his duties were more than ritualistic. Similarly the Protanaklites must have been, in the Tekmoreian ritual, a figure of outstanding importance. The head of the Association was so called, because some impressive ritual duty was connected with his taking the first place at the sacred meal. The analogy with the Christian Eucharist is striking, and it has already been pointed out that in the pagan reaction and revival the imitation of Christian words and terms and rites was a typical feature.[11] I venture then to conjecture that the leader of the Tekmoreian Association (which I have already supposed to be anti-Christian), as his most characteristic duty, had to preside at a ritual meal which to some extent rivalled the Eucharist.[12]

2=Q 2. The superscription stating the object to which the money subscribed was devoted was printed correctly: the conjecture Σεβ was confirmed: for the conjectural *τοῦ Κυρίου* perhaps the name of the deity should be read, as Miss Hardie suggests.

The opening lines of the main inscription, which have been in great part lost by fracture of the stone, can now be improved. The first line (numbered 4) ended ΕΙΤΩΔΙΠΥ. This excludes my first restoration on p. 319, but leaves a wide field for conjecture, and the direction indicated on p. 349[13] is most probable.

ἐτεκμόρευσαν ? σ]είτῳ δεπύ-
ρῳ ἐπὶ ἀναγραφ]έως Αὐρ-
ηλίου Δημητρίου ? Ὀνη]σίμου
Κτιμ]εν[ην]οῦ, ἐπὶ [πρω]τα-
νακλί]του Αὐρ. Παπᾶς[14] *Μεννίου τῦ ? [κὲ ?*
Φρονίμου Καρμηνοῦ δόντ[ος δην. . . .
κ(ὲ) ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν two in number.

[10] Zwhatth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, pp. 41, 65.

[11] Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* viii., ix. 8-9; Lactantius, *M.P.* 36, 37. Ramsay, *Pauline and Other Studies*, Art. iv., quotes many illustrations from inscriptions; see also *Cit. and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. p. 567.

[12] Sacraments, at any rate baptism, were Mithraic.

[13] This view that the rite was performed with twice-fired bread, δεπύρη, has been proposed by Mr. A. J. Reinach (not observing my suggestion of it as possible on p. 349, though neither of us has made a restoration in accordance with this idea). His excellent paper is used in the sequel.

[14] Παπᾶς either bad grammar (like δόντος with nominative nouns, and other solecisms), or due to remembrance of a Phrygian genitive. Τε[ιτηνοῦ καὶ] with a second name is too long. Yet τῦ for τοῦ is a unique misspelling.

The restoration of the exordium of the main inscription, if it could be assured, would go far to resolve the difficulty as to the Tekmoreian Association. [σ]είτῳ δαπύ[ρῳ] seems certain, since the additional letters read in 1911 have antiquated my former guess [ἐν] τῷ δαπυ[λῳ]. There seems to be no other possible word. The convincing paper by Monsieur A. J. Reinach on *Pain Galate* and the discoveries of 1911 remove the difficulty that I expressed in *Studies*, p. 349:[15] 'the twice-fired bread,' about which I there hesitated, now stands almost complete in the text. The Protanaklites, probably, gave the bread to *mystai* at the ritual meal.

A verb is needed before [σ]είτῳ. The restoration which I retain follows the form of which examples are quoted in *Studies* p. 346. Perhaps one should prefer a verb which along with σείτῳ δαπύρῳ would be equivalent to ἐτεκμόρευσαν, but the ritual term is not out of place at the opening. I omit οἵδε (which analogy, p. 346, calls for), and suppose that the following names serve as nominatives to the verb at the beginning: the line seems to have been short (though the arrangement is irregular in this inscription). The conjectural restoration of Demetrius in l. 9 becomes now less convincing, as being too short; and I have therefore written Αὐρηλίου in full.

Monsieur A. J. Reinach has illustrated the importance of the bread in ritual; and his conclusion as regards the Tekmoreioi seems now established: *la communion par le* dipyron *paraît donc comme l'acte essentiel par lequel on devient* Tekmoreios: *le* tekmor *ne serait pas autre chose qu' une formule d' initiation* (p. 231). He quotes the case of the Montanist sect Artotyritae, who celebrated the Eucharist with bread and cheese, without wine (which was symbolical of blood).

The ritual meal was, as we have seen, the central ceremony, according to wide-spread custom, of a pagan Society; and at this meal evidently the Protanaklites played his part, in which probably the giving of the *dipyros* (instead of ordinary bread) to the new *mystes* was included. Whether all the *mystai* who took part in the ritual meal also partook of the *dipyros*, or only the new initiate, cannot yet be determined; but analogy points to the view that the eating of this special kind of bread was characteristic of the cult and common to all the *mystai*. That was the old pagan ritual. The transformation of this ceremony into a test and an initiation (perhaps by the addition of a confession or oath or some other accompaniment) probably belongs to the late reorganization of the society in the third century. Q. 9 is the only list which seems to be older than A.D. 212; and in it there is no Protanaklites, and the ritual element is not prominent, because the pagan revival had not yet begun when the list was engraved. The

[15] Reinach in *Revue Celtique*, 1907, pp. 235 f. The thought of δαπύ[ρῳ] occurred to me too late for the text p. 319, when that sheet was already on the machine; I could only add the reference in the note to p. 349, where I have mentioned this possibility, quoting some evidence that ordinary bread was avoided in the Phrygian ritual, but confessing inability 'to see how the sign could be exhibited by means of the twice-fired bread.' It is, however, now easy to see how well this adapts itself to the newly discovered Protanaklites.

religious Society existed throughout the Roman period, as the basis of the organization of the Estates.

Monsieur A. J. Reinach is sceptical about these lists having any connexion with Imperial Estates. Apparently he has not studied the history of the Anatolian Estates; and does not recognize them. Rostowzew, who knows those Estates, recognizes at a glance the character of the documents.

Monsieur Reinach is probably right that the use of *pain Galate* in the Tekmoreian ritual was due to the Gaulish custom of using bread twice-fired, which after being lightly cooked was reduced by trituration to a kind of flour, and then a second time prepared and baked (pp. 230 f.). This custom confirmed and agreed with the Phrygian ritual usage, which forbade leavened bread as part of the food of priests: such is the probable meaning of the prohibition, as M. Reinach proves at some length (p. 226), and as I have assumed without argument (*Studies*, p. 349).[16] The extension of Gaulish custom is a proof of the reality of Galatian influence in South Galatia, in the district called in Acts xvi. 6 ἡ Φρυγία καὶ Γαλατικὴ χώρα. If, now, we had reason to think that opposition to the native and the Jewish, and perhaps the Montanist, custom caused the orthodox Christians to prefer leavened bread in the Eucharist, the insistence on unleavened bread in the Tekmoreian ritual feast would have constituted in itself a test of orthodox Christian constancy.

That the 'Orthodox' Church at that time disapproved of the celebration of the Eucharist with unleavened bread is highly probable, and almost certain. On this matter I am deeply indebted to Mr. Brightman. All the Eastern Churches except the Armenian use leavened, and abhor unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The Western Church uses unleavened bread, but this is probably an innovation of much later date than the Tekmoreian inscriptions. Our theory would furnish a good cause in history for the abhorrence felt in the East. According to the view stated by the present writer in a series of articles in the *Expository Times*, 1910, the Eucharistic rite might originally accompany any meal, if other conditions were suitable, and in that case either kind of bread would serve equally well, but leavened bread would be in practice much commoner. A preference might thus arise, which was strengthened by another cause. The Ebionites celebrated their annual Eucharist with unleavened bread (Epiphanius, *Haer.* XXX. 16)—no doubt as a Christian substitute for the Passover—and two inscriptions of Hierapolis in Phrygia (if my belief that they are Jewish-Christian is correct; *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* II. p. 545 f.) show that in Phrygia during the third century Jewish Christians celebrated the annual Easter Eucharist with unleavened bread; but in Humann-Judeich *Hierapolis*, p. 142, those inscriptions are regarded as Jewish. My hypothesis is that the Ebionite usage goes back to the first century, and that the non-Jewish Churches developed in opposition a preference for leavened bread, which was intensified as time passed.

[16] The Christian authorities say that the priests ate no bread.

An objection to the view that τεκμορεύειν had some connexion with the Imperial religion (stated in *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1908, p. 297, in a detailed and suggestive review of the *Studies*) leads to a clearer conception of the act and its nature. The reviewer, R. Laqueur, agrees with me that τεκμορεύειν denotes *eine Kultus-handlung irgend welcher Art*; but denies any Imperial significance, *weil viele dann die Tatsache, dass nur ein einziger in einer grossen Namenreihe doppelt 'bezeugt' hätte* (δὶς τεκμορεύσας) *nicht erklären lässt.*[2] That causes quite as great difficulty, if the act had a ritual significance only in the old Phrygian cultus. I take it that there are only the two alternatives open to the reviewer and to me, who accept the theory of ritual significance: (1) the act belongs to the old religion, (2) it has a certain relation to the *Kaiserkultus*. But the reviewer seems, if I rightly understand him, to assume that (2) excludes (1). This is not so. The old religion and the Imperial cult were combined. The Estates had been administered by the Imperial Procurator as priest maintaining the old form of rule. Thus the Estates were managed without any violent change, and the cultivators continued to be organized under the form of a religious society (as has been already indicated) similar to their former system. The immense power and influence of the Anatolian *hiero* are illustrated by the great inscription which the Americans found on the wall of the temple at Sardis relating to this matter of landed estates; and it is probable that the καισαριασταί known from a remarkable inscription published by Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, pp. 6 f., and commented on by M. Reinach *loc. cit.*, were a society of cultivators of a Sardian temple-property which had passed into Imperial possession. The Emperors seldom interfered with the temple-system, but adapted it to their own purposes, for the Imperial god was generally identified with the god of the district. The old ritual forms were well suited to be used in the last struggle of the Empire and paganism combined against the new faith. The old custom of the twice-fired bread was used as a Tekmor or test of religion and loyalty: only the testing purpose was new, while the form was old. That the test was usually applied only once (in two cases twice) presents no difficulty. A single test was ordinarily sufficient: all who passed it showed themselves good pagans and acquired merit, whether suspected of Christianity or not.

That there may have been a kind of Tekmoreian sacrament is probably a sign of Mithraism (note 12). The influence of Mithras-worship in Asia Minor is little known. The baptism of this ritual seemed to rival the Christian sacrament; and, though Mithraism is not recorded to have played a part in the pagan revival under Maximin, the Tekmoreian rites, as described here and below, perhaps show that the Mithraic ritual was mixed up at Antioch with the anti-Christian movement. A monument of Mithraic initiation from a military station on the west Cappadocian frontier is published in my *Revolution in Constantinople and Turkey*, pp. 214–222.

I add some remarks on the text, derived from a revision of some points.

[2] A second case is now known: Miss Hardie's paper, No. 2.

In 33 note confirmed. 38, ΔΑΡΗΝΟΥϹ of all copies confirmed: Ρ is confirmed by No. 26 below. 48, there is room for Απολ in the gap. 52 ϹΕΙΗ perhaps rightly, but Η and Ν are sometimes indistinguishable. 65, ΜΕΙΝ: probably ligature of Ι and Ν has been omitted by engraver's slip. 72, ΟΙΤΩΝ probable. 86, ΟΥΛΛΕ certain, *i.e.* Οὐαλελιανός, an interesting local pronunciation: the name was liable to alteration in East Phrygia and Lycaonia, where Οὐαρελιανός occurs often. 82, Αὐρ. Αὐξάνων Ζωτικοῦ. 104, Θ now blurred. On 57 see No. 20.

4 = Q 4. 28. On Ἀνδιγνός see note on 21 below.

7 = Q 7 (R. 1886, 1911). 3,]ηνός. 6, for Η read Ν: restore Ἡλ]ιανείτης as in No. 26, 9. 9, a line is omitted: read [Ρ]ακηνός: then l. 10 is [Ἰο]υλιεύς (9 in *Studies*), and so on. This is perhaps part of one side of the large *bomos* described as No. 27.

8 = Q 8. In l. 6 read [ἐν] Ὄρκοις, as proved by a fragment found in 1911. In l. 7 read [χα]λκείτη[ς: see note on 17 below.

9 = Q 9 (R. 1886, R. and C. 1911). The new copy added a line, ΤΟΥϹΛΕ at the top of column B, and gave in B 5 (formerly B 4) ΠΑΠΑϹΜΑ,[19] in B 6 ΜΟΥΚΑΡ. In A 9 the reading is ΑΠΟΥ . . . .ΟΥ (possibly ΑΜΟΥ): in A 10 ΚΥΑ or ΚΡΑ, and the gap is larger.

The stone is on the inside of a garden-wall on the right as one enters the village from south. It is turned upside down, and the lettering is rude and sometimes uncertain. The inscription is in two columns, A and B, separated by two bull's heads, from whose horns a wreath is suspended between them. Column B only completes A, and is not independent. Τ occurs both at end of A 1 and in B 1. Hence the text results.

A 1 and B 1–4 ἐπὶ ἀναγραφέως Ζ]ωτ[ι]κοῦ Ἀρτέμωνος Βοαλιανοῦ (τ)τοῦ Ἀλ[ε]ξάνδρου Ϛ Διοκωμήτου.

A 2 Μενεκλῆς Μειλάτμεος confirmed.

A 10 Perhaps Κυαδρηνός rather than Κραδρηνός.

After A 12 add B 5–6 Παπᾶς Μαξίμου Καρ[μη]νός.

12 = Q 12 (St. 1885, R. 1886, R. and H. 1911). We had the stone taken out of a garden-wall, and thus uncovered a number of lines, which were hitherto concealed and uncopied. Miss Hardie and I worked at lines 8 ff. in a hot afternoon under a blazing sun, after a fatiguing forenoon's work. We had little mental energy left for the task; the stone was in an awkward position, and the letters are so worn, that we at last abandoned the task in despair. It was only on the following day that the word πρωταναελίτης was discovered, which clears up A 8. The stone ought to be tried once more before it is completely published; but we have made it intelligible.

[19] Sterrett prints in his epigraphic copy ΠΑΠΑΜΑ. My notebook of 1888 gives the text correctly (so in 1911); but presumably I accidentally omitted the Ϛ in the copy which I sent him; and thus Παπᾶ appears in his text and house in Q 9.

The inscription is in the usual form. It first states the object of the dedication by the Xenoi Tekmoreioi. Then it states the date by naming the Secretary 5–6, the Prytanaklites 8, and the Brabeutai 11.

	A	B
	ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Κυ]ρίων τύχης καὶ [ν-	ἔ]π-
	εί]κης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς	ὶ ἀνα-
	καὶ τοῦ σύνπαντος αὐτοῦ οἴκου	γρα]φέ-
	σωτηρίας ἀνέστησαν Ξένοι	ως Αὐ[ρ.
5	Τεκμορεῖοι Τύχην χάλκειον ἐπ[ὶ]	οπτ-
	ἀν]αγραφέος Αὐρ. Παπᾶ δὶς Ἀστ[ο τ Λε[τ]	
	δ]ούς ἐπίδοσιν δην. γφ᾽	μο[υ
	ἐ]πὶ [πρω]τανα<υ>κλίτ[ου] Μεννεᾶδ[-	Δι]ογ[έ-
	ος]σ[ ]ο[ν]ος Κεν[ν]άτου [δην ?	ν]ους
10	Αὐρ. Ἴμαν Ζωτικοῦ Διοφάνους Πτα	[γιανοῦ]
	δ]όντος ἐπίδοσ[ιν]. ἐπὶ βραβευτ	ῶν
	Α]ὐ. Ἀλεξάνδρ[ο]υ Αἰπ[ολο ?]νιάτ[ου	δην.. ε-
	καὶ Αὐρ. Μαξιμιανοῦ Ναξίου(?) Τα	λ[ι-
	με]τηνοῦ καὶ Μάρκου [Ἰμ]ενος Πε-	δην.
15	ακε]νιάτου, Αὐρ. Δάμας Τιμοθέου	
	Αὐρ. Ἀ]λέξανδρος Καρικοῦ<ς> Ἀρασιζεύς	

On B, an adjoining face of the stone, only a few letters are engraved. In A there remain a good many lines which might probably be read with time and patience, if the stone were put in a good position. Part of the dating in A seems to be corrected in B by the addition of a second *ἀναγραφεύς* (perhaps Ὀπτίμου Διογένους). In B lower down ῶν seems to complete *βραβευτ* in A. Similarly in the following lines.

15 = Q 15, 1. Probably read ἐν Μ]άνδρῳ: there is not room for Ὀλιμαναρῳ. See also Q 11 and Q 21 (below).

17 = Q 17. The first line may perhaps be part of a statement of the use to which the subscribed money was applied.

[Τεκμορεῖοι ἐποίησαν . . . χ]ακ[ώ]ματα
ἐπὶ] ἀναγραφέως Αὐ]ρ.
Μην]οδώρου Λουκείο[υ βουλευτοῦ
Ἀντ]ιοχέως δοντο[ς δην. [
5 ἐπὶ] πρωτανακλίτου Ἑρμ[
Ζ]ωτικοῦ τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Γλ[κων]ος Συναδευ[ς [19]

Then follow names in nom. with sums of denarii.

14 ἔ]πὶ βραβευτῶν Αὐ. Ἀλκίμου Ἀλκίμου Παπαηοῦ δην. νε
καὶ Ἀππᾶ Γαίου Λαπιστρηνοῦ δην. σβ.

[19] The inflexion of nouns in -εύς troubled the composer seriously: he uses -έως and -έας in nom., -εάτ in gen.

Then follow other names in nom. with sums of denarii.

χακώματα, i.e. *χαλκώματα* (compare Q 2, 3). Perhaps *καχείτης* for *καλχ.*, i.e. *χαλκείτης*, should be read in 21, 5, below, a trade name equivalent to *χαλκεύς*, though not elsewhere found. In Q 13 *χάλχωμα* occurs. In Q 8, 7 [*χα*]*λκείτη*[*ς*] seems certain: in 27 A, 16 it is written in full. [This spelling seems to point to a suppressing of the *l* sound as in Eng. pronunciation of *chalk*. G. F. H.]

19 = Q 19, 1. Perhaps *ἄγα*]*λμ*[*α*, part of a statement of objects made.

20. The fragment Q 20 (St 1885, R 1886) should be placed on the right of this fragment copied by me in 1911, leaving only a gap of a few letters between them

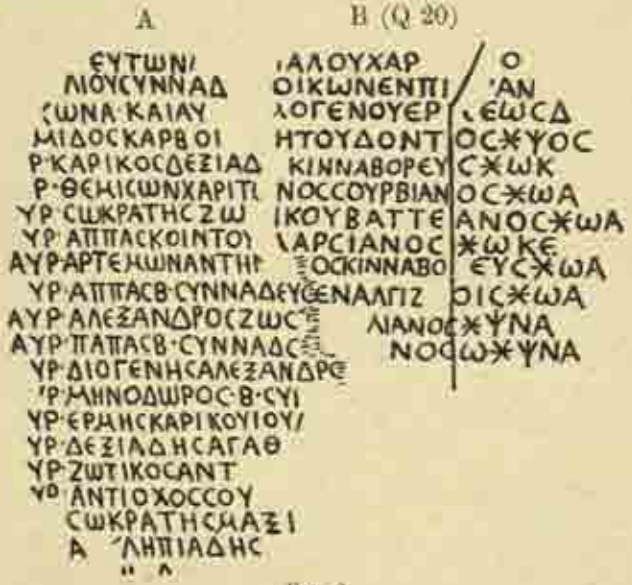


FIG. 2.

ἐπὶ βραβ]*ευτῶν* [Αὐρ. Ἀττ]*άλου Χαρ*[*ίτων*]*ο*[*ς*
Κορνη?]*λίου Συνναδ*[*εὺς*] *οἰκῶν ἐν Πι*[*λιγ*]*άν*[*ῳ*
δοὺς ✱] *ωνὰ καὶ* Αὐ[*ρ.* Ἑρμ]*ογένου* Ἑρμέως Δ-
ιοθέ?]*μιδος Καρβο*[*κωμ*]*ήτου δύντος* ✱ *ψοε*
Αὐ]*ρ. Καρικὸς Δεξιάδ*[*ου*] *Κινναβορεὺς* ✱ *ωκ*
Αὐ]*ρ. Θεμίσων Χαρίτ*[*ω*]*νος Σουρβιανὸς* ✱ *ωα*
Α]*ὐρ. Σωκράτης Ζω*[*τι*]*κοῦ Βαττεανὸς* ✱ *ωα*
Α]*ὐρ.* Ἀππᾶς *Κοΐντο*[*υ Μ*]*αρσιανὸς* ✱ *ωκε*
Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων Ἀντή[*νορ*]*ος Κινναβορεὺς* ✱ *ωα*
Α]*ὐρ.* Ἀππᾶς *β*′ *Συνναδ*[*εὺς*] *ἐν* Ἀλγιζ[*έ*]*οις* ✱ *ωα*
Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος Ζωσ[*ίμου Α*]*ἰανὸς* ✱ *ψνα*
Αὐρ. Παπᾶς *β*′ *Συνναδ*[*εὺς ἐν*] *Νόσῳ* ✱ *ψνα*
Α]*ὐρ. Διογένης Ἀλεξάνδρ*[*ου*
Αὐ]*ρ. Μηνόδωρος β*′ *Σι*[*νναδεύς*

15 Λ]ὐρ. Ἑρμῆς Καρικοῦ Ἰου[λιεὶς
Λ]ὐρ. Δεξιάδης Ἀγάθ[ωνος ?
Λ]ὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Ἀντ[ιόχου
Λ]ὐρ. Ἀντ[ίοχος Σοΐ[σου ?
Αὐρ.] Σωκράτης Μαξί[μου
Αὐρ.] Ἀ[σκ]ληπιάδης

In 3–4, Δ[ ]μῖος cannot be a long word; Δ[ιοθέ]μῖος would suit in length, if it were known elsewhere.

As to comparative date, the following may be noted: 5. Karikos is brother of Antenor, son of Dexiades (Kinnaborion), Q 16, 15; Q 15, 17. 9. Artemon, son of Antenor, is grandson of Dexiades (Kinnaborion), Q 16, 15, and Q 15, 17. 15. Hermes, son of Karikos, is perhaps brother of Julius (Iulia), Q 15, 22, and Q 16, 21. 7. Zotikos, father of Sokrates here, is son of Orestes in No. 27 (Battea).

Accordingly this list is later by a (short) generation than Q 15 and Q 16 (which were proved in *Studies*, p. 300, to be early), and it is later by a generation than the fragmentary No. 27. So far as shape and arrangement go, this present list seemed to be possibly a part of No. 27; yet the chronological evidence is against this, and 27 goes with 15 and 16. The only possible way of fitting 27 to these two is to suppose that 27, 1 completes 16, 60, a very slender thread of union.

L. 11. Ἀιανός (read by Sterrett in 1885, but broken before I saw the stone in 1886) is probably the same name as ΑΙΑΗΝΟC in Q 2, 57. In 1882 I noted in margin that this was the probable reading: in 1911 Calder and I agreed that ΑΙΑΗΝΟC was probable (initial not certain). In 1886 I thought that Η was *liée* with the following Α, and hence printed Ἀμαηνός in Q 2. The true text seems to be either Ἀιαηνός or Ἀἰαηνός, probably the latter. There is no room for [Βαρουκ]λιανός.

L. 12. There is not room in the gap for *οἰκῶν ἐν*, but e.g. *ἐν Κνάσῳ* or Ἀνάσῳ, involving loss of one letter, is possible.

L. 21 = Q 21 (St. 1885, R. and C., separately, 1911). The older copy is far from complete in ll. 1, 2. The stone is top part of the basis of a statue, perhaps.

Αὐρ. Ἀρτέμων Καρικοῦ Ἡμεραί(ου) Ὀλμ[ι]ακ[ὸς] δην. ν'[
Αὐρ. Γάϊος Μενίνδρου Ἀνδρηνός δην. [
Αὐρ. Εἰρηνῖος Ἀλεξάνδρου Δουδανδηνὸς χάλκι[α δύο ?
Αὐρ. Καρικὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου καχείτης Μαληνός.

L. 1. Ὀλμιανός. Calder reads part of *μ* and of *α* with gap sufficient for *ι*. From Sterrett's defective copy I caught [ὁ κ]αὶ Ὀλ[μιανός] and restored wrongly a personage elsewhere mentioned. Presumably ΟΥ was omitted before ΟΛ by the engraver. I revised Calder's copy, but could make no addition to a very faint text.

L. 2. Calder read ΔΡΟΜΑΝΔΡ ? In revision I preferred ΔΡΟΥΑΝΑΡ or ΑΝΔΡ. Calder then re-read, and admitted these as possible. The text is not quite certain.

L. 3. *Δουδαδηνός* (Sterrett): We read as above. The local name is evidently connected with the personal name Doudas or Dodes, through suffix *ανδα* or *αδα*: see for similar examples *Histor. Geogr. of Asia Minor* p. 368. On *καχείτης* see 17, above. As to the form Ἀνδρηνός, in Q 4, 28 I read at first Ἀνδρηνός and then noted that only ΙΗ was certain, but ΡΗ was possible. In Q 15, 32 and 16, 33 *ἐν* Ἀνδ[ι]αις is restored. Miss Hardie quotes Pliny's city Andria of Phrygia (*Nat. Hist.* v. 145: *Cit. and Bish. of Phrygia* i. p. 209).

23 = Q 23, 10 *μισθωτοῦ* unjustifiably restored here.

24 = Q 24 (Callander 1906, R. and C. 1911). 3 ΙΙCENIONI followed by a doubtful letter or emblem.

L. 8 *ποιήσῃ, κατάρα αὐτῷ γένοιτο* for *ποιησηιαιτρα* (1906): the text is in parts much worn.

25 = Q 25 (a small part copied by R. 1886, when the rest of the stone was covered up: Callander's copy 1906 is entirely confirmed by R. and C. 1911). 2 We read *ἔτι*. 6 We read Ν on another edge of the stone, so that the object dedicated was a *βέννος*. 7 ΚΑΛΑ complete.

26 (R. C. and H. 1911). On two sides of a stone excavated at Saghir. The upper part occurs only on side B, while the corresponding part of side A is blank. On this upper part the superscription describing the purpose to which money subscribed (no sums mentioned in the text) was applied: the arrangement is as in Q 2. Sides C and D seem not to have been engraved, yet B is evidently incomplete. The stone is much worn, and the engraving was very rude and inaccurate. Misspellings and omissions are numerous. Though a line can be quite certainly restored above l. 1, containing the nominative plural before the verb, yet not a trace of it could be detected.

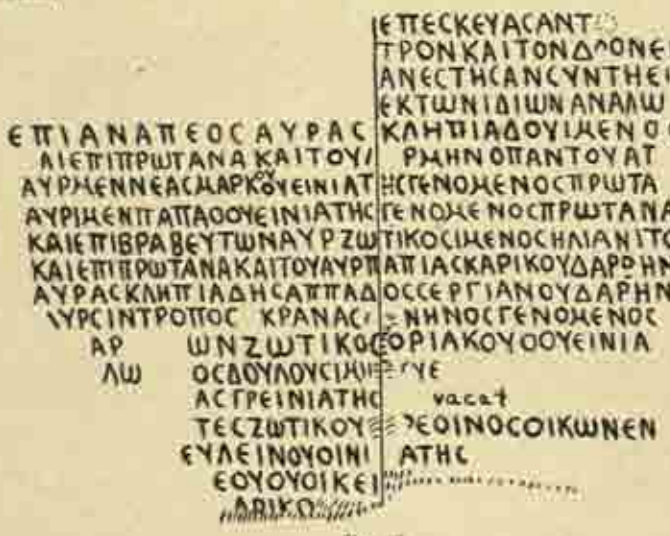


FIG. 3.

[Ξένοι Τεκμορεῖοι]
ἐπεσκεύασαν το [ἄν ?-
- - -τρον καὶ τὸν δάον εἰσ-
ανέστησαν σὺν τῇ εἰ[κόνι
ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλω[μάτων.
ἐπὶ ἀνα(γρα)πέος Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἴμενος
κ]αὶ ἐπὶ πρωτανακ[λ]ίτου [Αὐ]ρ. Μηνοπάντου Ἀτ[τάλου ?
Αὐρ. Μενέας Μάρκου Οὐεινιάτ[η]ς γενόμενος πρωτα[νακλίτης
Αὐρ. Ἴμεν Παπᾶ Ὀουεινιάτης γενόμενος πρωτανα[κλίτης
καὶ ἐπὶ βραβευτῶν Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς (sic) Ἴμενος Ἡλιανίτου πρ[ωτανακλίτου
καὶ ἐπὶ πρωτανακ[λ]ίτου Αὐρ. Παπίας Καρικοῦ Δαρ[ρ]ηνός
Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀππᾶδ̣ο[ς] Σεργιανοῦ Δαρηνός
Α]ὐρ. Σίντροπος [ ] Κρανασα]γηνός γενόμενος [πρωτανακλίτης
Αὐρ.] Ἀρ[τέμ]ων Ζωτικο[ῦ] Ὁριακοῦ Ὀουεινιά[της
Αὐρ. Ἀπο]λώ[νι]ος Δούλου Σιμικκεύς
Αὐρ. [Παπ[ί]ας Γρειπάτης
Αὐρ.]τέος[28] Ζωτικοῦ [. . .]ρεοινος οἰκῶν ἐν . . .
Αὐρ. [Μαρκ[ε]λλείνου Οἰνιάτης
Μεν]έου<ΟΥ> Οἰκε[ι]νός
Κ]αρικο[ῦ

If the restoration [ἄν]τρον could be trusted, it would suggest some interesting speculations. Evidently the lost word denoted some place already existing, which had to be equipped: the three verbs ἐποίησαν, ἀνέστησαν, and ἐπεσκεύασαν, are carefully distinguished in these statements (Q 2, Q 12, Q 13, Q 22). A cave, such as was used in the Mithraic ritual, or a place like the stable at Bethlehem used in this imitation of Christian ritual, would quite fulfil the conditions. The restoration εἰκόνι is very probable, as the ι of Κ could be traced. δάος seems to be a revival of an old epic word,[29] meaning 'torch' in Homer, similar to the archaic, Homeric, τέκμωρ from which the Association derived its name. Whether the Christian analogy can be maintained or not, at any rate the equipment of the cave with a (large) torch and an image would be very suitable for a scene in the Mysteries, Phrygian or other.

The comparative date of this inscription may be determined from l. 12. Syntrophos of Kranesaga[30] was the father of Iman, a member of the Association, mentioned in Q 2, 88. Here in l. 12 there is abundant room for a letter after the name; and the only single letter possible would be Β (*i.e.* δίς). If this restoration is right, Syntrophos son of Syntrophos here would be brother of Iman, and the document would be nearly contemporary with Q 2, which has been assigned conjecturally to the period of Decius about A.D. 250 (*Studies*, p. 355). If, however, there was simply a gap on the stone, this document would be a generation older than Q 2, and would belong to the earlier group of Tekmorean lists.

[28] For nouns in -εύς see note 19. [29] As Miss Hardie suggested. [30] Misspelt Kranesana here.

In B 9 the reading Ἡλιανίτου seemed certain, although possibly Δ should be substituted for Λ, giving a form equivalent to Αἰζανίτου: on the equivalence of Δ and Ζ in Anatolian words under Greek conditions of spelling and pronunciation see *Studies*, p. 366, *Classical Review*, 1905, p. 370. In B 10 Δαρρηνός and Δαρβηνός were both possible; but the following line decides in favour of a bad Ρ. In l. 13 both Ζωτικός and Ζωτικοῦ are possible; and there may be a letter lost after it, the initial of -ομακοῦ. In l. 14 the lacuna is too short to allow two Λ in the personal name. In l. 16 ΡΕΘΗΝΟC is perhaps possible, s.e. [Α]β[ρ]εθηνός: compare the Abrettenoi in North Phrygia. In l. 17 the copy gives Υ very doubtfully between Ε and Λ. In l. 18 ΟΥΟΙΚ may be a thick pronunciation of ΟΙΚ, or a mere fault of the engraver.

27 (R. 1911). Saghir. (Lower end of two sides of a large *bomos*.) Two parts, A containing the beginnings and ends of the lines, B the middle: the latter is a corner of the bomos.

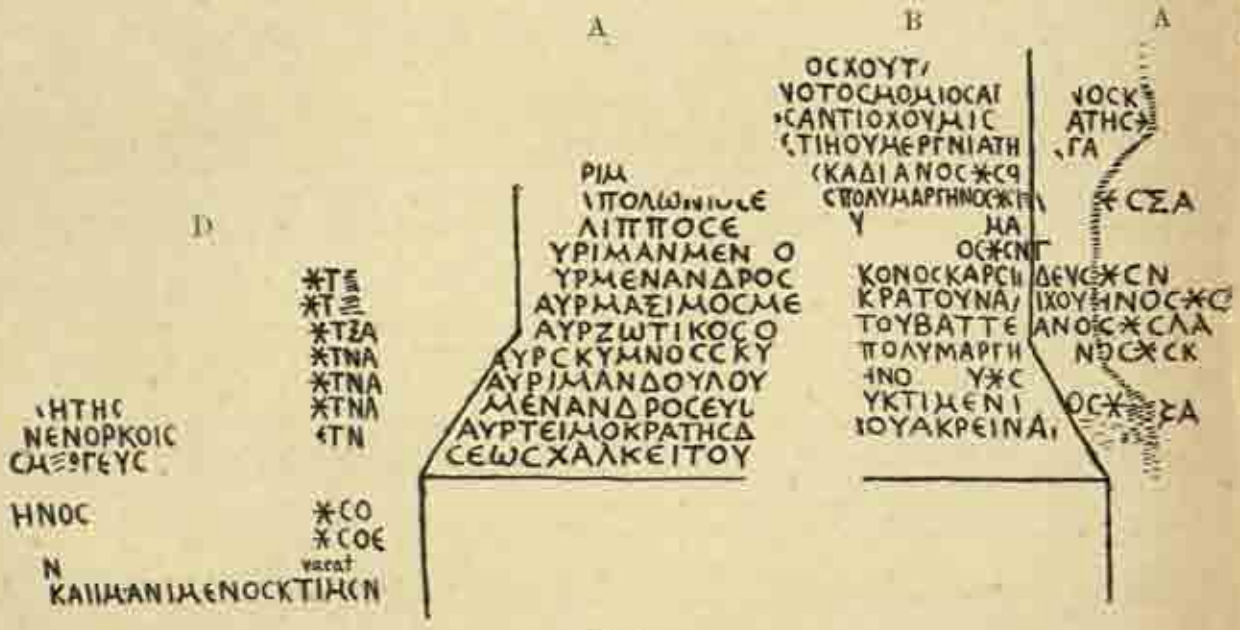


Fig. 4.

Μ]όσχου Τα[λιμετεύς ?
]νοτος Μόμιος Ἀτ[ταλη ?]νὸς Κ
ος Ἀντιόχου Μισ[υλ]ίτης δην. [
ς Τιήου Μεργιμάτη[ς δην. τα΄
Αὐ]ρ. Ἰμ[αν ο]υ Καδιανὸς δην. σϟ
Αὐρ.] Ἀπολώνιος ς Πολυμαργηνὸς (δην. σ[π]α΄ ?) δην. σξα΄
Φίλιππος Ε[ ]ν [δην. σ]μα

Α]ὐρ. Ἴμαν Μέν[τ]ω[ρος [ ]ην]ὸς δην. στγ΄
Αὐρ. Μένανδρος [Γλύ]κωνος Καρσινδεὺς δην. σι[α΄
Αὐρ. Μάξιμος Με[νε]κράτου Ναλιχουηνὸς δην. σ[να΄
Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Ὀ[ρέσ]του Βαττεανὸς δην. σνα΄
Αὐρ. Σκύμνος Σκύ[μνου] Πολυμαργηνὸς δην. σκ
Αὐρ. Ἴμαν Δούλου [ ]ηνο[ ]υ δην. σ΄
Μένανδρος Εὐσ[νύμο]υ Κτιμενηνὸς δην. [ρ]ξα΄
Αὐρ. Τειμοκράτης Δι[ονυσ]ίου Ἀκρεινά[της
σεως χαλκείτου finis

I copied these fragments at different places, and noted at the time the probability that they might suit each other, as they are parts of the lower end of a large *homos*; but there was no opportunity of trying to fit them together. The inscriptions suit well: in 10, Ναλιχουηνός is like Σαγουηνός, Ἀραγουηνός, Σοηνός (Ἔσουα, Ἴσβα), Λαγηνός, Καλουηνός: on l. 15 see below on D. CЄΩC is the end of a name in gen. such as [Τολουρά]σεως, which has come over from side D. The homos was engraved on all four sides; and considerable pieces probably remain: the traces make Ἀκρεινάτης almost certain. Compare *Studies*, p. 359.

L. 2. Μόμμος, probably genitive of a native name, and not related to Mummius.

L. 4. Τειόν or Τιήου: noted first as an indeclinable native name in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 60. The form Τιήου occurs in several unpublished inscriptions of Laodiceia Lycaoniae.

In 11 and in Q 20, 7 the reading Β. Ἀττεανός cannot be justified: Attais therefore disappears from the list in *Studies*, p. 364, and Battea must be added there and on p. 371. Sterrett was right in this.

D. The other sides of this *homos* were also engraved; and the following was perhaps a fragment of the lowest part of the fourth side. The names began on the third side, and are completed here.

⁂ τ[
⁂ τ[
⁂ τξα΄
⁂ τνα΄
⁂ τνα΄
-κωμ]ήτης ⁂ τνα΄
οἰκῶ]ν ἐν Ὄρκοις ⁂ τν
ς Μ[ε ?]ργενς
[⁂] σ[
-ηνός ⁂ σο[
⁂ σοε΄
η [blank space]
καὶ Ἴμαν Ἰμενος Κτιμεν[ηνός.

Line 8 here, from the shape of the basis, seems to correspond to A 16; and in this case apparently the name extended round beyond D on to A, so that the whole should run after this fashion [Αὐρ. —— ——ο]ς Μ[ε]ργεὺς [Τουλουρά]σεως χαλκείτου.[23] Names like Toulourasis are common in the district of Anabourn, six hours south-east of Antioch. I take Μεργεὺς for Μεργγεύς, a variant of Μεργιάτης. The lowest part of the basis was not engraved on sides A, B, but was engraved on side D in five lines.

Another possibility in restoring A B 15, 16, is Ἀκρεινά[του Μινα]σέως χαλκείτου, making Dionysius a citizen of Minassos, who had settled in the village Akreina, on the Imperial Estates, after the fashion described in *Studies*, pp. 357 f.; but there seems to be hardly room for Μινα-, for this would extend to A (which here is blank). The restoration Ἀκρεινά[της] or [του] seemed practically certain, as we copied the stone.

28. (C. 1911) Saghir. The epithet of the goddess was assured by traces of broken letters (Calder).

Ἀρτέμωι [Π]υ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐ[πηκό]ωι εὐχήν.

For the present I refrain from publishing a number of small fragments of Tekmorcian lists, which were copied at Saghir in 1911, because it is probable that some of these may yet be united to one another or to other published fragments. In one case we put four together, as they were in our hands for some time; but, unless one can handle them, it is not possible to fit such small parts together. It is useless to measure the letters, for these vary much in size in the same stone, and the spacing and the distances between the lines are very irregular. As knowledge grows, the task of uniting the fragments might become easier. A week at Saghir seems even more urgently needed than when, in 1906, I suggested that it would be profitable. In one of the Turbes there are probably other fragments, besides those which have been seen and copied: but religious awe will probably prevent them from being uncovered. Time, however, is necessary. People will not do for the visitor of a day what they will readily do for one who has lived for a week among them.

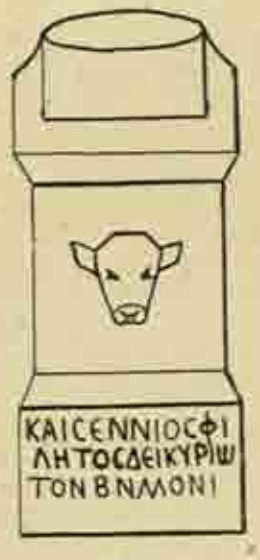
29. (R. and C. and H., 1911.) Kundanli or Gondane, on a *bomos* of peculiar shape. The stone is a square *bomos* with a round *cippus* on the top,[24] but the *cippus* is properly cut only on the inscribed side, showing that the monument was intended to stand against a wall and to be seen only from one side.

On the front of the *bomos* is the head of a hornless ox. On the two sides are defaced ornaments: Miss Hardie thought both were bull's heads: I thought that on the left side was the common ornament and on

[23] Ethnic before father's name, as in Q 15, 11; Q 2, 29.

[24] On the flat top of the *cippus* are three small circular bosses.

the right perhaps a bunch of grapes. Miss Hardie notes that in Lebas, Pl. 136, a relief from the Lydian Katakekaumene, Men stands with his left foot on the head of a hornless ox [perhaps a calf is meant]. On coins of Antioch Men often stands with left foot on *bucranium*.



Καισέννιος Φι-
λητος Δεὶ Κυρίῳ
τὸν β[ω]μὸν <c>

FIG. 5.

N is a mere slip for W: whether the final I was also a slip, or had some force in local pronunciation, I do not venture to determine.

On these estates the reigning emperors were the Kyrioi (Q 12, 13). Hence, though Kyrios is a well recognized title of the god in Anatolia, yet here probably Zeus Kyrios is an identification of the reigning Emperor with the local Zeus, as *e.g.* in Athens Hadrian was Zeus Olympios. On the form Δεί see Q 25 and note.

Caesennius Philetos can hardly be separated from Caesennius Philetos, who made a dedication to Men Askaēnos (see p. 123) along with his brother, when both had performed the action called τεκμορεύειν. If we could suppose that these brothers were freedmen of Caesennius, governor of Galatia, A.D. 80, it would follow that the act of Tekmoreusis was practised from at least A.D. 80, and therefore was a rite in an old Phrygian religious society; and much that I have suggested about the Association would be disproved. But that is not the situation. Caesennius Philetos was a resident in the country, belonging to one of the Hellenic families which had acquired the Roman *civitas* and taken the name of the governor in A.D. 80. This dedication to Zeus Kyrios clearly belongs to a much later date; and we must suppose that, as would be natural, the *nomen* persisted in the family for 150 or 200 years. The religious Association was ancient.

30 (R. 1886). On a grave-stone at Yalowadj.

FIG. 6.

Καισενία
Ἑρμιό-
νη
Αὐξάνο-
ντι τέκν-
ῳ μνέας
χάριν.

This epitaph certainly is not earlier than the late second century: it belongs to the period of degeneration. Hermione probably belonged to the same family as Philetos and Onesimos, a family of Hellenic *incolae*, rewarded with the *civitas* about A.D. 80–2, and retaining the Roman *nomen* permanently. A family like this was Hellenic only in virtue of education and language. As Isocrates says 'Athens has brought it to pass that the name of Hellene should no longer be thought a matter of race, but a matter of intelligence, and should be given to the participators in our culture rather than to the sharers in our common origin' (*Paneg.*, trans. Jebb). The Hellenes of the great Graeco-Asiatic cities were rarely Greeks in blood: only certain cities which call themselves Dorian, Achaean, etc., probably received a colony from some part of Greece to further the gradual Hellenization of Asia, at which the Seleucid and other kings aimed. The Seleucid Antioch was colonized from the Lydian city Magnesia on the Maeander, where Hellenism was of ancient standing; and hence Antioch was more strongly Hellenic than most cities of Phrygia (such, *e.g.* as Iconium: *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 259, 334).

At Antioch *incolae civitate donati*, and families in other cities of Galatia, which gained *civitas*, often bear the names of governors (or other high officials) in the province, as *e.g.* the family Caesennius here, or Neratius in Miss Hardie's article No. 1. So Calpurnius, *ibid.* 48 (*cp. C.I.L.* iii. 6831) and Asprenas, *ibid.* 70, take names connected with (Nonius) Calpurnius Asprenas, who governed Galatia A.D. 69 and had two *nomina* (one coming from the female side). So Bassos, *ibid.* 67: compare Pomponius Bassus, governor A.D. 95–102: dedication 17 should be re-examined to determine if Πουμπούλιος stands for Pomponius rather than Pompilius (as we at first thought): the difference between N in ligature and Λ is very slight in those badly engraved dedications. Lollius perhaps occurs, *ibid.* 30: the governor in 25 B.C. was Lollius Paullinus. The names Nonius and Nonia Paullina occur at Antioch, *C.I.L.* iii. 6856, Paullina also 6842, Paullinus 6850. All these governors belong to the first century, during which many *incolae* were being raised to the *civitas*. On the Estates the name Valerianus (governor

197 A.D.) occurs Q 2, 86 (as corrected above); but there *civitas* was not acquired so early as in the *colonia*. In the cities of Galatia names like Annius, Afrinus, Servaeus (at Savatra), Collega, occur often. Valerius Italus governed Galatia in some unknown year (cp. dedications 50, 60). The subject needs investigation and collection of details. Names derived from Emperors are not so numerous in a *colonia* as in cities.

31. Copied by Miss Gertrude Bell in a house in Kundanli in 1907. The inscription is engraved above a relief representing three horsemen armed with spears.

ΜΟΑΟΡΗϹ Μαμᾶ ἱερ[ε]ὺς
θ]εοῖς ἐ[π]ηκόοις εὐχήν.

This embodiment of the Theoi Epēkooi is unknown to me: one horseman god is common in Anatolia, as are two horsemen with the goddess between them. The priest's name is perhaps Μολόρης or Μοδόρης or Μοάθρης. Here, as in Q 4, 12, is a priest, who is not a Roman official: there were many such priests in this region.

The following village names may be added. Κατηνείτης is perhaps a man of the tribe Katenneis. The aspirates caused much trouble in Greek writing, and the opinion is stated in *Histor. Geogr.*, p. 418, that Katenna or Kotena and Hotenna, two distinct bishoprics, are only two sections of the old tribe Ἐτεννεῖς, *i.e.* Khetenneis, whose name is derived from the old Khatti or Hittites.[29] The opinion there expressed is modified from that of Waddington, who took Etenna or Hotenna and Katenna as two spellings of the name of one single place (which G. Hirschfeld in his *Vorläuf. Bericht. ueber e. Reise* accepted). There are two places or towns, Katenneis and Hetenneis, probably divisions of the same original tribe. Yet the view taken in *Studies*, p. 365, is more probable.

Khoma Sakenon at Mallos was a great dam, or causeway, across a marsh. The modern village name Homa, several times found in Asia Minor, is a survival of the Greek word. I have only now observed this point; and the solitary Homa whose situation I remember at present fulfils the condition, I mean the Homa between Apameia and Eumeneia (see *Cities and Bish. of Phr.* i. pp. 220–228), which has replaced the ancient Siblia-Soublaion. The road to the east is carried over the vast marshes of the Maeander in the valley of Siblia by a long causeway. The existence of this great dam seems in late time to have diverted communication and traffic (if any traffic still

[29] Keller in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1896, p. 118 and Lewy *Semit. Fremdwörter im Griech.* (Berlin 1895) holds that Semitic *ch* has been dropped in various Greek words, ἄβρα = Chabrā (Keller, *Volksetymol.* p. 196), Ἔβα, Eve = Chawwa (*Vulg.* Hova), ἄρτζος = Charis, ἀκάνη and κακάνη = Chāpap or Chāhā, εὐνοῦχος = Chānūk (approved on trial), ἀβαλιώ (*i.e.* φιέ) = Chabāl. De Cara takes Ἄτδη = Κόδη, and quotes *Museum*, Apr. 1891 on δ = ao in Carian, Lydian, etc. city-names. Lightfoot, *Philip.* p. 51 explains the name Gangites or Angites at Philippi (Appian, iv. p. 106, Herod. vii. 113), modern Anghita, on the theory that the initial was 'a guttural sound like Semitic ayin, sometimes omitted, sometimes represented by γ'—[as in Gaza and Azo, alternative renderings of עזה. G.F.H.]

existed) from the route by Apameia to this track: the change is attested by Nicetas (*Cities and Bish.* i. p. 224). Apameia had fallen entirely into the possession of the Nomad Turkmen, who nearly captured Manuel there (*ibid.* ii. p. 447) at the beginning of his reign; and the Khoma furnished a path nearer the Byzantine territory, more easily held by the Imperial troops, and commanded by the lofty fortress above the high-lying modern village of Homa. This castle was the military centre of the new Theme Khoma, which was a frontier garrison sometimes occupied, sometimes abandoned, in the Comneman period (*Cities and Bish.* i. pp. 18 f., 226). This great dam and road was called Χῶμα Σούβλαιον, the dam of Siblia: hence the change from Siblia to Soublaion between the earlier and the later lists of Bishopries. The dam still exists, but is in a half ruinous condition; and in 1888, when Lady Ramsay and I crossed it, the passage was made with some trouble.

In contrast to this Χῶμα Σούβλαιον there was another Χῶμα Σακηνόν, familiar at the Tekmoreian centre; and the town of Mallos, mentioned in the lists, is distinguished from the Cilician city, as being πρὸς Χῶμα Σακηνόν. How this new condition suits Male-Kalessi or Malek-Kalessi (where the bishopric and city of Mallos in Pisidia has been placed, Annual of Brit. School Athens 1902-3 p. 259), I am not aware. A causeway across a marsh is often found in that district. Khomata for irrigation purposes were well known in Egypt; and *Chomatum logografi* and χωματεπιμεληταί are known officials.[26]

Akreina and Greinia were perhaps the same.

Nosos or [·]nosos perhaps implies a form [·]nossos, such as Gnossos or Anossos.[27]

Kuadra: as Calder suggests, Κυαδρηνός is perhaps shortened from Κουαδατρηνός (Iconium) from *Praedia Quadrata* mentioned in an inscription of Ladik, Imperial quarries of *lapides quadrati* (marble?).

Doulanda, see p. 162.

Naxos? Hassa-Keui in Cappadocia is called by its Greek inhabitants Axo or Naxo.

NOTE.—In 1, lines 3 f. Calder suggests κτισά̀ν(των) Τᾶ καὶ Νειᾶδος, but an ordinary native like Tas would not precede Neias Imperial *actor* and priest.

W. M. RAMSAY.

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[26] Zeluata in *Oxford Studies*, i. 2, p. 60; od. Theod. xi. 24, 6, 7; *B.G.U.* 12, 10-11.

[27] The epigraphic copies of 26, 27 B, D, and 29 A, are by Miss Hardie, who intended to do the present paper, but had to leave for Athens too soon.

THE MASTER OF THE TROILOS-HYDRIA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

[PLATES II., III.]

AT the sale of the Forman collection, a hydria with figures of Troilos and Polyxena was purchased for the British Museum. Cecil Smith, in the sale catalogue, described it as in the style of 'Euthymides I'; but I cannot agree with him.[1] Eight other vases by the same hand are known to me; and I beg leave to call this anonymous painter 'the master of the Troilos-hydria in the British Museum.' He is no genius; but one of his vases, the krater in Copenhagen, is a respectable performance; and others are not without animation.

I. **Hydriai.**

Rim simple, no detached lip: pattern 9. Foot double curve. Picture on body. Band of pattern below the picture.

				Pattern
1	B.M.	Pl. II.; small photograph in Elvira Förster, *die Hydria*, Pl. 10, No. 23	Troilos and Polyxena	7
2	B.M. E 175	Pl. III.	Youth and boy	5

II. **Amphorae** (shape Furtwangler, *Cat.* No. 35).

Foot of 3, usual early foot with two degrees; rays at base. Foot of 4, restored (so is a great part of the vase). Handles ivied. Pictures framed. 4 has a r.-f. palmette at the handle.

3	Vatican	*Mus. Greg.* Pl. 54, 1; Gerhard, *A. V.* Pl. 126: phot. (A.) Mosciani 8577	Struggle for tripod	Komos.	2	4	1
4	Louvre G 196	—	Athena mounting chariot	Thiasos.	3	4	6

III. **Stamnoi.**

Mouth and foot of 8 restored. 5, 6, and 7 same rim, neck, and foot: simple rim like the hydriai, with pattern 9; very short neck; foot thin black

[1] P. 67, No. 339. To the list of Euthymides' works given in *J.H.S.* xxx. p. 41, I would add the psykter with Herakles and Dionysos formerly in the Magnoncourt collection (Gerhard, *A. V.* Pls. 59–60). It is now in the Musée Vivenel at Compiègne.

disc. Handles: 5, 6, 8, straight, flat inside; 7, rounded and recurved. 8 has rays at base. Usual tongues above picture: band of pattern below pictures on 5, 6, and 7; on 8, all round the vase. The drawing is very bad indeed, except on 5.

5	Florence 3986	Boxers	Women at bath	5	5
6	Louvre G 182	Gods	Victor	5	5
7	Louvre G 184	Gods	Warrior attended	5	5
8	Mannheim 60	Gods	Boys and youths	5	

IV. **Calyx-krater.**

Above, pattern 8; below, black. At base, rays. At handles, palmette motives: tongues at base of handles.

9	Copenhagen 126	(B) *Ann.* 1846, Pl. M; Lange, *Darstellung*, p. 106	Athena mounting chariot	Athletes

Relief-lines are always used for the contour of the face. The profile is very characteristic, flat pointed nose, large chin, and thick projecting lips. The nostril is sometimes marked, sometimes not: twice on 2 and 9, once on 3, 4, 6, and 8. The eye is large and wider than usual from upper to lower lid, . The pupil is often dot-and-circle. The ear has the form . The head is narrow from back to front. The mouth is usually open.

On 9, the collar-bones are rendered thus: . The slight turn-down of the curved parts seen on 2 recurs on 3.

When the breast is frontal, the lower breast-lines join at a right angle, .

The breast in profile has this shape, (2, 8).

The nipples are large black circles (6, 9), or black semi-circles cut off by the lower breast-line (2, 3; brown on 9); once a large brown dot (4).

The brown transverse line across the breast above the nipples, to be seen on 2, also occurs on 3 and 9.

The navel is composed of two black lines, , the upper sometimes straight, sometimes convex or concave to the lower. The navel-pubes line is black.

Brown interior lines represent the profile knee-cap, but the upper end of the tibia is not rendered.

The frontal knee is as follows: (3 and 9).

The ankle, where indicated, is , or, the lines touching,

The frontal foot broadens rapidly towards the sole.

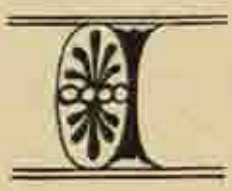
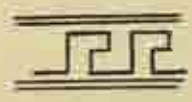
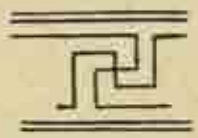
The profile feet are rough: ; on 1 and 2, the separate toes are more carefully drawn.

The right hand of Polyxena on 1 is repeated on 5; the right hand of the youth on 2, on 9. The thumb is usually rigid.

Like Kleophrades, the Troilos-master particularly affects the simple key-pattern. It is also to be noticed that pattern No. 7 is Kleophradean[2]:

[2] *J.H.S.* xxx. pp. 45, 48, and 51, Nos. 11, 13, 15b.

and the simplified egg-and-dot pattern is the variety preferred by Kleophrades. The style of the Troilos-master shows no signs of Kleophrades' influence.

Pattern		Used on Nos.
1		3
2		3
3		4
4		3, 4
5		2, 5, 6, 7, 8
6		4
7		1
8		9
9		

J. D. Beazley.

THE OWL OF ATHENA.

In the Archaeological Seminar at Upsala is a vase, presented by Dr. Nachmanson, the design on which is illustrated in Fig. 1. I forbear to discuss it in any other respect than that of the design, as Prof. Sam Wide, to whose kindness I owe the permission to use the illustration, reserves to himself the right of dealing with the vase fully in a subsequent publication.

It is an amphora of good b.-f. style to be dated about 550 B.C., and the scene is framed in a border which displays along the top the macander

Fig. 1.—Vase in the Archaeological Seminar, Upsala.

pattern and at the sides a double row of dots. In the centre of the scene is an altar towards which the priest advances from the left leading the ram he is about to sacrifice. He is a youthful male figure, draped only in his himation, and crowned with a wreath of olive. Beside the altar on the r. rises a slender column surmounted by a statue, the upper part of which disappears from our ken beyond the borders of the field: evidently the statue was not of paramount importance in the scene depicted. Beyond the column to the r. the fore-part of a bull is visible: the sacrifice was of a most

complete kind.[1] But to whom was it offered? The answer is revealed by the presence of an enormous owl, seated upon the altar, whose body in profile is turned towards the worshipper; but the head, represented full face, is turned at an impossible angle towards the spectator. In the same way on an engraved gold ring of the fifth-fourth century in the British Museum, the deity, Zeus, to whom a woman is sacrificing at an altar is represented by an eagle[2] (Fig. 2). Thus, as in countless votive reliefs of an early date, for example the hero reliefs from Sparta, etc., the relations between the deity and the spectator are fully established. The olive branches which straggle across the background from the r., although they doubtless serve to fill the space, are probably also intended as an indication that the scene takes place in the open air.

Fig. 2.—Engraved Gold Ring in the British Museum.

In certain cases animal forms were introduced, not as a mere decorative motive, but from a clear desire to express a definite meaning, the significance of which would be obvious to the spectator, and hence the introduction into the picture of animals as symbolic of divinities.

Dr. Rouse in his interesting work *Greek Votive Offerings* gives much valuable information, but on p. 375 he says: 'The attendant animals are not treated as equivalent to their deities and are therefore not proved to be symbolic of them.' And on p. 380: 'The Greeks would not consider an attribute or an attendant animal as an equivalent for the deity himself.' To this rule, he maintains, the early artists invariably adhered until 'the great dividing line of the fourth century;' after which a change takes place and in the succeeding centuries many innovations were introduced, and with the gradual weakening of the early simplicity and directness of faith, religion in general was overlaid with elaborate and fantastical symbolism.

In many cases the explanation which Dr. Rouse gives of seeming contradictions to this proposition are perfectly logical, but there seem to be certain instances where the statement might be qualified, as the vase under discussion proves. He has observed that in certain cases, as for example on coins,[3] the representation of the owl is really a sort of shorthand mark for the city of Athens. In the vase under discussion, however, the owl obviously cannot represent the city, but its position on the altar indicates that it is symbolic of none other than the patron divinity herself: that here—at least—Athena is represented by her owl.

But this vase is not unique in the prominent position it bestows upon Athena's owl. Throughout the course of Greek art and upon objects of widely different artistic merit the subject can be traced, as I hope to show by a few examples.

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[1] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, i. p. 290.

[2] F. H. Marshall, *Catal. of Finger Rings*, Pl. II. 59. The woman appears to be sprinkling incense from a libanotris which she holds in her left hand.

[3] *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 375.

In Homer the epithet of Athena was γλαυκῶπις, a term which must mean more than merely bright-eyed, for that would be equally appropriate to other goddesses, whereas it is only to Athena that it is applied. It was the omen of the owl perching upon the shrouds which led the confederates to accede to the opinion of Themistocles:[4] and with this is to be compared the stratagem of Agathocles,[5] who let out certain owls among his troops that the men might be encouraged by the sacred sign; in which he succeeded. '*ἑκάστοις οἰωνιζομένοις διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸ ζῷον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.*' Still more striking is the passage from Aristophanes '*γλαῦξ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὶν μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν διέπτατο,*'[6] and the comment of the scholiast thereon; '*Γλαῦκα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καλεῖ.*' Evidently to the men of that period the goddess was actually embodied in her owl.

It has been suggested that the figure of the owl on the countless small aryballoi to be found in every museum has an apotropaic significance; but the fact that this is practically a repetition of the coin design, the owl associated with the olive twig, leads one to suspect that here, in a very crude and homely form, is a reference to Athena the protectress—apotropaic, yes—in the sense that the goddess is powerful to shield from evil, and that therefore the design has a certain mystic force like the rough little medallion of a saint, bought for a few sous at some fair or noted shrine.

The subject of the birth of Athena was a very difficult one for the primitive artist.[7] How was he to depict it without rendering it grotesque or belittling the majesty of the goddess? Kleanthes of Corinth[8] is said to have been the first to attempt the task, but the subject became a popular one and the numerous examples on extant vases show that, although the details may vary, the artist usually adhered to a fixed scheme. Besides Zeus, Eileithyia is almost invariably present, Hephaistos, often Apollo as Citharoedus and other male and female divinities. It has been suggested[9] that the example in the British Museum No. 147 is the Attic prototype of the subject; but the very complexity and multiplicity of details point to a long development. In a few cases Athena is not visible, for it is the moment before the birth which is represented.

In Munich is a b.-f. vase[10] which shows Zeus facing r., seated on a simple seat, the back formed by a lion's head. Before him stands Eileithyia making the usual gesture, and behind her Ares armed. Behind Zeus Apollo Citharoedus prepares to hymn the great event upon his eight-stringed lyre, whilst right in the background is Hermes, only the point of whose petasos remains. From the head of Zeus springs Athena all armed, and upon his wrist perches her emblem, the owl.

Unusual as the introduction of this last detail seems, yet this representation appears to have a prototype in a vase now in the Vatican.[11]

[4] Plutarch, *Themis.* 12.
[5] Diod. Sic. xx. 11.
[6] Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1086.
[7] R. Schneider, *Gebuert der Athena*, 1880, enumerates thirty-five vases with this subject.
[8] Athen. viii. 346.
[9] Loeschcke, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 112, *sqq.*
[10] O. Jahn, *Vasensammlung zu Munchen* No. 645; *Elite des Mon. Cér.*, i. Pl. LX.
[11] *Cat. Mus. Greg.*, ii. Pl. XLVIII. 2b.

Here in the centre is Zeus seated on a throne, the back of which curves round in the form of a swan's neck. He is clad in a long chiton ornamented with purple spots, and round his shoulders is a mantle with broad purple stripes. In his l. he holds a sceptre, the end shaped like a shepherd's crook. Facing him to the r. stands Eileithyia clad in an elaborately decorated garment, fastened upon the shoulders with enormous brooches. Behind her is Ares, and to the l. behind the throne stands Poseidon with the trident in his r., and lastly Hermes, draped in a small purple chlamys. Beneath the throne is a diminutive youthful male figure, enveloped in his himation, but raising his covered r. in a gesture of adoration. Above the wrist of Zeus is perched the owl, turning its head fully towards the spectator; but no anthropomorphic image of the principal personage in this scene is visible. Evidently to the later artist of the Munich vase the owl symbol alone did not suffice, and he therefore added the anthropomorphic image of the goddess to elucidate the waning significance of the theriomorphic image.

The Berlin Museum possesses an interesting fragment of a Corinthian pinax,[12] the votive offering of some local potter of the seventh century. On the l. rises the great oven, before which is a tiny, bearded, grotesque figure, evidently apotropaic. On the l. is the potter himself, stooping over his work; while perched on the top of the oven is a large owl. Miss J. Harrison in her description of this pinax[13] claims that the owl was also an apotropaic symbol, but the bird had not necessarily this significance. Each figure on the pinax is labelled with a name, but so far the inscription above the owl has not been satisfactorily explained. In Athens the protectress of the city was also patroness of the potter's craft,[14] and in a vase in the Berlin Museum[15] she is depicted standing before the kiln, potent to avert all the demons of destruction so dreaded by the early artist. May one not suggest that on the pinax the owl, her constant attribute, represents the divinity under whose protection the potter had placed himself? E. Pernice, in his interesting article on these fragments[16] considers that here the owl cannot represent Athena, for in Corinth her place was taken by Poseidon. But the Berlin vase, No. 801, equally comes from Corinth and shows Athena in her human form as guardian of the oven. Other vases and fragments from Corinth show her associated either with Poseidon or with various heroes, and indicate that not only at Athens, but here also, in the city of her rival, her patronage of this craft was acknowledged.

Of no artistic merit, but important for the light they throw upon the subject are the so-called loom-weights, little clay objects, probably of a votive nature, 60 to 70 mm. high.[17] They are plain on one side; on the other, in the niche formed by the projecting rim, is the figure of an owl, the body in profile,

[12] *Katalog der Berliner Vasensammlung*, Nos. 683, 757, 822, 819. Pernice, *Jahrbuch Arch. Inst.* xii. p. 30; *Ant. Denk.* ii. 4, Pl. XXXIX, No. 12.

[13] *Prolog.* p. 190, Fig. 33.

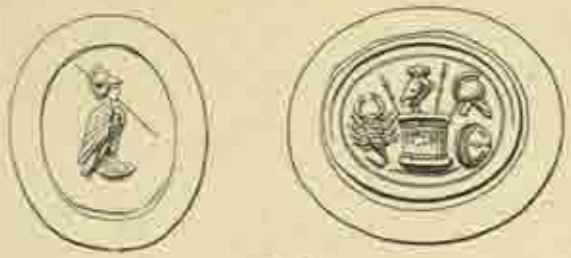
[14] Hom. *Epigr.* κάμινοι ἠ κεραμῆες.

[15] *Katalog der Berliner Vasensammlung*, No. 801.

[16] *Festschrift für Benndorf*, 1898, pp. 75–88.

[17] Pottier, *B.C.H.* 1908, p. 529, Pl. VII. 3; Perdrizet, *Mélanges Perrot*, p. 264, Fig. 4; Engelmann, *Roms Arch.* 1905, ii. p. 125, Fig. 1, and 1906, ii. p. 453, Figs. 1, 2, 3.

but the head turned fully towards the spectator. But this is no common owl, for with human arms she holds a distaff and spins the wool, which seems to come from a calathos placed upon the ground. This undoubtedly refers to Athena Ergane, and these humble little objects afford an explanation how the owl became associated with the warrior goddess. Originally the attribute of Athena in her character of Ergane, the owl continued to be connected with her when the more martial side of her cult became predominant in Athens. But that this association was maintained even in a late period is shown by the gems from Berlin,[18] (Fig. 3) which represent the helmeted head of Athena united to the body of an owl.



2 : 1

FIG. 3.—GEMS AT BERLIN.
(Furtwangler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. XLVI.)

Yet a reminiscence of her original embodiment is to be traced in the representations of the winged Athena, not to be confused with her later duplication as Nike.[19] An intaglio in the British Museum[20] (Fig. 4) of beautiful workmanship and valuable from its early date, *circa* sixth century, represents Athena facing r. and wearing the Attic helmet with lofty crest. She raises her long chiton with one hand after the fashion of the Korai of the Acropolis, and holds the spear in her r. From her shoulders spring large wings of the type of the Asiatic Artemis. The vase showing Athena winged and wingless is well known;[21] but even more striking in this connexion is a vase in the Louvre.[22] Athena, armed and holding her lance, is seated on a low stool; behind her on either side protrude her great wings, and on the edge of the l. one is perched her owl. The recollection is growing hazy, the original significance of the wings is almost lost, and therefore the artist adds the owl, sunk from being the incarnation to the mere attribute of the divinity.

FIG. 4.—INTAGLIO IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

E. M. DOUGLAS.

[18] Furtwangler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. XLVI, No. 30; also Nos. 5928, 3840, 8650. Compare the similar type on denarii of L. Valerius Acisculus, about 45 B.C. (Grueber, *B.M.C. Roman Republican Coins*, I. p. 536, Pl. LIII, 4.)

[19] Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel*, p. 34.

[20] B.M. Archaic Greek Intaglio Gold Room, Case 39, c. Furtwangler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. VI, No. 56.

[21] Savignoni, *Ephem. Arch.* 1897, p. 207, Pl. XII.

[22] Louvre, Salle F., No. 380; Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Pl. LXXXVII.

PANATHENAIC AMPHORAE

[PLATE IV.]

IN the Museo Civico at Bologna there are two Panathenaic amphorae which are not mentioned by Georg von Branchitsch[1] in his recently published work on these vases. One of them is of considerable interest and importance. I am enabled to publish them by the kindness of the Director, Prof. Ghirardini, who not only obtained for me the photographs here reproduced in line (Pl. IV) but also sent me a copy of the description of them contained in a forthcoming work by Pellegrini: *Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti delle Necropoli Felsinee*. I propose also to examine briefly the evidence for certain assumptions which are commonly accepted without question and which seem to me entirely to vitiate many of the theories proposed by von Branchitsch. Questions with regard to these vases are so frequently arising that these theories should not be allowed to pass uncriticised.

I.

1. The first amphora, which is illustrated in Pl. IV, is 62 cm. in height and 43·5 in diameter. The obverse is of the usual type. The continuation of the scale pattern of the aegis in a panel below the waist of Athene is an arrangement to which I can find no parallel in von Branchitsch. Purple and white are employed in details. The inscription is in the Attic alphabet, which, in spite of the official adoption of the Ionic alphabet in 403 B.C., still survives on some of these vases as late as 333 B.C. From the inscription, the form of the vase, and the style of drawing it must undoubtedly be classed with the earlier vases of the 'later series,' which von Branchitsch assigns to the early part of the fourth century.[2]

The reverse is of exceptional interest. The drawing, though careless in details, is vigorous, but the motive, as is commonly the case with late vases, is not quite clear. To the left two boys are racing. The first appears to be running well within himself, with his arms held to the side in the attitude typical of the dolichodromos. At the same time he is running well on his

[1] *Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, Leipzig, 1910.

[2] *Op. cit.* Nos. 78–82.

toes and with a very high action. Close behind him comes another boy, who seems to be sparting, swinging his arms like the typical sprinter. The action is correctly represented, the left arm working with the right leg and *vice versa*. At first sight it would seem that the race is a dianlos or a hippios—a quarter or a half mile rather than a sprint. But from the fourth century inscription,[2] which is our chief authority for the programme of the Panathenaea, it is generally inferred that the only race for boys was the stadion-race, though other races were introduced at a late period. More puzzling is the motive of the third youth, who stands looking up at the official. But for the olive branches in his hands we might suppose him to be making some protest. As it is, he must surely be a victor.

The important point, however, is not the motive, but the size of the figures compared with that of the official. There can be no possible doubt that the race is a *boys'* race, and this is, so far as I know, the only complete Panathenaic vase of which we can say for certain that it represents an event for boys. A sixth-century fragment from the Acropolis seems to represent a boys' wrestling match, and another fragment of the fourth century a boys' foot-race.[3]

2. The second vase is very similar in size and form and style and inscription. The figure of Athena 'only differs in that above the sleeved chiton ornamented with stars is another smooth chiton with apoptygma gracefully girded.' White is used for the flesh and for details of the dress; the rim of the shield seems to have been purple. The reverse represents three bearded stadiodromoi running to the right, only touching the ground with the points of the toes and swinging their arms in the orthodox fashion with open hands.

Pellegrini describes the runners as stadiodromoi, and from my memory of the vase I see no reason to doubt his description. The number of runners affords no criterion of the character of the race. The view of von Brauchitsch[4] that the stadiodromoi always raced in fours, and that therefore whenever three or five runners are represented some other race is intended, is based on a single corrupt passage in Pausanias,[5] from which it appears that in the stadion race at Olympia the runners were divided into heats of four and that all the winners, whatever the number of the heats, ran a second time in the final. The passage tells us nothing about the number who might run in the final, nor is it any evidence for the practice at Athens.

II.

The number of Panathenaic amphorae known to us is continually increasing. Almost every excavation swells the list. Since the publication of von Brauchitsch's work in 1910 Mr. D. M. Robinson has published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*[7] an amphora bearing the name of the

[2] *I.G.* ii. 965. Cp. my *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, pp. 282 ff.

[3] *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis*, by Rothe Graef, vol. ii. Nos. 1062, 1124.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 139. Cp., however, p. 153, where he entirely disregards his own rule; v. *infra*, p. 190, and *Greek Athletic Sports*, p. 278.

[5] vi. 13. 2.

[7] Vol. xiv. 1910, p. 422 and xv. p. 504.

Archon Asteius 373/2 B.C. which is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The earliest dated amphorae previously known were those of Polyzelus 367/6 B.C. Mr. Robinson also gives a complete list of signed amphorae containing two others not mentioned by von Brauchitsch, a fragment from Eleusis bearing the name of Timocrates, and another fragment from Athens with that of Neaechmus. In Vol. xvi. of the *B.S.A.*[7] Mr. Woodward describes an uninscribed sixth-century amphora from Kameiros representing a hoplite race, and also two fourth-century fragments found at Athens. Dr. Norton[8] reports the discovery of two more amphorae from Cyrene, of which I have at present no details. Thus including the two Bologna vases we have ten more to add to the list given by von Brauchitsch, or nine if we exclude Mr. Woodward's uninscribed vase. Lastly, the Acropolis fragments to which von Brauchitsch had access have been finally published by Dr. Graef.

It is generally agreed that the Panathenaic amphorae were given as prizes at the Panathenaic games. But whether they were given at the Great Panathenaea only or at the yearly festivals also, and how they were distributed, are questions full of difficulty. The difficulty is due chiefly to the extraordinary number of these vases which still exist.

Von Brauchitsch gives a list of 130 vases. Of these he regards 3 as not genuine Panathenaic amphorae,[10] and his No. 15 is identical with his No. 41. Of the remaining 126 vases 71 belong to the earlier series which he assigns to the sixth century, 55 to the later or fourth-century series. To the latter must be added the 9 vases mentioned above, bringing the total to 64. Further, Graef enumerates 227 fragments from the Acropolis, of which 190 belong to the earlier, 37 to the later series.[11] Of these 190 a considerable proportion do not bear the customary inscription and are therefore regarded by Graef and by von Brauchitsch as pseudo-Panathenaic vases. Owing to the small size of the sherds it is often impossible to distinguish which belong to inscribed and which to uninscribed vases, and in some cases it is doubtful whether the sherds have any connexion with the Panathenaea. We may safely assume, however, that the 190 sherds represent at least 95 Panathenaic vases. In addition to these von Brauchitsch reckons 55 uninscribed vases, which with the Acropolis sherds would come to at least 110.

We have therefore the following totals:—

Amphorae of earlier series, 71 + 95 = 166.
Amphorae of later series, 55 + 9 + 37 = 101.
Uninscribed amphorae, at least 110.

Now, according to the calculations of von Brauchitsch,[12] during the earlier period of 65 years only 339 amphorae can have been given as prizes,

[7] P. 206.
[8] *J.H.S.* xxxi. p. 301.
[10] *Op. cit.* p. 162, n. 1.
[11] Graef's figures do not agree with those given by von Brauchitsch. I have therefore corrected the latter.
[12] *Op. cit.* p. 156.

during the later period of 70 years, 572 amphorae. Even these figures are based on what I believe to be a totally unfounded hypothesis that the athletic sports for which these vases were given took place at the yearly Panathenaea. Therefore we are the proud possessors of 166 out of a possible 339 amphorae for the earlier period, 101 out of 572 for the later. Even without the Acropolis fragments we have a proportion of 21 and 11 per cent.[13] respectively, with them it rises to 49 and 18 per cent.

Even the lowest of these figures might have aroused the suspicion of the most optimistic student: the higher are of course ridiculous. Yet von Brauchitsch considers the high proportion explained by the care with which these prizes were treasured, though with singular inconsistency he holds that in the fourth century they were given as prizes only at the unimportant yearly games and not at the great four-yearly festival. No: the figures are hopeless and condemn themselves, and the only possible conclusion is that they are based on false premisses. Let us examine what these premisses are.

1. *It is assumed that boys and youths did not receive painted amphorae.*

For the sixth and fifth centuries there is no evidence except that of the vases: on these the athletes are usually bearded, but on some of the later vases they are unbearded: sometimes bearded and unbearded appear on the same vase. There is, however, no difference in physical type between bearded and unbearded and we are not justified in saying that the artist did or did not intend a distinction between men and *ἀγένειοι*. But the fact that the word *ἀνδρῶν* occurs on the inscription of the well-known Munich amphora ΣΤΑΔΙΟΑΝΔΡΟΝΝΙΚΕ, and that the same word is found on an amphora in Halle, and on two of the Acropolis sherds, suggests[14] that it was necessary to distinguish prizes for men from prizes for youths. If no vases had been given for youths or boys, the addition of *ἀνδρῶν* would be meaningless. There is also an Acropolis sherd[15] with a pair of youthful wrestlers on the ground who from their small size can only be boys; but I do not feel sure that the group belongs to a Panathenaic vase at all, though Graef suggests no doubt about it.

For the fourth century we have the definite testimony of an inscription[16] that boys and *ἀγένειοι* had separate competitions in the foot-race, in boxing, in wrestling, in the pankration and in the pentathlon, and that the first and second in each event received prizes of oil. On these vases, as is usual in this period, the unbearded type prevails, and no certain distinction is possible between men and youths. In the Bologna amphora we have, however, an undoubted representation of a boys' race, and to this we may probably add the Acropolis fragment 1124. These vases confirm us in the obvious conclusion that he who received oil received also the painted amphora. If the boy victor at Olympia was deemed worthy of the olive crown, of a hymn

[13] Von Brauchitsch gives 21 and 9 p.c. without, 39 and 25 p.c. with the Acropolis vases. The difference in no way affects the argument.

[14] Von Brauchitsch, *op. cit.* Nos. 2, 3; *Panathenäischen Preisamphoren*, ii. Nos. 1043, 1044.

[15] No. 1062.

[16] *I.G.* ii. 965.

of victory, and of a statue, surely the boy victor at Athens was not denied the coveted vase.

2. *It is assumed that only one painted amphora was given to each victor.*[17]

And as a corollary to this:—

3. *That the winner of the second prize did not receive a painted amphora.*

In favour of these assumptions is the analogy of the Olympic and other games where a single wreath was given to each victor and so far as we know no second prize was awarded. But the analogy does not hold. For at Athens we know that the prizes were of considerable value, that they varied in value, and that second prizes were awarded.

It is possible, as I have suggested elsewhere,[18] that some of the smaller, uninscribed vases served as second prizes, but in the present state of our knowledge this cannot be proved or disproved.

The real objection to these assumptions is the large number of prize amphorae which we possess. One or two examples will make this clear. Taking first the earlier series of vases, we find that there are no fewer than 12 vases known to exist in whole or in part representing the four-horse chariot race.[19] Of these 7 were found in Italy, 2 at Sparta, 1 at Athens, the provenance of the other two is unknown. This series of vases covers according to von Branchitsch a period of 65 years from 560 B.C. to 495, approximately, *i.e.* 17 Panathenaic festivals. Twelve vases out of a possible 17 is a manifest absurdity, and therefore von Branchitsch concludes that the chariot-race took place yearly. Yet 12 out of 65 is still an impossible proportion especially if we take into account the fact that at least 7 of the 12 were found in Italy. Even if we extend the 65 years to 100, we still remain with 12 per cent.

Let us take another example from the fourth-century signed vases. Von Branchitsch erroneously, as I shall try to show, holds that these vases were given as prizes at the yearly Panathenaea, and that they were given for only 11 events. Adding to these 11 events the 5 events for boys and 5 for youths, which he excludes, we get a total of 21 vases for each year. Yet for the year 336/5, when Pythodelus was archon, 3 of these 21 vases still survive! And, as if this is not marvellous enough, the name of the same archon on two vases occurs in six other years. It is also noteworthy that out of these 15 vases 13 are complete, only 2 are fragments.[20]

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[17] This view was propounded by Sir Cecil Smith in *B.S.A.* iii. p. 183, and accepted by me provisionally in my *Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 70, 241.

[18] *Op. cit.* p. 214. I regret that I had not the advantage of seeing von Branchitsch's book before I wrote this section. For though I strongly disagree with many of his theories, it is an extremely useful study of these vases. Had I possessed all the evidence which he presents, I should not have accepted even provisionally the assumptions which I am discussing.

[19] Von Branchitsch, pp. 139, 153. He gives only 10 but omits to include Nos. 55, 56.

[20] Robinson in *Am. Journ. of Archaeology*, xiv. p. 425. Branchitsch on the evidence of the figure of Triptolemus on the pillar assigns a fourth vase to Pythodelus (No. 93), the fragment in the Bibl. Nationale at Paris No. 248.

It is needless to multiply examples. Those which I have mentioned should suffice to convince even the most credulous that nothing less than a succession of miracles could have preserved for over two thousand years so large a proportion of such perishable objects. In the face of the facts which I have stated we must therefore abandon the theory of a single amphora for each prize, a theory for which, in spite of von Brauchitsch,[31] there is no external evidence of the slightest value.

4. *It is assumed that there is a gap of about* 100 *years between the earlier series and the later series.*

This theory is stated in its most pronounced form by von Brauchitsch,[32] who conjectures that the prize amphorae were instituted by Peisistratus, were abolished, among other symbols of the tyranny, by Cleisthenes about 495 B.C., were revived at the time of the Second Athenian Confederacy in 378 B.C., and finally abolished by Demetrius at the end of the fourth century.

For these theories there is not a particle of positive evidence; they are mere conjectures. It is the fashion at the present day to heap upon Cleisthenes the responsibility for all changes that cannot be explained, but it is difficult to see how the abolition of coveted prizes open to any citizen, or rather to any Greek, could be regarded as a popular measure. Again, the discovery of the Asteius vase increases the difficulty of accepting 378 B.C. as the year when the amphorae were revived, because it leaves only five years for the numerous vases[33] which, according to von Brauchitsch, must be dated before the custom of adding the archon's signature was introduced. In view of this vase, it would be more reasonable to connect the introduction of the signature with the year 378 B.C.

Of external evidence during this period we have none. The allusion to the painted amphorae in Pindar's so-called Tenth Nemean Ode is discounted by the fact that there is no trustworthy evidence for dating this ode, and we cannot deny the possibility that the ode may be earlier than the Persian Wars, though the very slight internal evidence which it contains is in favour of a later date.

We are therefore thrown back on the evidence of the vases. It is with great diffidence that I venture to offer any remarks on so technical a subject, but I know that my suspicions of the existing chronology are shared by others whose knowledge of vases enables them to speak with an authority to which I can lay no claim. Moreover, the whole evidence has been so clearly stated by von Brauchitsch that even one who has made no special study of Greek vases is in a position to form an independent opinion.

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[31] *Op. cit.* p. 181. The accident that two scholiasts happen to use the singular in speaking of these vases is counterbalanced by the use of the plural in two passages of equal worth or worthlessness, and the use of the plural by Pindar in *Nem.* x. 64 is worth all four passages together, though even to this I attach very little weight.

[32] *Op. cit.* pp. 75 ff.

[33] Von Brauchitsch gives seven such vases, Nos. 76-82. To these must be added the two Bologna vases, and at least seven of the Acropolis fragments, Nos. 1102-1108.

Now, if there is one point which emerges from a study of von Brauchitsch it is the unbroken continuity in the development of the two series.[28] The difference between the earliest and latest vases of either series is great, but between the later vases of the series assigned to the sixth century and the earlier vases of those assigned to the fourth there is practically no difference at all. They resemble one another in shape and size, in the decoration of neck and shoulder and foot, in the character of the inscription, in the archaic treatment of the dress of Athena, in the form of her helmet, in the type of the Doric pillars and capitals and the cocks surmounting them, in the choice of the blazon on her shield, and in both we find a carelessness of drawing frequently noted. Almost the only point of difference is the treatment of the eye. The correct representation of the eye in profile is only found in the early fourth-century vases, though an approximation to it is found on the later vases assigned to the sixth century.[29] Thus the very exception really emphasizes the continuity of the two series. Now, is it possible to explain away this continuity, as von Brauchitsch and Graef do, as merely conscious archaism on the part of the later potters? Is it conceivable that after an interval of 120 years they should have selected as their models the very latest examples of a type of vase so long disused, especially when these latest examples were by no means the finest of their kind? Such a theory implies in these potters an archaeological knowledge of earlier art which is almost incredible. To ascribe their choice to chance is equally impossible.

If, then, an interval of 120 years between the two series is incredible, can we shorten the gap? There is, I believe, good ground for supposing that the earlier series may have lasted much longer and the later series have begun much earlier than is usually supposed.

The difficulty of accepting 495 B.C. as the date of the close of the earlier series is increased by the large number of the later vases. Of the 36 vases which von Brauchitsch classifies into six classes, no fewer than 24 belong to the last three classes, which he dates between 525 and 495 B.C. If we assume the same proportion for the unclassified vases, this number must be at least doubled. To these same years Graef ascribes no fewer than 63 out of the 84 larger Acropolis fragments,[30] many of which he regards as uninscribed and therefore pseudo-Panathenaic. Of the smaller fragments the large majority are described as 'jüngerer Stil.' He seems, however, to have some qualms as to accepting the cramped chronology proposed by von Brauchitsch, and though he professes to accept it, his comments frequently betray his uneasiness. Thus on fragment 930, which dated by the helmet should belong to the years 535–525 B.C., he remarks 'Ton und Firnis wie in rotfigurigen Stil' and on fr. 931 of the same period 'Der Kopf steht den älteren Typen des r.-f. Stil nahe.' In his next class No. 931–966, which he compares with the fourth class of von Brauchitsch (525–515 B.C.), he is chiefly concerned to prove that

[28] *Op. cit.* pp. 86, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 101, 106, 109, 117, etc.

[29] Von Brauchitsch on No. 36, p. 31, and Graef, *op. cit.* on fragment No. 988.

[30] Nos. 932–994.

they are pre-Persian. Finally when he comes to the latest class (Nos. 981–994) he admits that only a part of them can be pre-Persian. But he has one unfailing resource. Whenever he comes to a vase which cannot by any possibility be dated before the Persian wars, it is pseudo-Panathenaic.[2] The method surely indicates the weakness of the chronology.

In considering the so-called sixth-century series we must bear in mind two facts. In the first place the black-figured technique began to fall into disuse about 520 B.C., and by the close of the century had practically disappeared except for Panathenaic amphorae and funeral lekythoi. In the second place both these classes of vases have a religious importance, and the notoriously conservative tendency of religious art tends to prevent development in such objects proceeding *pari passu* with that which we find in purely secular objects. Indeed, both von Brauchitsch and Graef frequently call attention to the tendency to archaize in vases which they date before the fifth century. Hence, though comparison with other vases may enable us to state that a particular Panathenaic vase cannot be earlier than a particular date, such comparison by itself affords no safe criterion of earliness. As an illustration of this let us take the Naples amphora—No. 36 in von Brauchitsch. This vase, which is admittedly one of the latest vases of the early series, can hardly, he says, be dated later than 500 B.C., and according to Graef his proof of this date is conclusive. Let us see what his arguments are. The eye is represented almost correctly, 'fast ganz in richtiger Verkürzung'—i.e. the pupil is in the left-hand corner. But the double line marking the upper eyelid is wanting, and this double line occurs in an Acropolis fragment which cannot be earlier than 480 B.C. Therefore the Naples amphora *must* be considerably earlier than 480 B.C. Does the fact that one or perhaps several potters had already learnt to represent the eye more correctly by 480 B.C. prove that every potter had done so, and that every vase in which the eye is not so shown must be of earlier date? May not the tendency to archaize have shown itself in the treatment of the eye as much as in the dress of Athena? Further, von Brauchitsch finds analogies for the character of the face and the treatment of the eye in the earlier work of Euphronius, of Peithinos, of Hieron, and Brygos: masters whose activity, he says, falls about the turn of the century. Lastly he compares the dress of the official on the reverse with that on two vases of the severe red-figured period. It is perhaps hardly fair to draw conclusions from the work of these masters as to the work of an ordinary potter producing a conventional vase in an out-of-date technique. But at the best these comparisons only prove that

[2] Thus he rejects No. 992 because the drawing of the eye proves it to belong to the middle of the fifth century. He rejects 985, 984 because of the Meander pattern above the panels, 993 because of the laurel wreath on the shoulder, and yet the latter ornament certainly appears on genuine vases of the fourth century, cp. Von Brauchitsch, p. 93. There is perhaps more ground for rejecting 994, where the figure of Athena is turned to the right, though even this variation is adopted in the later vases of the fourth century. Surely if there were Panathenaic vases in the fifth century, such variations in unessential details are just what we should expect.

the vase cannot be earlier than 500 B.C., and if we make the most moderate allowance for conservatism, it may well be as late as or later than the Persian wars. This argument applies even more to the Acropolis fragment 988, which Graef compares with the Naples vase, and which he considers the latest amphora of this series, because for the first time Athene is represented in an Ionic chiton with a sleeve falling in soft folds. I conclude, therefore, that there is no reason why the later vases of this series should not be brought down to 480 B.C., or even to the middle of the century.

An interesting confirmation of this argument is afforded by the treatment of the head of Athene on Athenian coins. Mr. G. F. Hill informs me that the almond-shaped eye persists down to the end of the fifth century; so too do other archaisms such as the treatment of the lips so as to give 'the archaic smile.' It is not until the end of the century, probably about the time of the first issue of the gold coins in 407–6 B.C. that the tradition begins to break down, and the new fashion, in which the eye is correctly represented in profile, is not really established till about 393 B.C. On all coins except the Athenian, the eye was represented in profile by the middle of the fifth century, and the change began to come in earlier; thus at Naxos in Sicily the eye is nearly true by 460 B.C.[2a] The analogy of the coins is particularly convincing because both on coins and vases the same cult figure is represented, and if a conservatism alien to contemporary art is proved in the case of the coins, it may be reasonably expected on the vases.

The so-called fourth-century vases need not detain us long. No one, I think, will assert that there is any valid reason why those which belong to the period before the archon's signature was introduced should not belong to any time in the last half of the fifth century, though the probability is that most of them are later.

Still, however much we reduce the gap, the fact remains that the number of inscribed Panathenaic vases which can possibly be dated between 480–400 B.C. is extremely small. Such a phenomenon during the most glorious period of Athenian history may seem at first sight puzzling. Yet a moment's consideration suggests many reasons why the athletic part of the Panathenaic festival should have endured a temporary eclipse. It was not the policy of Athens during the early days of the Confederacy of Delos to set up the Panathenaic festivities as a rival to the great Panhellenic games: such a policy would have been too invidious. She seems rather to have endeavoured to win prestige for herself at Delphi and Olympia. And at a later period we find her perhaps with the same object endeavouring to restore the glory of the Delian festival. The extraordinary complexity of Athenian activities in the fifth century contributed to that decline in athletic interest which Aristophanes laments. Further, for a large portion of the period Athens was engaged in war; the Panathenaic festival fell during the season for military operations; the most athletic of the citizens must have been

[2a] Hill, *Handbook of Greek Coins*, pp. 161 ff.

often in the field, and few competitors were likely to present themselves from the rest of the Greek world. Hence she may well have exercised economy in reducing the value of the prizes given. It would be natural then that few prize amphorae should exist, and that those which did exist should in size and style reflect the diminished interest of the games. It is remarkable that the smallest of the inscribed amphorae belong to the end of the early period and the beginning of the late period.

In this connexion I venture to put forward a suggestion that some of the uninscribed amphorae are really prize amphorae belonging to this period. I say *some* of the uninscribed amphorae, because it is clear that they cannot all be classed under the same category. There are some which are undoubted imitations. Such I take to be the well-known acrobatic amphora from Kameiros,[29] and probably other vases where other figures are introduced besides Athene in the obverse.[30] Then again there are the small vases representing musical contests, for which no prize of oil was given, and which are certainly too small to have been used for oil. Perhaps these may be regarded as mementos of some victory. Other of the smaller vases may have been given as second prizes. But these are mere conjectures. There are, however, a large number of vases which, except in the absence of the inscription, are absolutely similar to the inscribed vases, and no reason beyond the *ipse dixit* of Gerhard has ever been advanced for refusing to regard them as genuine prize vases. On the contrary the fact that large numbers of sherds which cannot have been inscribed were found on the Acropolis affords a strong presumption that they were prizes. For if the theory is true that the amphorae found on the Acropolis were thank-offerings to Athene for victory—and this theory receives strong support from the finds in the temple of Athene Chalkioikos at Sparta—then the presence of imitation vases among the genuine ones can only go to show that the victors at the Athenian games, or their friends, systematically practised the most barefaced and impious deception on the goddess!

What was the object of the inscription? For the Athenian himself it was useless; every Athenian would understand without an inscription the meaning of the Panathenaic amphora. But for the competitor from distant colonies it was otherwise; his fellow-citizens might fail to recognize the vase, and for him the inscription was a useful proof of the honour which he had won. Hence we can easily understand how in events confined to local competitors, if such there were, or in events where there was little outside competition, or in periods when such outside competition fell off, the inscription might well be omitted. Such a period I believe the greater part of the fifth century at Athens to have been.

These vases can hardly be said to begin much before the year 525 B.C. From this period they become increasingly numerous, and, according to

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[29] Cp. *Greek Athletic Sports*, p. 243, Fig. 98. Since writing this passage I have seen the vase itself and feel no doubt that it is merely an imitation.

[30] *E.g.* von Branchitsch, No. 48; *B.M. Vases*, B 144; Acropolis fragment, No. 923.

Graef, they extend to the middle of the fifth century.[32] Carelessness in drawing is commonly characteristic of the later Panathenaic vases of the earlier series and the earlier vases of the late series, and the omission of the inscription may well be another piece of carelessness, revealing the decreased importance of the games. Another indication of late date is the smallness of the vases. An examination of the list given by von Brauchitsch reveals the fact that in the earlier series 36 vases are over 60 cm. in height, 6 are from 53 to 44 cm., and all these six belong to the latest of the series.[33] When we turn to the later series, we find one vase of 47 cm., one of 55,[34] and then the height rises to 62 cm., and at a later period to 80 cm. or more. Now of the uninscribed vases I know only one of the full height of 65 cm. the B.M. vase, B. 135,[35] one of the few vases representing the two-horse chariot race. But there are a large number of the smaller size between 50 and 40 cm. in height. There are three in the Vatican, No. 72 (foot-race), Nos. 73 and 74 (chariot-race).[36] In the Louvre we have four examples, F. 275, 281, 283 (chariot-race), F. 284 (wrestling), besides F. 282, representing a musical competition, and F. 285, which has a figure of Athene on both sides and a frieze of animals, and can therefore hardly be regarded as a genuine Panathenaic vase. There are similar vases in the Museum at Brussels, and doubtless elsewhere.[37] Unfortunately the majority of these vases are inadequately published or not published at all. From the scanty notes which I have of those which I have seen I believe most of them to belong to the first half of the fifth century, and their size certainly suggests that they might come between the earlier and later series and so might help to fill the gap. The large proportion of vases representing the chariot-race is certainly in keeping with what we know of Athens during this period. At all events I offer this suggestion for what it is worth, in the hope that some archaeologist who has the opportunity of visiting the various museums in which these vases are scattered may think it worth while to prove or disprove it.

We have seen that the assumptions which limit the number of amphorae to 11 or even 21 in any given year are based on insufficient evidence, and in view of the number of existing vases are untenable. Assuming that the vases extend from 560 to 310 B.C. and that there is no gap, we have some 65 Panathenaic festivals, which with a programme of 21 events would

[32] Thus he describes fragment 853 as a pseudo-Panathenaic vase 'die als Nachzügler in der achten Hälfte des V. Jahrhunderts hinein reicht.'

[33] Nos. 30, 31, 32, 35, 43, 47.

[34] Nos. 76, 77.

[35] The capitals of the columns are by incised lines on either side converted into Ionic capitals. In every other respect they are Doric, and it is possible that the incised lines are a later addition.

[36] Mus. Greg. Pl. XLII.

[37] The British Museum has three slightly smaller: B. 137 (foot-race); B. 138 (crowning the victor), each 37·5 cm.; B. 140 (boxing), 40 cm. The latter is a fairly late vase, the lion as an emblem on the shield seldom occurring except in the fully developed red-figured style (v. Brauchitsch, p. 116). The snake which appears on B. 137 is also found only on later vases, cf. p. 118.

There is also one of the very few fourth-century uninscribed vases, B. 612 (boxers). The cocks on the pillars are replaced by rams, a variation which is not found before the time of the archons' signatures.

require 1365 vases. Of these we possess at least 267, or if we count the uninscribed vases 377, i.e. 19 or 27 per cent., a quite impossible proportion. If we assume that these prizes were given at the yearly Panathenaea as well, and that there was a full programme at these festivals, we still have a proportion of nearly 5 and 7 p.c. respectively; and for particular years quite impossible percentages.[86] There is a third alternative based on the number of amphorae recorded in the fourth-century inscriptions, from which it has been calculated that at least 1300 amphorae were required for each festival. This would give the enormous total of 84,500 for the 65 festivals; but we do not know that the prizes were always so valuable, or that the programme always contained so many events. Even if we accept this total, the survival of one vase out of 300 is a far more credible proportion than any of those which have been quoted. There is, however, another possible modification of this latter theory, but before discussing it we must consider the question of the lesser, yearly Panathenaea.

There is *a priori* no reason why the amphorae should not have been given at the lesser Panathenaea. But unfortunately we know nothing of this yearly festival beyond the fact of its existence; we do not even know that there were athletic or equestrian competitions at it. As for the attempt of von Branchitsch to reconstruct its programme from the number of the extant vases it is the merest moonshine. He supposes[87] that in the sixth century it consisted of four events. The chariot-race and stadion-race belong to it because we possess 12 and 16 early vases respectively representing these events. With the chariot-race we have already dealt. His figures for the foot-race are inaccurate and he conveniently ignores the distinction which he makes elsewhere between the stadion-race and the diaulos. As a matter of fact there are 17 vases in all representing the foot-race: of these 1 certainly represents the long race, 1 the diaulos, 1 the stadion-race. The remaining 14 may belong to the stadion-race, the diaulos, or possibly the dolichos; for it is by no means certain that the dolichos was always distinguished from other races as it is on the later vases. There may also have been a hippios-race,[88] and races for youths or boys. Therefore the 14 must be divided between at least two, possibly among six or more events. Next he inserts the pentathlon, on *a priori* grounds and because he considers that two pentathlon vases, the Leyden amphora and B.M. B 134,[89] resemble each other so closely that there cannot have been an interval of 4 years between their manufacture! The argument speaks for itself. Lastly, the race in armour took place every year, because it cannot have been introduced earlier at Athens than at Olympia and between 520 and 495 B.C. there were only 6 or 7 Panathenaic festivals, for which we possess 5 vases. The Acropolis finds, it may be noted,

[86] *V. supra*, p. 183.

[87] P. 153.

[88] Von Branchitsch denies that the hippios-race existed at Athens till the fourth century; but he gives no reason for doing so. We simply do not know. There was a hippios-race at the Nemea and at the Isthmia in the fifth century: *v. Greek Athletic Sports*, pp. 220, 225.

[89] *Ib.* Figs. 107, 108.

make it probable that this race was introduced earlier at Athens than at Olympia. For it is represented on one of the earliest fragments, No. 921, a fragment which cannot be much later than the Burgon Vase.[45] It is further interesting as bearing the inscription ΥΥΥΔΙΔ, which confirms the view that the race was a diaulos at Athens.

So much for the attempt to reconstruct a programme for the Lesser Panathenaea in the sixth century. In the fourth century the problem is changed. Mr. Robinson gives a list of twenty-four archons' signatures. Of these twenty-four not a single one corresponds to the year in which the Panathenaea were held. Mommsen, therefore, held that the archon's signature had nothing to do with the festival but only with the collection of oil. Von Brauchitsch adopts the alternative that prize vases were given only at the yearly festivals and not at the greater festival, an extraordinary conclusion if these vases were treasured so carefully as he assumes that they were. It can, I think, be shown that Mommsen was right.

Our chief authority for the Panathenaic festival is the treatise on the Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων. A careful examination of this book leads to the following conclusions:

(1) Wherever the Panathenaea are mentioned the author means the four-yearly festival, not the lesser one.[46]

(2) With this four-yearly Panathenaea he associates the giving of prizes of oil and the amphorae.

(3) The archon has no connexion with the festival beyond the fact that he collects the oil.

The management of the festival is in the hands of a board of ten Athlothetai[47] elected by lot and holding office for four years. 'They superintend the procession, the athletic and musical competitions, the making of the peplos, they are responsible with the Boule for the making of the amphorae, and they distribute the oil to the athletes.' In this passage the writer enumerates all the chief elements in the festival, and amongst them we find mentioned the amphorae. Further the fact that the Athlothetai are associated with the Boule in providing the amphorae indicates the importance and number of these vases. As for the archon, he collects the oil and hands it over to the treasurers, who store it in the Acropolis, and at the end of his year of office he cannot take his seat in the Areopagus till he has made a complete delivery of the oil. The treasurers keep it in the Acropolis and at the time of the Panathenaea measure it out to the Athlothetai, who distribute it to the competitors.

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[45] Fragment 1041 representing this race appears also to be very early. There is nothing improbable in this conclusion. Conservative Olympia was not a pioneer even in things athletic, and a practical military event like the race in armour was more likely to originate in a state where the army was of vital importance than in a state which was at that period remote from the conflicts and wars of Greece and which was encouraged in its inertia by the sanctity of its festival.

[46] The festival is mentioned six times, chs. 18, 43, 49, 54, 60, 62.

[47] For the substance of this paragraph v. ch. 60.

It is hard to understand how, in the face of this clear and convincing statement, anybody can imagine that the amphorae were not given as prizes at the great Panathenaea. Further, the rule that the archon could not take his seat in the Areopagus until he had delivered his full quota of oil suggests that the setting of the archon's signature on the prize vases or on a certain number of them may have been a manner of registering the fact that he had paid in his oil. How the system was worked or what proportion of the vases containing oil were signed, are points on which it is useless to speculate. It is obvious that it would not be necessary for all of the 1300 vases to be signed and painted. But the general theory that the archons' signatures were connected solely with the collection of the oil has this argument in its favour that it alone offers a reasonable explanation of the fact that none of the dates given corresponds to the 3rd year of the Olympiad, the year of the Panathenaea. Of the 24 signed vases—

Three belong to the fourth year of the Olympiad.
Fifteen " " first " " "
Six " " second " " "

The explanation is obvious. The archon of the third year had only just entered upon office at the time of the Panathenaea. The olives from which his oil would be made were still hanging unripened on the trees. Before another festival came round this oil would be all used, or if not might be deteriorating. The oil of the previous winter had only just been stored. Interest and convenience would naturally bring it about that the oil of the first year of the Olympiad, which was somewhat over a year old, would be chiefly used. But as the oil harvest was capricious it was advisable to set aside for the games a certain amount of the oil of the previous year, which was two years old. Any further deficiency was made up with the oil of the second year, which had just been stored. A confirmation of this view of the archons' signatures is the discovery on one of the later sherds from the Acropolis of the inscription *ταμιεύοντος Εὐρυκλείδου* in place of the archon's signature, the *ταμίας* being the official who received the oil from the archon. As the oil received by the victors must have been used by them for commerce and export, the dating of the vases had an obvious advantage; for oil will not keep indefinitely.[46]

If this view is correct, there is no need to invent for the Lesser Panathenaea programmes for which there is no foundation and which in any case fail to explain the problem. It is sufficient to suppose that a proportion

[46] The length of time which oil will keep depends on a fairly even temperature, and is also partly a matter of taste. In Greece I am informed by Mr. Haslück it will keep for several years and the Greek palate appreciates old oil. In Italy I learn from Mrs. Ross that it keeps perfectly good for two years, but after one year it begins to lose the herb-like taste so much prized in Tuscany. In ancient days enormous quantities were required also for external use by athletes and by the general public in all forms of exercise and in the bath, and for such purposes the flavour of the oil would be immaterial! In the present day it is used for anointing the dead. They too are not particular! For an account of oil-making, see *Old Florence and Modern Tuscany*, by Mrs. Ross.

of the amphorae given for each event were painted. What the proportion was or whether all the amphorae were painted we cannot say. If all even of the inscribed vases which we possess were given for prizes, this is the only theory tenable. The alternative is to suppose that these vases were manufactured and imitated for general sale and that only a few are genuine prizes; but in view of their religious character this is hard to believe.

E. NORMAN GARDINER.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Greece and Babylon: A comparative sketch of Mesopotamian, Anatolian, and Hellenic Religions. By LEWIS R. FARNELL. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911. Pp. 311.

Dr. Farnell has published his inaugural series of lectures as Wilde Lecturer in Natural and Comparative Religion at Oxford in a very handy volume. Of the matter of the book it is impossible to speak too highly: in fact Dr. Farnell's work in this new and most fruitful field is beyond all praise. We have read it with the greatest interest and pleasure and have derived much instruction from it. Dr. Farnell's knowledge of historic Greek religion has enabled him to discuss the religions of prehistoric Greece, of Anatolia, and of the Semitic world with a critical acumen that has produced results of the greatest value to the student of those religions, and gives him a much needed new view of them. And his final conclusion, that Greek religion in reality owes little or nothing to Babylonian and little even to Anatolian influence, is one that will clear the air of a multitude of hasty conclusions founded upon uncritical valuation of what are merely superficial resemblances in legends and in cults. We hope that the work will be as well known to the 'Assyriological' world as to the great circle of Hellenic students who always read Dr. Farnell's works on Greek religion with profit.

But the book has a blemish, a superficial one merely, and one that can be cured in a second edition. We do not speak of the fact that Dr. Farnell deals with the non-Hellenic world of religion at second-hand: that disadvantage is largely removed by the critical acumen of which we have spoken, which has enabled him to distinguish admirably between the varying values of his authorities. We refer to a minor point, which, however, arises from the fact (which we presume) that Dr. Farnell is not acquainted with the cuneiform script. It is that the book is disfigured by varying transliterations of cuneiform names and that these seem often to be further affected by a very large number of mistakes and misprints. These we give in detail, as a guide to Dr. Farnell in his second edition. We note 'Amabanini' (pp. 83, 199) for Anubanini, 'Eazuk' for Eayuk (p. 87), 'Tiamit' for Tiamat (p. 174), 'Ninga' (p. 219) for Ninzu, 'Nusku' (pp. 117, 285) for Nushku (Nusku), 'Gobal' (p. 123) for Gebal, and the names 'Nabupaladdin' (pp. 122, 283) for Nabupaliddina, and 'Nerighassar' (p. 174) for Nerighissar, as obvious misprints (like 'Poseadon' (p. 49) for Poseidon, 'Kala' for Kali on p. 82, 'Polynaemus' for Polynemus on p. 239, and the names of Prof. Delitzsch on pp. 162, 284, M. Perdrizet on p. 237, and Père Lagrange on p. 282, which are printed 'Delitsch,' 'Perdriyet' and 'Lagranges'). But we cannot count as a misprint such a curious form as 'Nebukadnezzar' for our old friend Nebuchadnezzar (if Dr. Farnell wished to be very accurate he should have written 'Nebukadrezzar'). The use, too, of the purely German forms 'Asarhaddon' (pp. 55, 103, 201) and 'Sanherib' (pp. 84, 201) for the names well known to English readers as Esarhaddon and Sennacherib, seems unnecessary ('Sennacherib' is really nearer to the Assyrian original Sin-akhi-irba than is 'Sanherib'). Here Dr. Farnell has preferred to use German forms of no more, sometimes of less, authority than the

familiar forms of the English Old Testament: we think inadvisedly. 'Merodach-baladin,' for instance (pp. 192, 200), is no better than the O.T. Merodach-baladan, which we all know. Equally unnecessary is the use of German forms such as 'Jachumelek' (p. 86) for Yahumelek, 'Maltaija' (pp. 52, 103) for Malthai or Malthaya, 'Kelach' (p. 188) for Calah, '*padaja*' (p. 195) for *padaya*. Sometimes the German and English forms are both used, as 'Teschub' (pp. 244, 307) side by side with Teshub or Teshup, and (to the confusion of the unlearned reader, who may not know that they are the same person), the German 'Ashurnasirabal' (p. 84) side by side with the English 'Ashur-nasir-pal.' A peculiar French form, for a change, meets us on p. 176: 'Qingou.' This is M. Dhorme's way of writing the usual Kingu: it would never be used by an English or a German Assyriologist. Dr. Farnell would be well advised to introduce unity into his transliterations and to employ ordinary English forms in his next edition. Also such inconsistencies as 'Ilroox' (p. 108) side by side with 'Ilriz' might be avoided. And we are sure that Dr. Farnell will be horrified when he sees the misprint 'Mount Dikte' staring at him from p. 211.

There is a serious slip on p. 65, where the Agia Triada sarcophagus is said to come from Praisos (elsewhere 'from Phaistos,' which is better, but still incorrect). We do not agree, by the way, that the famous scene on this sarcophagus shows offerings being made to a hero-like figure standing in front of his heroön: surely this figure (on a sarcophagus) is that of the dead man before his tomb; the scene is clearly adapted from a common Egyptian funerary representation.

We should like to know Dr. Farnell's authority for the statements on p. 113 that Sinope was an Assyrian foundation, and that it was originally named after the Babylonian god, Sin. We take leave to deny the possibility of either statement being true. But otherwise we find no definite statement with which we do not wholly agree except one passage on p. 202: 'the history of Hellas is not stained by any war of religion.' Can this be said in face of the Sacred War of c. 590 B.C. and the destruction of Krisa?

If we may think that Dr. Farnell a little exaggerates the sweet-reasonableness of the Hellene and the nasty-unreasonableness of the Barbarian, still he does not do so unduly, and is on the whole scrupulously fair to the non-Greek religions, whose good points (especially in Babylonia) he is at pains to emphasize. And all through the book are views eminently suggestive, which should be fruitful of important results in the field of Semitic religious archaeology, which Dr. Farnell has so successfully invaded.

H. H.

Travels and Studies in the Nearer East. By A. T. Olmstead, B. B. Charles, and J. E. Wrench. Vol. I., Part II., Hittite Inscriptions. [Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor, etc., organised by J. R. S. Sterrett.] Ithaca, N.Y., 1911.

The second part of the first volume of this publication of the Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor has appeared before the first, in order that its contents might be communicated to the learned world as soon as possible. It contains copies of all the Hittite inscriptions copied or 'squeezed' by Messrs. Olmstead, Charles, and Wrench in the course of their exploration of eastern Asia Minor. Of course most of these were well known before, but the new investigation of them has in many cases produced new results of some importance. A few entirely new inscriptions were found, notably that of Ishekjür. Unluckily, owing to rain at the time of taking them, the photographs published of this monument (Figs. 33 ff.) are really quite unintelligible, and the reader has no means of checking the very serious statement made in the accompanying text that a bull represented in the relief 'reminds one of the bulls of the Vaphio cups which must date from the same time.' This is a fairly bold claim, which we hardly think should have been made without adequate illustration. And how do the authors know that their monument is absolutely contemporary with the Vaphio cups? No doubt it dates to more

or less the same period, that is to say it is improbable that such an inscription is of later date than 1000 B.C., or earlier date than 2000, while the cups probably date to about 1900 B.C. (First Late Minoan period). But this is all that can be said. Similar inadequacy of illustration prevents one from seeing the serpent heads in the scene of two gods slaying a hydra which the authors say is represented on the stone at Malatiya in Fig. 43. In view of the connexion of the god Teshub or Sandon with the Greek Herakles and the legend of the slaying of the Hydra by Herakles and Iolaos, this is an important discovery, and we hope that the authors will present us with a better illustration of it as soon as they can.

The authors have done much service in obtaining some sort of inscription out of the 'Nishan-tash' at Boghaz Koi, which has previously been regarded as hopelessly illegible, if indeed it were an inscription at all (cf. Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, pp. 158 f.). And at Egri Koi they have noted a probability of archaeological importance, that the Hittites partially cremated their dead and buried them in jars.

The method of describing drawn illustrations in the text as 'plates' and photographic ones as 'figures,' and numbering them on separate systems, though they are necessarily mixed up together, is peculiar and confusing. A 'plate' is usually regarded as an illustration or illustrations occupying a full page of special paper without text, 'figures' being illustrations in the text.

We await the publication of the initial part of the volume, containing Prof. Sterrett's general introduction to the work of the Cornell Expedition, with great interest.

H. H.

Exploration on the Island of Mochlos. By Richard B. Seager. [American School at Athens.] Pp. 111, 54 figs., 11 coloured plates. Boston, 1912.

The American School at Athens has published Mr. R. B. Seager's account of the excavations which he carried on at Mochlos in 1908 at the expense of the School, of some friends of the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, and of himself.

The most important discovery at Mochlos is that of tombs of the Early Minoan period, which yielded to Mr. Seager an unexampled archaeological treasure in the shape of gold ornaments and beautifully worked stone vases. The gold ornaments are specially interesting as being probably contemporary with the famous 'Treasure of Priam' found by Schliemann at Troy. They are funerary in character, consisting chiefly of bands, leaves, and flowers in thin gold, with beads and pins, all of good though not elaborate workmanship. A signet ring was also discovered representing a steatopygous goddess in a boat of fantastic form, with a threaded bow and a curved stem in the shape of an animal's head; in the background are buildings and trees. This ring, which is of later period than the other ornaments, dating from the First Late Minoan period, was stolen from the Museum of Candia in 1910, and has not yet been recovered. The stone vases of the Early Minoan period, which are finely reproduced in the coloured plates, are triumphs of the primitive stonecutter's art, beautifully veined stone often being employed, and the lines of the design being often varied to follow the natural veining of the stone. One of the most interesting points about these vases is the fact that many of them obviously are copied from Egyptian originals of the time of the Old Kingdom, this fact leading Mr. Seager to definite conclusions as to connexion between Early Minoan Crete and Sixth Dynasty Egypt. Mr. Seager does not note that one of these vases (Pl. II, M 3) is not merely *like* an Egyptian original of the Sixth Dynasty: it is an actual Egyptian importation of that period, the style showing unmistakably that it is not merely a copy. The book contains a full scientific description of all the objects found, and the illustrations, both photographs (by Maraghiannis of Candia) and drawings, are extremely good. We congratulate Mr. Seager on his discovery and his work, and the American School on the book, which is well got up and neatly bound.

H. H.

Prehistoric Thessaly. By A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson. Pp. xv+272. With 6 plates and 151 illustrations in the text. Cambridge University Press, 1912. 18s.

Messrs. Wace and Thompson have published a description not only of their own discoveries in Thessaly and Phokis, but also of the whole epoch-making explorations of the last few years which have revealed to us the peculiar prehistoric culture of Northern Greece. The great work of M. Tsountas at Dimini and Sesklo first made us aware of the peculiar ceramic of this North-Greek culture, but M. Tsountas went seriously wrong in his dating of it. Merely because it was neolithic, he placed it in time contemporaneously with the neolithic culture of the Aegean, and so long before the Bronze Age "Minoan" civilization. The work of Messrs. Wace and Thompson showed that this conclusion was erroneous and that in Thessaly at any rate the neolithic age continued until the Third Late Minoan period, when the Bronze Age culture of the South was entering upon its decline. The necessary re-shuffling of our ideas which was consequent upon this discovery is hardly yet begun. This commendably swift publication by Messrs. Wace and Thompson of the whole of the results in the new field will have the effect of hastening the inevitable rearrangement of our ideas of prehistoric culture in Greece. Their work has been splendidly done, and the book is at once a corpus of North-Greek excavations and a grammar of North Greek prehistoric pottery. It will be an indispensable *vade mecum* for all students of the beginnings of Greece, who with its aid will for the first time be enabled to understand the history of the pre-Dipylon ceramics of continental Greece, to place the *Urfirnis* ware in its proper chronological relation to the grey "Minyan" of Orchomenos, and both in their proper relation to the neolithic polychrome geometric of the North, the invading "Minoan" style from the South, and the later "Minoized" Geometric of the Dipylon. The authors add chapters on the general historical results of their work, in which they agree in the main with the ideas generally prevalent among the students of the Minoan culture as regards the invasion of Greece by the Minoan culture in M.M. III and L.M. I. Their original explanation of the backwardness of Thessaly in its late retention of stone weapons as due to the great forests which then covered Othrys seems a very probable one.

The work is well illustrated, with several coloured plates, and the proof-reading has been most careful: one cannot detect a single slip. H.H.

Atthis. Storia della repubblica Ateniese. By G. de Sanctis. Pp. viii+508. Turin: Bocca, 1912. L. 12.

This book, which is an enlarged and revised edition of a work which appeared originally in 1898, is of narrower compass than its title suggests. It does not carry the narrative beyond B.C. 445, and it deals exclusively with the political history of Athens. The feature of it which will strike English readers most is that it consistently treats the state as ἄνευ πραγμάτων to the community, efficiency of administration rather than τὸ εὖ ζῆν is made the chief end of public life. Some disappointment will thus be felt by those who consider that a treatise on Athenian politics ought to make the development of self-government the centre-piece of the story. But it must be admitted that the author's main theme, the growth of the powers and functions of the Athenian state, is a topic of hardly lesser interest.

Prof. de Sanctis gives abundant evidence of wide and judicious reading, especially among the best German authorities, although significantly enough he seldom makes mention of Grote. But his erudition never hampers his judgment, which indeed is often over-ready to stray from the beaten track. While rightly rejecting most of the traditions of primitive Attica he carries scepticism rather far in dealing with the authorities for the historical period. Nor does he always improve upon the alleged schematisms of the ancients by others not less daring of his own. To take a few instances out of many,

the βουλή and the εἴδεναι of Solon are ruled out of existence, and his σεισάχθεια is whittled down to a mere reform of the mortgage law. Still more disconcerting is the *tour de force* by which Cylon and Periander are synchronized with each other and with Peisistratus. If neither the sixth-century list of Olympic winners nor the computations of Alexandrine chronologists for this period are to be accepted, all Greek history previous to the Persian Wars is thereby reduced to incoherence. Nevertheless many of Prof. de Sanctis' conjectures are really helpful. His version of Solon's currency reform is clearly an improvement upon previous theories, and the appendix on the numbers of the Athenian army in Pericles' time will repay study.

The author has obviously been at pains to understand the practice as well as the theory of Athenian government, and his judgment in describing such matters as the actual working conditions of Cleisthenes' βουλή and of Pericles' δεκαετηρίς is usually shrewd and well balanced. But few will agree with the notion that pre-Solonian Athens possessed no deliberative assembly, for in a republic a co-ordinating council is not merely a convenience but a necessity. It is also to be regretted that the later developments of the Athenian constitution are not even indicated in outline, for by coming to a dead stop at 445 B.C. the author denies himself the chance of doing full justice to the work of Pericles.

Prof. de Sanctis' book will hardly appeal to the general reader, who may be misled by some of its overbold conjectures and will certainly be overwhelmed by the wealth of its detail, but advanced students will appreciate it as a thoughtful as well as learned treatise.

Plato's Phaedo. Edited with Introduction and Notes by JOHN BURNET. Oxford at the Clarendon Press. Pp. lix, Greek text, and 158. 5*s.*

Professor Burnet has produced an edition of the *Phaedo* which from many points of view it would be difficult to praise too highly. The views which he urges in the Introduction may not command universal acceptance; but the skill, knowledge, and sympathy with which he arranges them are alike admirable. The notes enforce in many details these views of Socrates and his relation to the Pythagoreans which are set forth in the Introduction: as for example on 61 a 3, c 6, when he points out the Pythagorean connexions of the term φιλοσοφία and of its description as μεγίστη μουσική, or on 85 d 13, where it is shown that σῶμα as a technical term of philosophy is Pythagorean. (Would it be fanciful, if Professor Burnet's general view is correct, to see in the address to Simmias, ὦ ξένε Θηβαῖε, 92 a 6, when Socrates is about to shew the inconsistency between the two Pythagorean doctrines, the doctrine of ἀναμνησις and the doctrine that the soul is an ἁρμονία, an intimation that it is the Theban school which is to be criticized?) But the notes are also grammatical and exegetical: and in both characters they are concise, well chosen, and singularly interesting; the questions they answer might not occur to every reader, but only an intelligent reader would ask them; and there is the same living familiarity displayed with the delicate usages of language as with the history of Greek thought and the personality of the thinkers.

The main thesis of the book is that the Socrates of the Platonic dialogues is in substance the historical Socrates: that the doctrines he expounds, including immortality and the theory of ideas, are doctrines which he actually taught; and that we must believe that the *Phaedo* at any rate either reports the subjects of which Socrates actually discoursed on the last day of his life, or is 'little better than a heartless mystification.' These conclusions are in general accord, as Professor Burnet acknowledges, with those of his colleague Professor A. E. Taylor's *Varia Socratica*; and we may look forward to a fuller development of them than is contained either here, or in that work or its author's various other lesser publications. The subject is of great interest; though it is more important to determine whether the teaching of the Platonic Socrates is true, than by whom it was originated. Perhaps Professor Burnet makes Plato too purely a dramatic

artist in the dialogues where Socrates is the principal speaker. 'The problems discussed in the dialogues are those which were of interest at the time they are supposed to take place. That of the Strong Man, for instance, which is the subject of the Gorgias, belongs to the end of the fifth century' (p. xxxv); and it seems suggested (cf. notes on 96 a 2, 97 d 8) that they had ceased to be living problems when Plato was writing. This may be true of the scientific problems, but surely not of those discussed with Gorgias or Thrasymachus, which are living still.

The following are some details which have struck the present writer as open to criticism. Is it certain that nothing in the *Phaedo* can be directed by Plato against views of Antisthenes or Eudides, because they are supposed to be present at the dialogue? (*v.* notes on 59 b 8, 90 c 5, 91 a 2.) Is it true that the Platonic Socrates does not make ideas separate from particulars, χωριστά? (*v.* p. xlvi, n. 2.) A strong case could be made out to the contrary from the Parmenides, and it is noticeable that the same expressions used there of ideas in relation to particulars, χωρίς and αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτό, are used in the *Phaedo* 64 c, 67 a of the soul in relation to the body. Is the difficulty raised in the passage 96 d 8 sq. that of 'conceiving a unit,' and can Plato have hardly 'felt seriously' at any time the difficulty of how anything becomes two—whether by addition, or by participation in twoness? Surely the puzzle of how many things really are is involved, which is very serious. Again, it is doubtful if 'it will be found helpful to think of [forms] in the first place as *meanings*' (65 d 4, 100 c 5), 'meaning' here must stand for 'something meant'; something is meant by 'Socrates' as well as by καλόν: the problem is, what kind of reality is meant by καλόν or δίκαιον. And we venture to protest against ever rendering εἶδος as *body* (87 a 2; cf. 73 a 2, 76 e 12, 92 b 5 'εἶδός τε καὶ σῶμα: the two terms are synonymous'), no doubt to be in human form involves having a body, but εἶδος does not mean 'body'; a body has weight, a form none; εἶδος no doubt meant a shape, that could be one in many bodies, before it meant generally what is one in many particulars; but to translate it 'body' or say that it is synonymous with σῶμα darkens rather than elucidates; nor is the rendering 'body' required in any of the passages where Professor Taylor gives it in his dissertation on 'the words Εἶδος, Ἰδέα' in *Varia Socratica*.

But even if these or other small criticisms are justified (*e.g.* the defence of the readings adopted 104 d 3, 105 a 3 will not convince every one), yet the book remains a model of what an edition of such a work should be.

The text, as is stated in the preface, is that which the editor prepared for the Clarendon Press, 'with a few corrections and modifications'; these are mostly in the direction of greater fidelity to the MSS., and many involve a closer attention and a greater deference to the readings of W; brackets have been removed some 42 times, and several conjectural insertions or alterations cancelled; the *apparatus criticus* is rather fuller.[1]

The Origin of Tragedy: with special reference to the Greek Tragedians. By W. Ridgeway. Pp. x+228. Cambridge University Press. 1910. 10*s*.

Modern investigations into the origin and meaning of Greek religion, especially of the pre-achaean ages, and modern studies in anthropology, which when applied to Greece have only increased our amazement at the marvellous genius of Hellenism and Attic Hellenism in particular, have inevitably led to a reconsideration of the origin and meaning of Attic Tragedy. Foremost among the investigators in this field and the first, I believe, and certainly the greatest to use the new lights given by these new studies is the Disney Professor of Archaeology; and whatever modifications or enlargements may be hereafter

[1] The following misprints were noticed: p. 18, l. 8, 'if' omitted at end of line: note on 92 d 1, ἡ omitted in quotation from *Theaetetus*: note on 104 a 5, ἀνάδικοτος for ἄδικοτος: 66 b 3, brackets dropped in the text are retained in the lemma of the note

made in the details of his theory, Professor Ridgeway's name will always be remembered as the founder of what I venture to think a truer and sounder account of the basis of Attic Tragedy. As I have arrived independently at the same, though somewhat wider, conclusions as Professor Ridgeway in Tragedy, and much the same as Mr. A. B. Cook in Comedy (*J.H.S.* xiv), *facilis est iactura Dionysi* to me, at least as far as 'the Thracian Dionysus' (so Ridgeway calls him) is concerned; but there is still the difficulty of answering the question 'how did Dionysus come in?' and especially 'why the Eleutherean?' To this question I find no very satisfying answer either in Professor Ridgeway's account or in Professor G. Murray's 'Vegetation-Spirit,' though the latter shows one aspect of Dionysus which might largely account for his fitness to absorb the old cults. Undoubtedly Peisistratus' influence was final, and final in what may have been a tendency before, to put the drama under the patronage of Dionysus; but it was worth recording (and I do not think Ridgeway has done so) that much of Peisistratus' support came from Dionysian centres in Attica and also that Thespis was from Icaria, where Dionysus had already captured (or caused, according to the legend) the Swing-festival, as the well-known vase shows; further, to add a fact on the authority of Mr. J. H. Hopkinson, the vases of the period distinctly acquired a Dionysiac character—like the beautiful Swing-vase, the oinochoe that illustrates Merry's edition of the *Birds* (cf. *J.H.S.* ii), has the vine or ivy tendrils. Was it too an accident that caused both Cleisthenes of Sicyon and Peisistratus to exalt Dionysus?

On another important element of Tragedy, the Dithyramb, Ridgeway is not quite convincing, especially in the light of what Dieterich and others have recently said, nor on the North-Peloponnesian influence generally; like the Pseudo-Plato in the *Minos* (321 b and c), he seems to claim too much for Attica, though he evidently thinks that Epigenes was of some importance; and I think that, as in Sculpture, so in Tragedy the Peloponnesians count in the development of what was native, especially Sicyon and Megara, as referred to by Aristotle, where dramatic or mimetic performances long lingered (Paus. i. 43. 2, as quoted by Miss Harrison, *Prolog.*: What too of Epidaurus?). But our author is plainly right in what he says about the universal love in Greece for mimetic dances and mimetic drama—yet why on p. 93 does he call the dramatic representations at, e.g. Eleusis 'an extension of the method of propitiating dead ancestors.' And here it is that, to the present writer at least, Professor Ridgeway appears too narrow, and so to stand in the way of a general acceptance of his theory; as (to take his own excellent parallel) the Mysteries and Miracle Plays dealt not only with the Passion of our Lord or the sufferings of individual saints, but also with the Church-doctrine and ritual (even in ridicule), so, it would seem, the dramatic representation of the Greeks touched not only the dead ancestors like Hippolytus, Ajax, Macaria, and Eurystheus, but also celebrated (aetiologically at any rate in Euripides) the establishment of various cults such as the cults of Prometheus, the Semnai, Iphigenia-Artemis; or as the cult of the Old Year and the New, as in the *Bacchae* (cf. Bather, *J.H.S.* xiv); and perhaps too the establishment of an altar of sanctuary as in the cases of the Danaides and Orestes (cf. *Ag.* 171 *sqq.*). (Incidentally one would ask: was the flogging of boys at the altar of Orthia a 'beating of the bounds' of a sanctuary-altar or the survival of human sacrifice?)

With regard to details, more light is needed still on the Satyric plays. Ridgeway is probably right in making them specially Dionysiac (and the evidence of the vases mentioned above would strengthen his argument); but he seems to endorse Haigh's saving clause 'in course of time' in speaking of their abandonment of Dionysus, even in the time of Pratinas himself. If Haigh's list is to be trusted, Pratinas does not seem to have considered that anything more than 'Tragedy at play' or tragedy travestied was needed; and the *Alcestis*, though purified more than the *Cyclops*, might very well be equally regarded as a typical Satyric play in its general outlines and its solemn moments blended with burlesque. In his treatment of Thespis' mask the author rightly suggests that the purpose of the mask was not for disguise but for impersonation, but does not press the point very plainly, nor that ὑποκριτής implies this fact: the actor would change his mask and make-up in the σκηνή or booth (like our quick-change artists of the sea-shore)

according as he took the part of the dead hero or the messenger. Ridgeway indeed does not give this account of the ἀγγελος and the actor, but it is not inconsistent with his theory: in fact he has not shown what is his view of the development of the actor: he quotes from Pollux, of course, about the table (ἐλεός) on which, before Thespis' time, εἷς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀνεπαύετο; but he calls this εἷς τις sometimes the actor, at other times the poet or the coryphaeus or chorus-leader; whoever he was, he could not have been 'one of the chorus,' as Haigh says (the Greek is against this); we may safely assume, it would seem, that he was, as Ridgeway says, the predecessor of the actor proper. The mimetic instincts of the Greeks, as in other nations, would readily supply the dead hero rising from his tomb or other principal personage of the drama enacted talking over matters or joining in the ὄρχησις (cf. the κόμμος); and some such question as among the Hebrews 'what mean you by this service?' would be answered by the person who mounted the table, the predecessor of the Messenger.

Not, I think, need anyone shy at Thespis and his peripatetic drama (p. 61); but I would word it slightly differently, to the effect that Thespis having established a reputation at Icaria became in demand as an actor at other local festivals; so he gathered together a repertoire which was in demand at Athens when folk from the country-side collected there for great festivals.

Ridgeway's theory with some such additions as have been roughly suggested would explain not merely why Aristotle insists on 'historical' and σπουδαῖα personages, but would also explain why Attic Tragedy was broad yet narrow, narrower than modern tragedy, but broader than a merely Dionysian (as we conceive Dionysus) origin would have given: it will account for the duplication of parts and largely for the limited number both of actors and *dramatis personae*: and from the literary point of view such a theory of origins would, apart from possibly other and artistic motives, explain why the *Ajax* must go on to the burial of the hero, why the *Eumenides* was prolonged after the acquittal of Orestes to the establishment of the Semnai in their Areopagite cave, and why Euripides omits so many of his plays with the promise of some religious survival: and we might even add as a suggestion, arising from the delightful chapters IV and V, that if tragedy could deal with cults generally, the poet might naturally and lawfully use it as a means of teaching higher religion, as in the Eumenides, and of becoming himself (in Ridgeway's words) the champion of a nobler and purer morality.

C. F. W.

The Works of Man. By Lieut. March Phillipps. Pp. xiv+343. London: Duckworth, 1911. 7s. 6d. net.

'It is probable,' says Mr. March Phillipps, 'that the ideas we have been discussing may have occurred to many of my readers before; they are such at least as might readily occur to anyone interested in these subjects.' That is indeed the impression which the first pages of his book make on the reader, and it is not wholly erroneous. Nevertheless it is a book which is greatly to be welcomed, in that nowhere else, to our knowledge, is there to be found so carefully considered a coordination of these ideas, and it is in their coordinated form that their extreme importance is revealed. Everybody is familiar with the view that national character will express itself in national art; but few are the readers or writers who care to follow up the idea in the way that the author of this stimulating volume has done. The doctrine of the *milieu* may be played out; but the essential truth that it contained remains, and can be restated. Mr. March Phillipps has travelled widely, and we fancy that rather than read too widely he has preferred to look at the 'works of man' with his own eyes. At any rate, his handling of his theme, even of such hackneyed subjects as the intellectual spirit of Greek art, or the struggle between the intellectual and spiritual in the art of the Renaissance, is so fresh that there is not a dull page between the covers. His criticism of Egyptian art, as reflecting the monotonous unintellectual regularity of life in the Nile Valley, will doubtless shock some readers, but it is essentially just, even though it ignores

certain exceptions to his statement that 'there is in these figures and faces no mind or thought of any kind.' Such exceptions do not disprove his main thesis any more than the Demeter of Cnidus disproves the general rule that the Greek mind was satisfied with purely intellectual definition. His remarks on Roman architecture will be welcome to the few who have struggled against the prevailing tendency towards Rome of the jaded aesthetic appetites of our art-historians. That Roman arched construction is 'essentially second rate,' daunting us 'by sheer size and strength, by the endurance of its iron concrete and the insolent display of its brilliant and showy decoration,' and standing not only for Rome's 'might, majesty and dominion,' but equally for her 'dullness of inward vision and vulgarity of soul'—such words as these are very opportune and refreshing. The chapters on the Arabs and on the Gothic contribution are clever, though in the former he does not do justice to the enormous debt of modern civilisation to Arab mathematics, and in the latter, the theory has to be strained a good deal to fit the facts. Why drag in the early barbarian invaders in order to explain the Gothic art which began in the twelfth century? One cannot help suspecting that the writer has been unconsciously betrayed by the misnomer 'Gothic.' We have no space to discuss other disputable points, as in every suggestive book, there is much to disagree with. None the less, we should like it to be read in all places where the history of art is taught. It might also exercise a steadying influence on those popular art-critics who bow down before every latest imported imposture.

In a future edition the numerous misprints (such as 'Van Milligan,' 'Miron,' 'Bödle,') should be corrected: also the misquotation in the lines on p. 264, which, the author may be glad to know, are from a sonnet by Heredia.

Religione e Arte Figurata. By Alessandro della Seta. Pp. viii + 287. 210 figures. Rome: Danesi, 1912.

To analyse the relations between art and religion from their dim origin is the ambitious task which Signor della Seta has set himself in a book of moderate length. He explains his purpose in a short introduction and then discusses, chapter by chapter, the arts of mankind from the drawings made by prehistoric tribes in the caves of France and Spain down to the pictures of Raphael. The first chapter is devoted to the general question of the connection of art with religion and magic, which he considers to be fundamental even where, as in the caves of Altamira, certain works of art might be thought the result merely of an interest in natural objects for their own sake. In the second chapter, the art of primitive peoples, both of the past and of the present day, is discussed. The following chapters deal with Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, the Aegean, Greece, Etruria, Buddhism, and Christianity. A brief conclusion sums up the author's arguments, which show a gradual diminution of the magic purpose of art in favour of the historic. Such a bare analysis is enough to indicate the wide scope of Signor della Seta's book. It would be too much to say that he has been wholly successful, but his chapters are not wanting in acute and suggestive remarks on the portrait in Etruria for example, or the reasons for the conventionalism of Buddhist art. His work may be welcomed as a result of Professor Lowy's fruitful teaching.

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Papyrus de Ménandre. Par M. Gustave Lefebvre. Pp. xxvi + 40, 58 plates. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale. 1911. 80 fr.

In publishing his *editio princeps* of the Menander codex in 1907 M. Lefebvre announced his intention of following it up by a facsimile of the MS. The present volume is the realization of his design, and will be welcomed by students of the

comedies. Like many of the papyri found at Kôm Ishgau, the codex seems in places to be very much discoloured, and it is no fault of the photographer that in some pages (for example plate xiii.) very little of the writing comes out legibly in the facsimile; but in many the facsimile can be used with ease, and will serve as a guide to conjecture where the readings are doubtful. It is clear that in his first edition M. Lefebvre, as he now admits, dated the MS. far too early; it may well be of the fifth century. To the facsimile is prefixed a complete transcript, letter for letter and without supplements or division of words, of the whole papyrus, in which use has been made of the work of Croiset, Koerte, Reinach, de Ricci, Jensen, and others. Several new fragments have been found, and in some cases their position determined, since the *editio princeps*, and these are transcribed in the introduction. M. Lefebvre has also included three other new comic fragments, two of which, clearly of the Old Comedy, he assigns to Aristophanes; the third, as it is in the same hand as the others, he also regards, doubtfully, as of the Old Comedy, but the contents seem rather to suggest the New. The MS. from which they come is perhaps of rather earlier date than the Menander codex.

La Vie Municipale dans l'Égypte Romaine (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fasc. 104me). Par PIERRE JOUGUET. Pp. xlii + 494. Paris: Fontemoing et Cie. 1911.

This important monograph is warmly to be welcomed, and is likely to be for some time the principal authority on the subject which it treats. That subject is even wider than the title would imply, for M. Jouguet has not only devoted seventy pages to a preliminary sketch of municipal life during the Ptolemaic period but within the period more especially chosen for his monograph has dealt with the villages not less than with the Greek cities and Graeco-Egyptian metropoleis. His treatment is indeed admirably complete, and not to be censured on the score of redundancy, for the Roman period can hardly be disseverred from that of the Ptolemies, whose heirs the Romans were, and since the metropoleis were essentially nome-capitals, they can best be studied in conjunction with the villages of the nome. It must be confessed that, in this as in almost every other subject of papyrology, the material is very imperfect—how imperfect, one realises as soon as one begins to go into detail. It is scantier for the Ptolemaic than for the Roman period, scantier for the Greek city than for the metropolis, for the latter than for the village; and on many subjects of importance any definite conclusion is impossible or, if arrived at, must rest on mere conjecture. On all, however, M. Jouguet writes with the admirable caution and fairness which we expect from him, weighing carefully all the possibilities and never mistaking conjecture for fact. The main outlines of the development at least are clear; and it is a study of intense interest to trace the fortunes of Hellenism in Egypt, so dissimilar in many respects to the other Hellenistic kingdoms. How, even in Egypt, where during the Ptolemaic period the Greek πόλις was so imperfectly naturalized, a municipal organization was at length evolved, M. Jouguet shows in his later chapters. It is a curious fact that a real municipal system was only reached by the time when that system was beginning to decay throughout the Empire. One serious complaint must be made against this volume; it has an index of proper names and a table of contents, but it is most regrettable that a work of its importance was not provided with an ample subject-index.

Hellenistisches Silbergerat in Antiken Gipsabgussen. Von Otto Rubensohn. 89 pp., with 21 plates and 22 illustrations in text. Berlin: Curtius, 1912.

In this excellent catalogue Mr. Rubensohn publishes a collection of plaster casts found some years ago by the sebakh-diggers on the site of Memphis. The find, which also includes a few moulds for the manufacture of bronzes and terracottas, is of great interest, both from the technical and from the artistic point of view. Almost all the casts are from metal vases and other utensils, that is to say they are reproductions of metal reliefs, some of which must have been chased, while others were probably cast. They are not, however, casts of entire articles but only of certain details; and as Mr. Rubensohn shows, they are not adapted for any process of mechanical reproduction. They had simply been made and kept as models for the eye. It was apparently a custom of the silversmiths in Memphis to take a cast of anything interesting that came into their hands. An emigrant from Athens, a soldier returning with plunder from a Syrian campaign brings a piece of plate to be repaired or sold; some detail on it strikes the fancy of the artisan, and forthwith a cast is taken and hung up on the wall for future use. Thus a stock of suggestions from far and near was gradually accumulated. Looking through the catalogue we see Alexandrian toreutic in process of development,—an amalgamation of motifs from various Greek countries and from the native art of Egypt. A portrait of Euergetes, together with several of Soter, gives the collection an approximate date, though some of the *originals* according to Mr. Rubensohn are as early as the middle of the fourth century.

Along with the casts were found some plaster moulds for the manufacture of bronzes, similar to those in the Museum of Cairo. It has been suggested by Mr. Petrie in his *Arts and Crafts of ancient Egypt* that the plaster moulds were intended for casting objects in lead, but this is a misapprehension: they were really used for making the wax-cast models of bronzes. Mr. Rubensohn remarks that the moulds show Egyptian influence much more strongly than the casts, which are almost purely Greek. But it ought not to be concluded from this that the statuary art of the Alexandrians and 'Hellanomamphites' was more affected by its Egyptian surroundings than the toreutic. Such examples of the latter art as we possess, including imitations in earthenware, show just the same mixture of Greek and Egyptian elements as the bronzes and terracottas.

Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité. Vol. IX. La Grèce Archaïque. La Glyptique—La Numismatique—La Peinture—La Céramique. By Georges Perrot. 22 plates and 367 cuts. Pp. 704. Paris: Hachette, 1911.

The energy and industry of the veteran archaeologist M. Perrot is truly astounding. In his eightieth year he has produced the ninth volume of his gigantic compilation on the history of ancient art, and he is now at work on the tenth. In some respects this last volume is an advance on those previously produced, not only for its admirable illustrations but for the exhaustive and scientific treatment of the subject with which it deals. Roughly speaking it is devoted to the description of the art of the sixth century B.C. as exemplified in coins, gems, vase-painting and the few remains of the higher graphic art of this time which have come down to us. Over half the volume is concerned with the history of vase-painting in Ionia and at Corinth, with a preliminary chapter on the technical aspect of the subject, in which M. Perrot readily acknowledges the assistance of the researches of other scholars such as Pottier and Furtwaengler, and the technical knowledge of Reichhold. In dealing with the so-called Cyrenaic vases he utters a judicious protest against the somewhat hasty conclusions drawn from the excavations of Sparta as to the Laconian origin of the more elaborate examples. That there was a fabric of Sparta remains unquestioned, but it must have been developed later in the daughter-colony of Cyrene. As a manual of the minor arts of the sixth century in Greece this volume will

be invaluable both to the serious student and the more general reader. It is hardly necessary to say that it is written in the usual lucid and attractive style that we associate with French archaeologists.

Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes. Supplement. By Georges Nicole, with preface by M. Collignon. With album of 21 folio plates, and 19 plates accompanying text. Pp. xii+352. Paris, 1911.

The steady growth of the collection of vases at Athens is abundantly attested by the appearance of this supplementary catalogue, which almost equals the first volume in bulk, though issued only nine years afterwards. It has well been entrusted to the capable hands of M. Georges Nicole, a most competent authority on the subject. The present volume includes some 1,360 specimens, as against 1,080 in the previous one. It comprises many varieties of primitive pottery hitherto unrepresented, chiefly from the Cyclades, Mycenaean vases from Attica, and a representative collection from Cyprus. Among the vases of the later period, attention may be called to the 'Homeric' bowls (1286–1330). The classification of the earlier pottery-fabrics is carried out with more scientific exactness than in the previous volume, and each section has a short explanatory heading, which is often more effective than a general introduction. The descriptions are terse and clear, never overloaded with uninstructive detail, and the bibliographical information is full and exhaustive. The atlas of plates, partly executed in colours, partly in photogravure, deserves nothing but praise.

Céramique Primitive. Introduction à l'Étude de la Technologie. By L. Franchet. Pp. 160. 26 cuts. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1911.

The interest of this work is, as the sub-title implies, mainly technical. In a series of lectures delivered at the École d'Anthropologie the author has endeavoured to bring up to date the researches of Brongniart and other writers who have dealt with this aspect of the history of pottery. Inasmuch as he deals mainly with the pottery of primitive peoples, ancient and modern, the lectures only touch incidentally on the pottery of the Greeks and the Romans; but for those who desire a general introduction to the technical side of the subject, they will be found most valuable and interesting. The author holds the view that the red glaze on Roman pottery is really an enamel, produced, as he rightly remarks, by *dipping* the vase in the slip. He applies the same term *émail* to the lustrous black varnish of Greek vases, the special qualities of which he attributes to the presence of a small quantity of oxide of manganese. Classification of pottery, he points out, must always be twofold, technical and chronological, the former being based primarily on the composition of the paste, the latter on form and decoration.

Kretische Vasenmalerei von Kamares bis zum Palast-stil. By Ernst Reisinger. Pp. 52. Four plates. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912.

This brochure is an attempt to summarise and estimate the results obtained by the English and Italian excavators in Crete, as regards the pottery. The writer aims at a more satisfactory classification, and at bringing the Cretan pottery into proper relation with that of the Islands, of Troy, and of the Greek mainland, and so to obtain a more definite chronology for all fabrics. He excludes the earlier pottery (E. M. I.–III.) on account of the lack of material, and also that of the L. M. III. period: in regard to

chronological results he does not accept Finnsen's conclusions. His results are summarised in tabular form on p. 52. The chief feature is that he reduces the number of classes to seven by combining E. M. II.–III., and M. M. III with L. M. I. The older Cycladic vases are contemporary with E. M. III. and M. M. I.; the later with M. M. III. and L. M. I., as are those of Troy (2nd–5th cities).

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos. 26,124-26,349 and 32,377-32,394. Greek Vases. By C. C. Edgar. Pp. viii.+94. 28 plates. Cairo, 1911.

This is the seventh of the admirable series of Catalogues of Greek antiquities in the Cairo Museum produced by Mr. Edgar, and is an excellent piece of work, and well illustrated. Though the number of items included in the catalogue is but small, some 260 in all, they include several pieces of considerable interest, or of local fabrics unrepresented elsewhere. As might be expected, they are mostly of the Hellenistic epoch, but there are some typical pieces of Naukratis ware, a Late Minoan jar, and some imported archaic Greek wares. Among the latter is a remarkable archaic amphora (32,377) with Centaurs and friezes of animals. The curious fragment of a square dish of red ware (32,394) is worth calling attention to, as it appears to be part of a vessel similar to one of which there are two fragments in the British Museum (L. 157–158); a similar dish with lions and *bestiaire* has been found at Carmuntum.

Dachterrakotten aus Campanien (mit Ausschluss von Pompeii). By Herbert Koch. (Kaiserlich deutsches archäologisches Institut.) Pp. 100. Thirty-five plates and 128 cuts in text. Berlin: Reimer, 1912.

Mr. Koch has rendered a great service to students of architectural terracottas by publishing a series of archaic antefixes from Capua and other sites, mostly in the Naples and British Museums. Those in Naples were published by Minervini some years ago, but not with any fullness of detail. In Koch's excellent photo-gravure plates (four in colour) the whole series is now admirably reproduced, with full discussion in the text. The majority consist of 'Stirnziegel,' with Gorgon masks and other subjects executed in relief: many of these are replicae from the same mould, and some of the types are interesting, such as the bearded Gorgon (Pls. V.–VI., XXXIII.), the Typhon (Pl. XXXV.) and the 'Persian' Artemis (Pl. XII.).

The Outdoor Life in Greek and Roman Poets. By the Countess Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco. Pp. x+280. London: Macmillan, 1911.

Countess Martinengo Cesaresco is known to many readers for her studies of modern Italy. In this new book she turns to good account her intimate knowledge of the country, which can only be gained by life among its peasants, the backbone of the nation. The life of the Greek peasant, too, is not unfamiliar to her. Thus happily equipped, she follows ancient poetry from Homer to Ausonius and Claudian and shows its relation to the life of the fields. From antiquity she passes by an easy transition to what remains of the antique spirit in the Renaissance pastoral and the religious practices of the modern peasant. A few slips may be noted. The painting of the girls playing knuckle-bones (p. 45) was found at Herculaneum, not Pompeii. It is of course painted on marble. Bona Eventa (p. 99) is a strange form. The word *si* is omitted in the first line of Ronsard's poem quoted on p. 205. Faleria, not Falerium (p. 212) was the place in Tuscany visited by Rutilius, and Nola, not Nolo, the home of St. Paulinus

(p. 232). It is not certain that Jacopone da Todi wrote the Stabat Mater (p. 254). The famous minister of Frederic II. was Pier della Vigna (p. 268). The form of his name *de Vineis* or *delle Vigne* has no good authority. It is extremely unlikely that the statue, which the Mantuans venerated as a portrait of Virgil (p. 273), and Carlo Malatesta is said, according to a very doubtful story, to have destroyed, really represented the poet. It may well have been of the same ideal type as the 'Euboulens' head which passed for him until very recent times. Such trifling slips do not detract from the merits of a charming book.

Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des I. Petrusbriefes. By Richard Perdelwitz. 108 pp. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1911. 3 m. 60.

De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu, scripsit Iakob Fley. 114 pp. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1911. 3 m. 60.

Die Unverwundbarkeit in Sage und Aberglauben der Griechen. By Otto Bertholet. 72 pp. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1911. 2 m. 60.

These three volumes belong to the series of *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, of which several previous volumes have been noticed in these pages. The first, after a long introductory chapter dealing with the higher criticism of the first Epistle of Peter, proceeds to examine the traces left in its phrasing and argument by the religious ideas of the period in general and more particularly by the former creed of the intended recipients, which is supposed to have been that of Cybele.

The second is a collection of monuments and literary passages dealing with the use of wool in ancient ritual. The phrase ἀπὸ κρόκης is first examined and a distinction drawn between its two uses, sympathetic in incubation, purificatory in the mysteries: both these uses are continued in the mediæval institution of the hair-shirt. In the second chapter, the survival in religion of an earlier stage of culture is shown to underlie the use of wool for ἄκρωλαι and for fillets and other ritual garments. The prophylactic virtues assigned to wool in connexion with the dead, infants, and brides are next examined and finally its employment for kindred reasons in love-charms and medicine.

The third work deals with the legends ascribing invulnerability to their heroes. It is shown that in the Epic many of the heroes so characterised in later times are directly stated to be liable to wounds, while nowhere can any clear trace of invulnerability be found before Pindar and the Attic tragedians. The ascription of this quality is due partly to misapprehensions of the Epic passages, occasionally to deliberate literary artifice; while in some cases, e.g. Caeneus, there is a confusion with an older concept of the underground dwelling of the hero. In an appendix parallels are cited from German mythology.

Die Masken der Neueren Attischen Komoedie. Von Carl Robert. [29ter Hallisches Winckelmannsprogram.] Halle: Niemayer, 1912. Pp. 112, with one plate and 128 illustrations in the text.

This work deals with the list of the masks worn by the characters in the New Comedy as given in the Onomasticon of Pollux (iv. 143–154). Basing the identification primarily on the different arrangements of the hair, the writer endeavours to recognise each class by means of existing sculptures, terracottas, or wall-paintings; a few variants from the normal types are noted, though no attempt is made to exhaust the material. The results thus obtained are then compared with the descriptions of the appearance of the characters in the extant literature and with the manuscript illustrations of Terence, which are held to go back to originals of the first century after Christ. In conclusion, the development of the system of masks with its stock character-types is briefly sketched through the periods of the Old and Middle Comedy.

Guide Illustré du Musée National d'Athènes. II. Volume: Collection Mycénienne. Par. V. Stais, Éphore du Musée. Athens, 1909. Pp. xvi+172.

A useful summary of the Mycenean antiquities at Athens. The material has been previously and more fully published, either in the accounts of Schliemann's excavations or in various periodicals, and the references are noted in this work. Illustrations are given of most of the important pieces; these are especially valuable in the case of objects which have been reconstructed from newly found fragments. The fragment of a silver cup with the Siege scene, from Mycenae, is improved by the addition of its handle, and an attempt is made to put together the remains of the musical instruments from the beehive tomb at Menidi. The author's explanation of the uses of the gold-foil and other ornaments from the Shaft-graves of Mycenae is instructive, and all these finds are sanely described and discussed. Otherwise there is little that is new, for the book does not claim to be more than a popular guide to this collection. The Minoan finds in Crete have hardly modified the original view of Mycenaean culture, and the ancient distinction of *Kamáres* and *Vaphreus* pottery is still regarded, though doubtfully, as a chronological classification in this order. There is appended a still shorter summary of Cycladic and pre-Mycenaean antiquities.

The Annual of the British School at Athens. Index to Nos. I-XVI. By A. M. Woodward. Pp. vii+144. London: For the Subscribers, Macmillan. 1912. 10s. net.

No more sensible publication in connexion with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the British School at Athens could have been devised than such a volume as this. It falls into three parts: index of authors, epigraphical index, and general index. It is obvious at a glance that it will be very useful; anyone who has tried to index a similar publication will, however, anticipate that it is impossible to make a really satisfactory job of such a task unless one is allowed the space of sixteen volumes. The value of this attempt can only be properly gauged by time. We have, however, taken up a volume at random (XIII. as it happens) and looked out a few words as a test. In doing so we find that: *Dionysos* does not appear in either the epigraphical or the general index, although his famous inscription is discussed at length on pp. 174 ff. *Nikétas Pátrikios* (p. 291) was worth an entry. The epigraphic index should have contained references to the uses of *ἐλευθέρα* and *φίλων* on pp. 323 and 332. The extracts from the *Isolarii* on *Chios* (pp. 339 ff.) should have been indexed under both words. But having found these flaws, we remember that XIII is an unlucky number; so we prefer to close with a word of thanks to Mr. Woodward for his fulfilment of a most laborious task.

Hellenika. Eine Auswahl philologischer und philosophiegeschichtlicher kleiner Schriften. Von Theodor Gomperz. Erster Band. Leipzig, Veit. 1912. Pp. vii+451.

This first volume of Prof. Gomperz's 'Kleine Schriften' falls into three parts: (1) on the dramatic poetry of the Greeks, including the study of 'the fragments of the Greek Tragedians and Cobet's latest critical manner,' (2) contributions to the criticism and interpretation of Greek writers (chiefly Euripides), (3) the oldest Greek shorthand. These articles cover the long period from 1856 to 1911. Prof. Gomperz is fortunate in being able to edit his Kleine Schriften himself. It is not our custom to notice in detail in these pages such collections as this of previously published articles. We will only call attention to the publication, noting that Prof. Gomperz has not acted the too indulgent parent, and has omitted as too polemical, or as occupied with questions no longer

of living interest, certain writings which another editor might have felt bound to include. The polemical review which we have named is however included on the ground that hypercriticism, though it may be less prevalent in the sphere with which that article was concerned, is still so wide-spread that attempts to restrain it cannot be regarded as idle.

Kleine Schriften von Adolf Furtwängler herausg. von J. Sieveking u. L. Curtius. Ier Band. Pp. viii+516. Mit 29 Tafeln u. 46 Textillustr. München: Beck, 1912.

This edition of Furtwängler's minor writings will, it is expected, fill three volumes. Articles on Olympia occupy nearly half of this one. Other important papers are those on Eros in vase-painting, on the Dornauszieher and the Boy with the Goose, and on the Gold Hoard of Vettersfelde. The arrangement is not chronological, but more or less according to subject-matter, and the result justifies the decision of the editors. The printing and general execution of the book leave nothing to be desired.

Jacques de Tourreil, Traducteur de Démosthène (1656-1714). Par G. Dubois. Paris: Champion 1910. Pp. 274.

This is a careful study of the life and works of a scholar whom Racine is said to have accused of being a 'bourreau qui a voulu donner de l'esprit à Démosthène,' and who consequently has been under a cloud, until Egger, in 1869, protested against this verdict. By a comparison of Tourreil's three versions of Demosthenes, M. Dubois comes to the conclusion that though he began with a false traditional method, he ended by developing a new method more exact and truthful, although his successors were incapable of grasping it. The book will be of interest to students of the history of classical scholarship in France, but hardly to a wider circle. The increasing tendency (exemplified also in the volume on Villoison noticed below) to devote elaborate monographs to modern Hellenists, rather than to Hellenic subjects at first hand, is a sign of the times.

D'Ansse de Villoison et l'Hellénisme en France pendant le dernier tiers du xviiie siècle. Par Ch. Joret. [Bibl. de l'Éc. des Hautes Études.] Paris: Champion, 1910. Pp. xii+539.

This elaborate biography of the celebrated Hellenist, traveller, palaeographer and epigraphist (1750-1805), gives a full account of his relations with other scholars such as Heyne, Ruhnken, Valckenaer, Toup, and with the literary circle at Weimar. It will be noticed that he was greatly interested in modern Greek, and planned a comparative history of ancient and modern Greece, as well as a dictionary of the two languages.

The Seven Against Thebes of Aeschylus. Rendered into English verse by Edwyn Bevan. Pp. 96. London: Arnold, 1912. 2*s.* net.

Mr. Bevan, whose translation of the *Prometheus* appeared in 1902, has made another plucky attempt at an almost impossible task. From the false Swinburnian tradition, which hampers all recent efforts of the same kind, he has not been able to shake himself free; for instance:—

> Last a day dawn dark and the shame of bondage cover our faces,
> For the city is set midmost in the wave and the welter of war.

On the other hand, Meredith seems to inspire the rhythm of the second strophe of the second chorus ('Never may this fellowship,' etc.). Perhaps when translators resign the attempt to render Greek choruses by rhymed verse, the way will lie open for something like an effective translation. In the non-lyrical parts, Mr. Bevan is generally readable—which is no small compliment to a translator of Aeschylus—but he is occasionally fantastic without reason: 'wall-embossed,' for instance, is more obscure than *ἐπεμμετώπιος*.

Imperial Hermitage. Brief Description of the Museum of Ancient Sculpture. By O. Waldhauer. Pp. viii+201. St. Petersburg, 1912.

A brief catalogue (in Russian) of the Museum (many objects in which come from the Lyda Browne collection) intended for use in the galleries, with figures of well-known works in other Museums for illustration.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΥΒΟΙΑ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ ΤΑΦΩΝ. By Georgios A. Papabasileios. Pp. 106, 21 Plates, 53 Illustrations in text. Athens, 1910.

An account, by a local schoolmaster, of the excavations of certain groups of tombs in Euboea. The finds include material of all kinds and of all periods, the most important being a quantity of pre-Mycenaean pottery from the neighbourhood of Chalcis, of a type which is rare in Greece. These vases are excellently illustrated in the plates.

*** The following books have also been received:—

History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I. By J. B. Bury. Macmillan, 1912. 12s. net.

Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. By Sir J. E. Sandys. New edition. Macmillan, 1912. 12s. 6d.

Epistulae Privatae Graecae quae in Papyris aetatis Lagidarum servantur. By S. Witkowski. Teubner, 1911. 3 Mk.

Kennt Aristoteles die sogenannte tragische Katharsis? By H. Oppe. Weidmann, 1912. 1 Mk. 60.

Das Märchen von Amor und Psyche bei Apuleius. By R. Reitzenstein. Teubner, 1912. 2 Mk. 60.

Homer in der Neuzeit. By G. Finsler. Teubner, 1912. 12 Mk.

Homerische Probleme. I. *Die kultorellen Verhältnisse der Odyssee als kritisches Instrument.* By F. Bilabel. Teubner, 1911. 5 Mk.

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. By W. H. Schoff. Longmans, 1912. 7s. 6d.

Higher Aspects of the Greek Religion. By L. R. Farnell. Williams and Norgate, 1912.

Αἱ περὶ Τερψιχορείας δοξασίαι τοῦ Πλάτωνος. By J. Chrysaphis. 'Hestia,' 1910.

Themis. By J. E. Harrison. Cambridge University Press. 1912.

Aristoteles' Nikomachische Ethik, übersetzt von Eug. Rolfes. Meiner, 1911. 3 Mk. 20.

Aristoteles Ueber die Seele, übersetzt von A. Busse. Meiner, 1911. 2 Mk. 20.

Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Metaphysik des Aristoteles. By W. W. Jaeger. Weidmann, 1912. 5 Mk.

The Agamemnon of Aeschylus: verse translation, introduction, and notes by W. Headlam, ed. by A. C. Pearson. Cambridge University Press, 1910. 6s. 6d. net.

Nomisma V. VI. Mayer und Müller, 1910. 4 Mk. 50.

Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language. By J. Wright. Oxford University Press, 1912.

The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore. By CHR. BLINKENBERG. Cambridge University Press, 1911. 5s.

General Index to the Archæological Reports of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Vols. I–XVIII. By W. L. NASH. 1912. 4s.

Short Popular History of Crete. By J. H. FREEZE. Jarrold, 1907.

Olympie. By C. GASPAR. Hachette, 1905.

Auf Alexanders des Grossen Pfaden. By A. JANKE. Weidmann, 1904.

Römische Säulensprüche. By R. C. KUKULA. Teubner, 1911. 3 Mk.

Vom alten Rom. By E. PETERSEN. Seemann, 1911. 3 Mk.

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Service des Antiquités.
(1) *Statues u. Statuetten von Königen u. Privatleute.* I. By L. BORCHARDT. 1911.
(2) *Objets de Toilette.* I. By G. BÉNÉDITE. 1911.

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie. Inscriptions grecques et latines. By E. BRECCIA. 1911.

Les Temples Immergés de la Nubie. Service des Antiquités.
(1) *Le Temple de Kalabchah.* I., II. By M. H. GAUTHIER. 1911.
(2) *Déhod bis Kalabsche.* 2 vols. By M. GÜNTHER ROEDER. 1911.
(3) *Rapports relatifs à la Consolidation des Temples.* By G. MASPERO. 8 vols. 1911.

Pre-Dynastic Cemetery of El-Mahasna. By E. R. AYRTON and W. L. S. LOAT. Egypt Exploration Fund. 1911.

Antiquities of Chutia Sitts. I. By J. PH. VOGEL. Super. Govt. Printing, Calcutta. 1911. £1 13s.

Erster Vorläufiger Bericht über die ... Ausgrabungen in Samos. By TH. WIEGAND. K. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Berlin. 1911.

Pythagoras and the Doctrine of Transmigration. By A. B. KEITH. Roy. Asiatic Soc.

Inscribed Cyprian Orations. Ed. E. S. FORSTER. Clarendon Press, 1912. 7s. 6d.

Répertoire d'Art et d'Archéologie. Index, 1910; Pts I–IV, 1911.

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AND BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

ON THE MEANING OF THE WORD ΘΥΜΕΛΗ.[1]

THE word *θυμέλη* has attracted much attention from scholars owing to its importance in connexion with the Greek theatre. Discussion, however, has not led to any agreement as to the meaning of the word. Drs. Doerpfeld and Reisch held that it meant an altar or its foundation[2]: Dr. Doerpfeld now expresses the opinion that it was a pavement round the altar which served to connect the altar with the temple of the god to whom it belonged, and was at the same time convenient for the slaughtering of the victims.[3] This platform was called at Olympia the *πρόθυσις*. On the other hand, Prof. C. Robert[4] believes the real meaning of the word to be 'foundation,' and that it might be used in this sense of any structure, whether house, altar, or temple. Mr. A. B. Cook[5] holds that the word might be applied to either form of the Dionysiac altar, whether it was a *βωμός* or merely a *τράπεζα* for the reception of offerings. This view is followed by Haigh.[6]

These investigators are interested in the word for its theatrical use, and are concerned with its occurrence in other contexts only in so far as these may shed light on its technical dramatic significance. The first sense of the word given in modern dictionaries is 'altar': Stephanus tells us that it is *Altare, quoniam supra eo sacra fiunt*, and Liddell and Scott give 'a place for sacrifice, an altar,' as the first meaning. This officially recognised meaning contains a part of the truth and for some passages supplies us with at least an approximately correct rendering. In some cases, however, the translation 'altar' is impossible, and we have a further batch of theories and interpretations derived from commentators on such passages. Musgrave, from an examination of the passages where the word occurs, pronounced it to have meant originally 'a great and splendid hall, whether in a king's house or in a temple.'[7] Mr. Keene, who records this judgment with approval,

[1] Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are quoted in the following pages from the texts of Wecklein, Jebb, and Murray, respectively.

[2] Doerpfeld and Reisch, *Das Griechische Theater*, pp. 278 ff.; cf. *Hermes*, xxxvii. p. 250.

[3] *Thymele und Skene* (*Hermes*, xxxvii. pp. 249 ff.) with extant examples of this 'Fussboden.' K. O. Müller held that this platform was included in the meaning of the word θυμέλη (*Eum. Diss.* p. 249).

[4] *Zur Theatrefrage* (*Hermes*, xxxii. pp. 421 ff.). Whenever the views of Doerpfeld and Robert are in question in the following pages, the reference (which I have not thought it necessary to repeat on each occasion) is to these two articles in *Hermes*.

[5] *Classical Review*, ix. pp. 370 ff.

[6] *Attic Theatre*,[3] p. 80.

[7] Quoted by Dindorf and Keene at Eur. *El.* 713.

prefers however to translate the word 'altars or shrines.' Mr. Tucker thinks that in another place it means 'seats,'[8] and in yet another Mr. Bayfield pronounces it to mean 'the temple steps.'[9] Later on in the same play he translates it 'platform.'[10]

These few examples chosen at random will suffice to show that there is still room for discussion as to the real meaning of the word. I believe, moreover, that its original and fundamental meaning can still be detected, and that it will explain all the passages in which the word occurs apart from its technical use in connexion with the theatre. This establishment of the fundamental meaning may not throw much light on the technical use, but it is clear that the original signification must be established before we can guess at the applied usages, and that, when we know this original meaning, we shall be able to form some judgment of the theories which have been put forth to account for its application to the theatre.

I propose in this paper to discuss first the original meaning of the word in so far as it can be detected from its etymological origin. I shall then proceed to examine the passages in which the word occurs in literature, two inscriptions in which it is found, and, finally, very briefly, its use in connexion with the Greek theatre.

I.—*The Etymology.*

The etymology of the word *θυμέλη* does not seem open to very much doubt. In antiquity, one writer after another[11] connects it with the verb *θύειν*, and this derivation is accepted by almost all modern scholars. The only dissentients are, in antiquity, authors of glosses in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and in Cramer's *Anecdota*,[12] who suggest *τίθημι*, but (in one case certainly and in the other probably) only as an alternative to *θύω*. In recent times Robert[13] and Tucker[14] also dissent. The former, accepting the alternative mentioned above, wishes to connect the word with *θεμέλιον*, while the latter suggests *θοάζειν*.

Of the etymological merits of these suggestions I am not competent to judge, but the interpretations of the word to which they lead are untenable on other grounds, and it will suffice to point out here that the sense 'sacrificial cakes' given to *θυμέλη* by Pherecrates (*fr.* 214 K.) is inexplicable on either of these hypotheses. I shall therefore accept the etymology given no less by the three most recent etymological dictionaries[15] than by Suidas, Hesychius and the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and I shall now discuss the meaning of the word *θύειν*.

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[8] Ad Aesch. *Suppl.* 675 (p. 133).
[9] Ad Eur. *Ion* 46.
[10] Ib. 228.
[11] *Et. Magn.*, Suid., Hesych., Zonaras, s.v., *Bekk. An.* p. 12. 32., Schol. Greg. Nazianz. 355 b., Porph. *de Abstin.* ii. 59.
[12] ii. 489. Eustathius p. 722, 25, cited by Robert, seems entirely irrelevant.
[13] *Hermes*, xxxiii. p. 44).
[14] ad Aesch. *Suppl.* 675.
[15] Meyer, *Gr. Etym.* (1901); Prellwitz, *Etym. Wörterb.* ed. 2 (1905); Boisacq, *Dict. Etym. Gr.* (1910).

The meaning of the word *θυμέλη* given in the lexicons is, as has been said, 'altar.' This interpretation is no doubt derived from the fact that *θύειν* means 'to sacrifice,' and it is encouraged by the fact that there are places where *θυμέλη* may be translated 'altar' without damage to the sense of the passage. But was 'to sacrifice' the original and fundamental meaning of the verb? A brief inquiry suffices to show that it was not, for the ancient grammarians had already observed that it does not bear that meaning in Homer. The Homeric *θύειν* they commonly paraphrase by the word *θυμιᾶν*, while *θυηλαί* are explained as *ἀπαρχαί*.[16] That is to say, *θύειν* means, not as in later Greek to slaughter for sacrifice, nor even to offer up the slaughtered beast: it means, in the words of Athenaeus,[17] *ἀπαρχὰς τῶν βρωμάτων νέμειν τοῖς θεοῖς*. Thus when Achilles

θεοῖσι . . . θῦσαι ἀνώγει
Πάτροκλον ὃν ἑταῖρον· ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς,[18]

the rite performed is that which Odysseus remembers even before his humble meal of cheese in the cave of the Cyclops,[19] and the sequel is not a sacrifice but a banquet.

Again, when the pious Eumaeus entertains Odysseus, the preliminaries of the meal appear to be, first, a sacrifice preceded by offerings of *ἀπαρχαί*, and then the ritual which we have already seen at the feast of Achilles and the meal of Odysseus (here described in the phrase *ἄργματα θῦσε θεοῖς αἰειγενέτῃσι*),[20] accompanied by libations.

Such *θύη* could be offered at other times than before a meal: Telemachus makes them before setting sail,[21] Hecuba before offering a robe to Athena,[22] and they are enumerated among the various methods of propitiating the deity in the lines:

θυέεσσι καὶ εὐχωλῇς ἀγανῇσι
λοιβῇ τε κνίσῃ τε[23]

that is, with offerings (for so we may translate *θύη*), and with prayers, with libations and with sacrifices.[24]

This ritual of burnt offering,[25] consisting in Homer probably of cereal

[16] Schol. A. V. and Town. ad I 219., Plutarch, *Comm. Not.* 26., Porph. *de Abstin.* ii. 59, Eustath. p. 1767. 13, Suid. and Hesych. s.v. *θύειν*, Phot. *Lex.* s.v. *θύειν*, Ammonius p. 132., Zonaras, s.v., *θυηλαί*. Bekk. *An.* pp. 42, 14 and 44, 14. See Lehrs, *De Aristarchi*,[3] pp. 82 ff., Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, pp. 4 ff., Fritze, *De hecatombis*, pp. 2 f. According to Bekk. *An.* p. 42, 19, this meaning was found also in the Old Comedy (cf. Kock, *C.A.F.* III. p. 408, *fr. adesp.* 34).

[17] v. 179 b.; the word is of course also used of bloodless offerings in later times.

[18] I 219.

[19] ι 231. cf. Suidas s.v. *ἄθυτα*. I 219 and ι 231 are both cited by Athenaeus *l.c.*

[20] 446.

[21] ο 222, 260.

[22] Z 270.

[23] I 499 f. cf. Hesiod, *W. D.* 336 ff., Aesch. *fr.* 161 W.

[24] It is not clear that Homer would call the *ἀπαρχαί* which precede a sacrifice *θύη*, for he only uses the word of a separate ritual or the rite before a meal. The *ἀπαρχαί* before a sacrifice include the foreleck of the victim (*e.g.* I 422).

[25] Lehrs (*l.c.*) and Ebeling (*Lex. Hom.* s.v. *θύω*) suggest that the ritual of *θύειν* is not necessarily of burnt offering at all, basing their view on ο 258 and 260. The special kindling of a fire in the cave of the Cyclops seems, however, to make this improbable. The libations

offerings only,[26] seems to have left its mark upon the word *θυμέλη*, which Pherecrates[27] is recorded to have used in the sense of *θυλήματα*—ritual cakes of barley meal (*ἄλφιτα*), wine, and oil. We may, however, suspect that the Homeric use of the verb *θύειν* does not give us the primary meaning of the word, and that originally it meant simply 'to burn.' This meaning, probable enough in itself, will be certain if we accept the word as a doublet of the other *θύειν* which means 'to move rapidly.' The etymological identity of the two words has been accepted by most etymologists since Curtius, and it seems likely that the meaning developed from that of rapid motion through that of burning to the specialised sense of ritual burning. That there was a stage at which it meant simply to burn is further suggested by its analogy with *θυμιᾶν* and the Latin *fumus*.[28]

This early meaning of the word seems to me reasonably certain, and I believe *θυμέλη*, the place where *θύει τις*, to be simply the place of fire. To establish this meaning, however, it is not necessary to take the conjectural step backward with regard to the meaning of *θύειν*. Where do the various persons in the Homeric poems offer *θύη*? Patroclus casts them on the fire in or in front of Achilles's hut, Eumaeus offers them on the domestic hearth—the *ἐσχάρα* or, as it was more usually called in later times, the *ἑστία*. Odysseus kindles a fire in the cave of the Cyclops, and Telemachus may be supposed to do the same on the shore when *θῦε Ἀθήνῃ | νηὶ παρὰ πρύμνῃ*.[29] The only case where there is any reason to suppose an altar is that of Hecuba, whose *θύη* are actually offered in a temple. The fire kindled on the ground or the domestic hearth, a place of much sanctity, is a far older and more primitive place of burnt offering than any altar, and in the *θύη* we have to deal with a ritual older and simpler than the stately sacrifices at which

θεῷ κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην
ἕξείης ἕστησαν εὐδμήτου περὶ βωμόν.[30]

The place for the Homeric *θύη* is simply a fire: an altar fire would no doubt serve as well as any other, but it was not necessary nor is there any reason to suppose it even preferable. The Greek for the place of fire is *ἐσχάρα* or *ἑστία*, and the investigation of the etymology furnishes us with sufficient evidence to justify a working hypothesis that *θυμέλη* is equivalent in meaning to these words and not to *βωμός*.

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are not necessarily identical with the *θύη* in the passages to which they refer, and that libations and *θύη* are in fact not identical is proved by I 499 f. quoted above. (cf. § 446 f.) Against Lehrs's view see Stengel, *op. cit.* p. 63[1], Fritze, *op. cit.* pp. 3 f.

[26] Stengel, however (*op. cit.* p. 8), thinks it may sometimes include meal-offerings. The evidence, though not conclusive, seems to me to be against this view.

[27] Fr. 214 K. Hesychius also records *θυμέλαι· τὰ ἄλφιτα τὰ ἐπιθύματα.*

[28] Cf. Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wörterb.* p. 212.

[29] o 222 f.

[30] A. 447 f. The transition between hearth and altar as place of sacrifice may perhaps still be traced. The great altar at Olympia, for example, was made of ashes upon a sort of round or elliptical platform—it was, in fact, a sort of glorified hearth. (Pausan. v. 13. 8. Plut. *Mor.* 433 b.) Pausanias adds: *καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ τέφραι γάρ δή ἐστι καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ τῇ Σαμίᾳ βωμὸς οὗτος τὸν ἀνιφανέστερον ἢ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐκ αὐτοσχεδίας Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἐσχάρας.*

Let us now take this hypothesis and see how it squares with the evidence supplied by the examples of the word. There are nine places in Greek literature where the word *θυμέλη* clearly occurs without reference to the part of the theatre so called. They are all in tragedy and four of them are in the *Ion* of Euripides. These four it will be convenient to deal with last because they involve considerations of the topography of the *Ion* and necessitate a digression. The other five may be taken in the order most convenient for this special purpose, and we will begin with the passage which is the strongest *prima facie* evidence for the meaning 'altar.'

II.—*Examples of the Word in Tragedy.*

(i) Euripides, *Supplices* v. 64 f.

προσπίπτου-
σα προσαιτοῦσ' ἔμολον δε-
ξιπύρους θεῶν θυμέλας.

That the word may here mean 'altars,' I do not propose to deny, but it must be pointed out that this admission in no way prejudices the view that its original and fundamental meaning is 'hearth,' for both *ἑστία* and *ἐσχάρα* are sometimes used in poetry as the exact equivalent for 'altar.'[21] This point four quotations will suffice to establish.

Aesch. *Sept.* 261.

μηλοισιν αἱμάσσοντας ἑστίας θεῶν.

Soph. *O.C.* 1491 ff.

εἶτ' ἄκρα
περὶ γύαλ' ἐναλίῳ
Ποσειδωνίῳ θεῷ τυγχάνεις
βούθυτον ἑστίαν ἁγίζων.

Eur. *Alc.* 119 ff.

θεῶν δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάραις
οὐκ ἔχω ἐπί τινα
μηλοθύταν πορευθῶ.

Ar. *Av.* 1231 f.

φράσουσα θύειν τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς
μηλοσφαγεῖν τε βουθύτοις ἐπ' ἐσχάραις.

Thus, since *ἑστία* and *ἐσχάρα* may both be used of altars, there is no reason to doubt that *θυμέλη*, if it is a synonym of these words, may have undergone

[21] The precise difference between *ἑστία* or *ἐσχάρα* and *βωμός* in appearance is explained by Eustathius (p. 1575, 40; cf. Steph. Byz. p. 128 (Died.), *Eckk. An.* p. 256, 32, and lexicographers s.v. *ἐσχάρα*), the difference in ritual usage between *ἐσχάρα* and *βωμός* by Porphyry (*Ant. Nymph.* 6, cf. Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 274, Pollux i. 8, Ammonius s.v. *βωμός*). The accounts require, however, some modification: see for the whole subject Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1662 ff., vi. 614 ff.

a similar extension of meaning, but the meaning 'altar,' if it occurs, is in my opinion secondary.

Thus, if the *θυμέλαι* of the *Supplices* really are altars, our hypothesis still remains unshaken. It is, however, worth inquiring whether the word is really used here as a mere poetical synonym for *βωμός*, as are *ἑστία* and *ἐσχάρα* in the passages quoted above, and whether the rest of the play throws any light on the object or objects called *θυμέλαι*.

Further inspection shows that these objects are named in two other places in the play and that in both they are called 'hearths' not 'altars.' In the Prologue Aethra says:

> *τυγχάνω δ' ὑπὲρ χθονὸς*
> *ἀρότου προθύουσ', ἐκ δόμων ἐλθοῦσ' ἐμῶν*
> *πρὸς τόνδε σηκόν, ἔνθα πρῶτα φαίνεται*
> *φρίξας ὑπὲρ γῆς τῇσδε κάρπιμος στάχυς.*
> *δεσμὸν δ' ἄδεσμον τόνδ' ἔχουσα φυλλάδος*
> *μένω πρὸς ἁγναῖς ἐσχάραις ὀνοῖν θεαῖν*
> *Κόρης τε καὶ Δήμητρος.*[32]

and later on the *θυμέλαι* are called *σεμναὶ Δηοῦς ἐσχάραι*.[33] The fact that they (for the consistent plural does suggest that more than one object is meant) are called hearths and not altars[34] can hardly be without significance, and the evidence of this play must be regarded as corroborative of the theory that *θυμέλη* means primarily 'hearth' and not 'altar.'

The precise significance of the hearth at Eleusis does not here concern us, and I will content myself with pointing out that the evidence for a hearth or hearths is by no means confined to this play. The words *ἑστία* and *ἐσχάρα* both occur in connexion with Eleusinian ceremonies—as is indeed not unnatural since the cult is Chthonian and the hearth corresponds in Chthonian cults to the altars in Olympian.[35] Indeed the opening line of this very play addresses Demeter as:

> *Δήμητερ ἑστιοῦχ' Ἐλευσῖνος χθονός.*

We know moreover that one of the attendants or officials at the mysteries was known as *ὁ ἀφ' ἑστίας παῖς*[36] and we hear also of a certain priest named Archias who was punished for sacrilege because *Σινώπῃ τῇ ἑταίρᾳ Ἀλφοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας τῆς ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ Ἐλευσῖνι προσαγούσῃ ἱερεῖον θύσειεν*, on a

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[32] l. 28 ff. The precise spot at which the scene is laid cannot be determined. A comparison of l. 31 (quoted above) with Paus. i. 38, 6 suggests that Euripides may be thinking of the so-called Rarian plain, but this place cannot be located with any precision.

[33] l. 290.

[34] l. 93 *μετέρχεται γεραιὸν Ἐκφορίαν ἑδράνων* can hardly be regarded as significant.

[35] Porph. *Abst. Nymph.* 6 *ἐν γὰρ τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς ναοί τε καὶ ἕδη καὶ βωμοὶ ἱδρύσαντο, χθονίοις δὲ καὶ ἡρωσὶν ἐσχάραι, ὑπαιθρίοις δὲ βόθροι καὶ μέγαρα.* On a supposed *ἐσχάρα* from a grave see *Arch. f. Religionsw.* vol. xiii. pp. 191 ff.

[36] Harpocrat. *s.v.* *ἀφ' ἑστίας μυεῖσθαι*, *Bekk. An.* p. 264, 19, Porph. *de Abstin.* iv. 5, and inscriptions. The explanation, given by Dr. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States*, vol. iii. p. 164) and others, that he was so called from the hearth in the Athenian Prytaneum, seems to me unconvincing.

day when blood offerings were illegal and when the ceremony should have been performed by a priestess.[37]

Finally, it may be remarked that a well-known myth deals with a hearth at Eleusis, the hearth on which Demeter laid the child Demophon or, according to another account, Triptolemus, in order to confer immortality on him.

(ii) We may consider next a passage from the *Rhesus* (234 f.), where also the meaning 'altar' appears to be considered quite satisfactory. The passage runs,

κάμψειε πάλιν θυμέλας οἴ-
κων πατρὸς Ἰλιάδας,

and the meaning is 'may he [Dolon] return safe home again.' It must, however, be pointed out that the word habitually used in this connexion is not 'altar' but 'hearth.' In Euripides alone the word *ἑστία* is used over twenty times to signify 'house' or 'home,' the word *βωμός* never. The use of *ἑστία* in this connexion hardly needs illustration.[38] So thoroughly was the hearth identified with the home that Euripides can even speak of *πατρῷον θάλαμον ἑστίας*.[39] Elsewhere we hear a good deal of *θεοὶ πατρῷοι*[40] and once or twice of their altars, but the only phrase known to me which would lend any colour to the interpretation 'altars' in the *Rhesus* occurs in Cassandra's lament in the *Agamemnon*:[41]

βωμοῦ πατρῴου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μέσαι
†θερμῷ κοπείσης φοινίῳ προσφάγματι.†

In this passage, however, there is no general reference to the altars in the house of Priam, nor does the phrase mean 'my father's house.' The allusion is to the altar of Zeus Ἕρκειος,[42] at which Priam himself was slain.

As to the plural *θυμέλαι*, if we do not regard it as merely vague or as grammatically equivalent to a singular (and there is reason to believe that, like *οἶκοι* in this very passage, the word is sometimes so used), we may suppose it to include the other altars in the house besides the domestic hearth. To take a Euripidean illustration, when Alcestis prepares for death, it is to the hearth of her house that she goes first to offer her prayers. When these are finished, she goes round the other altars in the house, but that the hearth is more important than they, is shown by its precedence and by the space devoted to it in the servant's description of Alcestis's acts.[43] Such other secondary altars we may, if we choose, include among the *θυμέλαι*

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[37] [Dem.] p. 1385. Hesychius's gloss. Ἑλαφηβόλια· ἑορτὴ Θηκλείδαι ἐτήσιος Δήμητρι παρὰ Δάφνοις is perhaps a mere coincidence.

[38] I will note only the passages in Euripides where it occurs in conjunction with the adjective *πατρῷος*: *Alc.* 738, *Med.* 681, *Her.* 22. The interpretation of *θυμέλη* as 'hearth' in *Rhes.* 234 is obvious and a gloss on the line actually gives *ἑστίαν*.

[39] *Troad.* 1111; cf. *Andr.* 593.

[40] Aesch. *Sept.* 1009, *fr.* 182 W., Soph. *O.C.* 756, *Ant.* 859, *Track.* 288, 753, Eur. *Phoen.* 604, *Heraclid.* 877, *fr.* 818 N².

[41] 1276 f.

[42] Mentioned e.g. in Eur. *Troad.* 16 f.

[43] Eur. *Alc.* 162 ff.

of the *Rhesus*. It is, however, obviously easier to speak of altars as 'hearths' if the first and most important of the objects mentioned is really a hearth and only an altar in that burnt offerings were sometimes made at it.[44] As I have said, the word *θυμέλη*, like *ἑστία* and *ἐσχάρα*, may sometimes pass into the meaning 'altar,' but little evidence for that meaning is to be derived either from the *Supplices* or the *Rhesus*.

(iii) The next passage to be considered need not delay us long. It is to be found in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* (l. 151):

σεῖε χαλινούς
ἐπὶ Κυκλώπων εἰς θυμέλας.

Here the 'thymelae of the Cyclopes' stand for Mycenae or Argos. The translations favoured by commentators are 'walls' (Stephanus, Musgrave), 'masses of wall' (L. and S.), 'foundations of walls' (Robert), 'massive masonry' (Paley, Bayfield), 'homes' (C. E. S. Headlam), 'temples' (England). The passage itself supplies us with no criteria for determining the nature of the Thymelae, and we can only ask whether the rendering 'hearths' would be intelligible. Fortunately, the answer to this question is not a matter of conjecture.

ἰὼὼ Κυκλωπὶς ἑστία· ἰὼ πατρὶς,
Μυκήνα φίλα,

says Iphigenia in the other Euripidean play which bears her name.[45]

What was meant by the 'hearth of the Cyclopes' can hardly be determined; it may have been either a real hearth, or it may have been called by this name much as we say 'the Devil's kitchen' or 'king Arthur's seat.' One might perhaps hazard a conjecture that some beehive tomb was meant, for, as we shall presently see, there is reason to connect both hearths and *θυμέλαι* with round buildings.[46] However this may be, the important point in connexion with the passage is that it lends considerable support to the theory of the meaning of *θυμέλη* here proposed.[47]

(iv) The next passage is unfortunately corrupt at the crucial place. I give it therefore with its immediate context, which must be taken into account in our discussion of the meaning.

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[44] Plutarch, *Quaest. Hex.* 73 βωμὸν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ (ἡ ἑστία) τῶν θεῶν, καὶ καθημερινῶν θυσιῶν καὶ συνεδρίων ἐνδέχεται. Eustath. p. 1575, 30, Aristid. i. p. 491 (Dind.) cf. Plato *Legg.* xii. p. 955 e.

[45] *I. T.* 345.

[46] For the connexion of the Cyclopes and Mycenae cf. Eur. *Orest.* 965, *H. F.* 945 with scholia on the former: Paus. vii. 25. 6, Nonnus xli. 268 f., Hesych. s.v. Κυκλώπων ἕδος. A possible parallel to this use of Κυκλωπὶς ἑστία, Κυκλώπων θυμέλαι for Mycenae is the name of the town Μεθυσσεννία.

[47] A comparison of these passages furnishes some further grounds for thinking that θυμέλαι in the plural may be used of a single object. It must, however, be said that the reading of *I. T.* 345 given above is due to Hermann. The MSS. have Σ Κυκλωπίδων ἑστία. Σ πατρὶς, except that L has ἰὼ with the ι erased. Hermann's restoration of an iambic trimeter is accepted by Wecklein, Murray, Schneider, and other editors, but a few, such as Paley and Nauck, prefer to adhere to the MSS. and to regard the phrase as a dochmius.

Aesch. *Suppl.* 671 ff.

"Ηβας δ' ἄνθος ἄδρεπτον
ἔστων μηδ' Ἀφροδίτας
εἰνάτωρ βροτολοιγὸς Ἄ-
ρης κέρσειεν ἄωτον.
†καὶ γεραροῖσι πρεσβυ-
τοδόκοι γεμόντων
θυμέλαι φλεγόντων.†
τὼς πόλις εὖ νέμοιτο
Ζῆνα μέγαν σεβόντων.
τὸν ξένιον δ' ὑπέρτατον,
ὃς πολιῷ νόμῳ αἶσαν ὑρθοῖ

Here most commentators cling to the rendering 'altars' for the word *θυμέλαι*. To this Mr. Tucker objects that altars could not be called *πρεσβυτοδόκοι* (though of this I do not feel very confident), and, what is more to the point, that altars are irrelevant to the context. Moreover it may be pointed out that the chorus say what they have to say about altars a few lines further on (702 f.):

εὐφήμοις δ' ἐπὶ βωμοῖς
μοῦσαν θεῖατ' ἀοιδοί.

Headlam in his translation gives 'the altar steps that receive the elders,' and quotes the phrase *ἀνδροδόκων βάθρων* from Paulus Silentiarius.[48] Again, however, the objection to 'altars' on the ground of irrelevance holds good, and the steps to which Paulus Silentiarius refers are those of an ambo, not of an altar. Liddell and Scott give *γεραροί* as a substantive meaning 'priests,' but this meaning is merely an inference from the present passage, nor does it derive material support from the fact that certain priestesses of Dionysus were called *γέραιραι*. Mr. Tucker himself, rejecting any reference to priests or altars, wishes to translate 'seats' (connecting the word, as has been said, with *θοάζειν*), and he considers the reference to be to the *Κυκλώπων θυμέλαι* of our last passage. He says: 'It is quite possible that, as in the names of old things old words survive, *Κυκλώπων θυμέλαι* may originally mean "*seats* of the Cyclopes," and that Aeschylus in referring to Argos, where some such masonry was well known, uses the word as a semi-proper noun, "the Thymelae."' He supposes that these 'Thymelae' served either as a *λέσχη* or as a Bouleuterion. This interpretation is suggested perhaps by Bergk, who wished to introduce the word *Κυκλώπων* into the text, and it resembles that of Robert, who, supposing that *θυμέλη* = *θεμέλιον*, guesses the meaning here to be 'das *κρηπίδωμα* des Bouleuterion oder vielleicht geradezu die Sitze der Rathsherrn.' Against Mr. Tucker's view I would urge that there is no reason to regard *θυμέλη* as an archaic word, that there is no other passage which supports the meaning 'seat,' and that the 'Thymelae of the Cyclopes' were, as we have already seen, neither walls nor seats, but a hearth or hearths.

[48] *Ambo* 188 (Friedlaender).

The context of the passage shows that we want, as Mr. Tucker has observed, a reference to the wisdom of ancient counsellors. On these grounds I propose the following explanation. *θυμέλαι*, as in other passages, means 'hearth' or 'hearths' (again I feel some doubt as to whether it is singular or plural in meaning). The reference is to the public hearth of the city and perhaps also to the private hearths of citizens. The public hearth, on which burnt the sacred undying fire, stood in the Prytaneum, and it is called *πρεσβυτοδόκος* in reference to the meals there provided for distinguished citizens and officials, state guests, ambassadors, and others.

This *σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ* at Athens is familiar from Aristophanes and need not be illustrated at length here:

> Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 763 *ἐπὶ μεγάλαις κατορθώμασι τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην Ἀθηναῖοι παρεῖχαν τοῖς ἀγαθόν τι εὐεργετήσασιν αὐτούς.*
>
> Livy xli. 20 prytaneum, id est penetrale urbis ubi publice quibus is honos datus est vescuntur.

Our knowledge of it is mostly confined to the Athenian Prytaneum, but there is evidence from literature and inscriptions to show that it prevailed in all parts of the Greek world.[29] There does not seem to be any evidence actually with regard to Argos, but there is no reason to doubt that the custom prevailed there as in other places, and, even if it did not, the inaccuracy would hardly have troubled Aeschylus.

The hearth in the Prytaneum then is the gathering-place of the city's advisers (*ἄρχαιτες γὰρ ἑστιοῦχοῦσι πόλεως καὶ πολιτῶν σωτηρίας* says Charondas according to Stobaeus[30]), and it may be well to recall that in one of her aspects Hestia is *βουλαία*.[31] Sometimes no doubt she is so called in reference to the hearth in the council chamber[32] (and I do not wish to exclude this hearth from those contemplated by the poet) but in one case at least the epithet *βουλαία* seems to be associated with the hearth in the Prytaneum.[33]

If *θυμέλαι* means 'hearths' and not 'hearth,' we may include a reference to the domestic hearths of the city. These may be called *πρεσβυτοδόκοι*, because Aeschylus is contrasting the warlike youth of the city with the elderly counsellors whose days of active service are over. These are the householders, or, as they were sometimes called in Dorian and Aeolian states, *ἑστιοπαμόνες*.[34] The hearth is in short the centre and symbol both of public and private life. Hence the significance of Hestia in dreams: *Ἑστία αὐτῇ τε καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτῆς πολιτευομένοις μὲν τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν ἐνθήκην σημαίνει τῶν προσόδων, ἰδιώταις δὲ αὐτὰ τὸ ζῆν, ἄρχοντι δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς δύναμιν.*[35]

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[29] The evidence will be found in Roscher's *Lexikon*, col. 2833 ff.

[30] *Flor.* xliv. 40 (ii. p. 221 Gaisford).

[31] Aeschin. p. 228, Harpocrat. and Suidas s.v. *βουλαία*.

[32] Suidas s.v. *δέξαι*.

[33] *C.I.G.* 2340 b. *κ[λα]δίται δὲ αὐτοὺς κα[ὶ ἐπὶ] ξενισμὸν κ[ὶς] τὸ [πρυτανεῖ]ον ἐπὶ τὴν βουλαίαν ἑστίαν.* Cf. Λημᾶς *Μάθοιτ.* 28.

[34] Pollux i. 74, x. 20.

[35] Artemidorus *Oneirocr.* ii. 37.

At the risk of appearing fanciful, I will add that I believe Aeschylus to be conscious also of another function of the hearth in this passage. The hearth is the place to which the stranger and the refugee turn when in need of assistance,[56] and to this attribute the chorus have already alluded in the play. 'It is not at my hearth that ye are seated as suppliants,' says the king[57] when appealed to for assistance, 'and I may do my city a disservice by aiding you.' To this the chorus reply,

> *σὺ τοι πόλις, σὺ δὲ τὸ δήμιον,*
> *πρύτανις ἄκριτος ὤν,*
> *κρατύνεις δωμόν, ἑστίαν χθονός,*

and the word *πρύτανις* recalls at once the Prytaneum and the hearth already discussed.[58] The chorus have taken refuge at an altar which may be regarded as the hearth of the city and is later on called *ἑκεταδόκος*.[59]

That this significance of the hearth should be present in the minds of the chorus of suppliants is both natural in itself and seems to supply the connecting link of thought with what follows. The prayer of blessing starts with an appeal to Zeus Xenios and to this aspect of Zeus the singers revert in connexion with the other hope of strangers and suppliants, namely the hearth. It appears from Pindar that Zeus Xenios was sometimes worshipped actually in the Prytaneum, and the passage furnishes so remarkable a parallel to the sequence of thought which I detect in Aeschylus that I may perhaps be allowed to quote it at length. It is the prelude of the eleventh ode of the Nemean collection, and it celebrates the installation of a Prytanis at Tenedos.

> *Παῖ Ῥέας, ἃ τε πρυτανεῖα λελογχας, Ἑστία,*
> *Ζηνὸς ὑψίστου κασιγνήτα καὶ ὁμοθρόνου Ἥρας,*
> *εὖ μὲν Ἀμφιτρίταν δέξαι τεὸν ἐς θάλαμον,*
> *εὖ δ' ἑταίρους ἁγλαᾷ σκάπτῳ πέλας,*
> *οἵ σε γεραίροντες ὀρθὰν φυλάσσουσιν Τένεδον,*
> *πολλὰ μὲν λοιβαῖσιν ἀγαζόμενοι πρώταν θεῶν,*
> *πολλὰ δὲ κνίσᾳ· λύρα δὲ σφι βρέμεται καὶ ἀοιδά·*
> *καὶ ξενίου Διὸς ἄσκειται θέμις ἀενάοις*
> *ἐν τραπέζαις.*

The actual text of the Aeschylean chorus is perhaps lost beyond recall. Probably *γεμόντων* has replaced some substantive with which *γεραροῖσι* agrees, but how *γεμόντων* arises is less clear. It might be either a corruption of the lost word, or a gloss on some word which has become *φλεγόντων*,[60] or even, I think, a gloss on *φλεγῶντων* by someone who misunderstood the dative. *φλεγόντων* is so appropriate to the general associations of *θυμέλαι*

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[56] *e.g.* Hom. *η.* 160, Aesch. *Ag.* 1587, Thuc. i. 136, and for the *κοινὴ ἑστία* so used see Plut. *Mor.* 284 b and the implication in the passage quoted immediately below. Cf. also Appian *Mithrid.* 28.

[57] l. 370 ff.

[58] Dr. Fraser detects in the hearth of the Prytaneum, the hearth of the king's house. See his article in *Journ. Phil.* xiv. pp. 145 ff.

[59] l. 721.

[60] Hermann suggests *φλεόντων*, which Headlam accepts. For a 'crowded hearth' cf. perhaps Aristoph. *fr.* 359 K.; but it is not clear that *φλεόντων* could bear this meaning.

that I should part with it somewhat reluctantly, though the interpretation here proposed in no way depends on it.

(v) Eur. *Electra*, 713 ff.

θυμέλαι δ' ἐπίτναντο χρυ-
σήλατοι
σελαγεῖτο δ' ἀν' ἄστυ πῦρ
ἐπιβώμιον Ἀργείων.

This passage has puzzled investigators, and we find in consequence a large number of different explanations of the word *θυμέλαι*. Liddell and Scott tell us that it means 'shrines.' Robert supposes it to be the 'cella of the temple.' Paley translates 'the altar steps were carpet-spread.' Keene, in his large edition of the *Electra*, says *θυμέλαι* means 'altars or shrines,' and finally Doerpfeld, taking heart of grace from the dissensions of others, pronounces for 'goldgetriebene Geräthe,' perhaps including 'tischartige Untersätze für kleine Altäre oder die Altäre selbst.'

All of these views, except that of Doerpfeld, may be discredited by consideration of the word *χρυσήλατος*. *χρυσήλατος* is used of goldsmith's work, and applied elsewhere to the *ἐπίσημον* of an elaborate shield,[52] to the brooches with which Oedipus destroyed his eyes,[53] and to the oracular tripod at Delphi.[54] This fact alone seems to preclude the translations 'temples,' 'shrines,' 'temple steps,' and even 'altars,' for I know of no evidence for gold, gilt,[55] or even metal altars in Greece. Doerpfeld's view is not open to this objection, but it may safely be rejected on the ground that it here ascribes to *θυμέλη* a meaning found nowhere else and only to be connected by a feat of imagination with what is, on Doerpfeld's own view, the original meaning of the word.

The true explanation I take to be as follows. *θυμέλαι* still means 'hearths,' though it can hardly be represented by that word in English; neither can it be represented indifferently by *ἑστία* or *ἐσχάρα* as in the previous instances, for in the sense it here bears *ἑστία* is not found. It means small portable hearths, the ordinary name for which is *ἐσχάραι* or more often *ἐσχαρίδες*, and it may perhaps be translated 'braziers.'

Portable *ἐσχάραι* are known, and there is record of such objects being gilded,[56] but these are probably exceptional. The ordinary term is, as has been said, *ἐσχαρίς*,[57] and these objects can hardly have been used for actual sacrifice. We hear of someone *ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ κατασπένδων* on one,[57] and they were no doubt suitable for *θύη* in the Homeric sense of the word.[58] The

[52] Aesch. *S. c. T.* 631.

[53] Soph. *O. T.* 1268, Eur. *Phoen.* 62.

[54] Ar. *Plut.* 9. Similarly *ἀργυρήλατος* of drinking vessels: Aesch. *fr.* 185 W., Eur. *Ion* 1181.

[55] I except the gilded *βαναὶ* carried in Ptolemy Philadelphus's absurd procession, where everything was gold, silver, or gilt (Athen. v. 202 b). There are no evidence for ordinary practice. Herodotus (i. 183) mentions a gold altar at Babylon.

[56] Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3. 12, Eustath. p. 1575, 42.

[57] Also *ἐσχάρων*: Pollux x. 65 and 101, Eustath. p. 1523, 30.

[57] Plut. *Crass.* 16.

[58] Cf. Plut. *Pupl.* 17.

ἐσχαρίς seems to have been almost or quite identical with the *θυμιατήριον*,[69] a word whose etymological connexion with *θυμέλη* is worth recalling. These small braziers or censers were often made of metal: we find, in inscriptions containing temple inventories, frequent mention of bronze ἐσχαρίδες and we have records of a silver ἐσχαρίς in a Delian inventory,[70] and a note of the dedication of a gold one at the temple of the Didymean Apollo.[71]

The meaning of the *Electra* passage will therefore be: 'The braziers of beaten gold were set out, and the altar fires flashed through the city of the Argives.' The use of *πίτνημι* remains rather remarkable,[72] but this difficulty is common to most, if not all, of the explanations hitherto proposed and it is not, I think, a very serious one.[73]

(vi) The four remaining examples of the word *θυμέλη* in tragedy belong to the *Ion* of Euripides. Discussion of them is complicated by many uncertainties as to Delphian topography and ritual, which it would take too long to discuss here. I shall therefore outline the facts necessary for the discussion of these passages as briefly as possible, and avoid entering upon controversy more than is absolutely necessary.

The temple at Delphi consisted of at least two parts—an outer and an inner, which I shall call respectively the cella and the adytum.[74] In the cella Pausanias[75] saw, among other objects, an altar of Poseidon and the hearth of Apollo upon which Neoptolemus was killed. The adytum contained a golden statue of Apollo, but according to Pausanias few entered it, and it is probable that he did not do so himself. Inside the temple, probably in the cella, stood the famous Omphalos,[76] and outside, facing the east façade, was the great altar. This altar, a dedication of the Chians, is mentioned both by Herodotus[77] and by Pausanias,[78] and its remains have been found by the French excavators. It is here that Creusa may be supposed to take sanctuary towards the end of the *Ion*.[79]

The passage in the *Ion* which gives us most information as to the position of the *θυμέλη* occurs shortly after the entrance of the chorus. The

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[69] Cf. Pollux x. 65.

[70] *B.C.H.* xiv. p. 411.

[71] *C.I.G.* ii. 2850.

[72] Cf. on general grounds Bion i. 88 (ἀνετάνυσσαι) and perhaps Pindar *fr.* 182 (πίτνασι). A possible alternative is to suppose that ἐπέτασσε means 'were opened'—like the θυμιατήριον on the British Museum vase F 228.

It is a matter of indifference whether we regard the θυμέλαι and the σὺν ἐσχάραισιν as belonging to the same or to different rites. According to Antiphanes (*fr.* 104 K) incense was an invariable adjunct at sacrifices of hecatombs (cf. the r.-f. vase in the British Museum E 269), and the burning of incense by itself was also common (*e.g.* Eur. *Ion.* 89 f.).

[73] Whether there was also a third chamber containing the oracular tripod need not be discussed here as it is irrelevant to my purpose. The existence of an adytum has been denied, so far as I am aware, only by Mr. Oppé (*J.H.S.* xxiv. pp. 214 ff.) and his arguments appear to me quite inconclusive.

[74] x. 24. 4. The temple seen by Pausanias is, it is true, not that known to Euripides (see Dr. Frazer's note: *Pausanias* vol. v. pp. 328 ff.). I accept, however, Pausanias's statements as evidence for the main features of the earlier temple, since they harmonise on the whole with the earlier evidence, and it is not very likely that the general plan of so celebrated a temple was much modified after the sixth century.

[75] See Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. pp. 316 f.

[76] ii. 135.

[77] x. 14. 7.

[78] ii. 1255 ff.

attendants of Creusa, on their first entry, admire the sculptures on the temple; then, turning to Ion who is probably on the temple steps, they ask if it is permitted *γυάλων ὑπερβῆναι*,[80] meaning, as is clear from what follows, if they may enter the temple. On hearing that it is not permitted, they ask Ion to inform them as to the Omphalos which, as has been said, was certainly inside the building. Ion briefly answers their question and then, apparently in explanation of his previous prohibition, announces, in what is clearly an official formula for inquirers, the terms upon which admission is granted:[81]

εἰ μὲν ἐθύσατε πέλανον πρὸ δόμων
καί τι πυθέσθαι χρήζετε Φοίβου,
πάριτ' ἐς θυμέλας· ἐπὶ δ' ἀσφάκτοις
μήλοισι δόμων μὴ πάριτ' ἐς μυχόν.

The chorus, who satisfy none of the conditions enumerated, reply: 'We will not transgress the rules, ἃ δ' ἐκτὸς ὅμμα τέρψει.' It is clear therefore that the meaning of Ion's announcement is: 'If you have offered the *πέλανος* and desire to consult the god you may enter the cella, but unless you there sacrifice sheep you may not enter the adytum'; and it is also clear that the *θυμέλαι* are inside the temple but outside the adytum.

The complete ritual for those consulting the oracle therefore appears from the *Ion* to be as follows. There is first a general sacrifice, presumably at the great altar of the Chians, to ascertain whether the day is favourable to consultation.[82] The individual consultant offers a pelanos[83] at some spot not precisely specified, goes into the cella to sacrifice, and then enters the adytum to receive the answer of the god. This ritual appears to correspond closely with that described in the *Andromache* in the narrative of the death of Neoptolemus at Delphi.[84] Neoptolemus, accompanied by his attendants and

σὺν προξένοισι μάντεσίν τε Πυθικοῖς,

offers sacrifice. He then enters the temple to pray to Phoebus in front of the adytum and is in the act of offering burnt sacrifice, when he is set upon by the agents of Orestes and slain inside the temple.[85] Of the two sacrifices here mentioned, the first is probably the rite to ascertain whether the day is favourable for consultation (a view favoured by the presence of *μάντεις* and *πρόξενοι*),[86] and the second the private rite for consultants, mentioned by Ion,

[80] *Ion*, 220: cf. *Andr.* 1093.

[81] ll. 226 ff. It seems to have been part of the duties of a *νεωκόρος* to see that ritual regulations of this kind were observed (cf. Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 365).

[82] *Ion*, 419 ff.

χρυσήρεμι πέτταισι τὸν ἑπτάλοφον
κυκλεῖ πρὸ ναοῦ, βούλεται δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
τῇδ', αἰσία γάρ, θεοῦ λαβεῖν μαντεύματα.

[83] The *πέλανος* is mentioned again in l. 708 and perhaps alluded to in l. 402.

[84] Eur. *Andr.* 1085 ff.

[85] *Ib.* 1111 ff. *ἔρχεται δ' ἀναστένων | τρισσὰς ἑστάς, ὡς πάροι χρηστηρίων | αἴξειτο Φοίβῳ· τυγχάνει δ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. | τῷ δὲ ζῴφῃσι κ.τ.λ.*

[86] At this preliminary rite omens were drawn from the behaviour of the victims when sprinkled with water as to whether the day was favourable for consultation (Plut. *Mor.* 437 A and 438 A). Hence the presence of *μάντεις*. Plutarch speaks of those performing this rite as *προθύοντες*, and we know from a Delphian inscription that the *πρόξενοι* were specially concerned with *τὸν προθύοντα* (Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 484, Collitz, *G.D.I.* 2645).

in the passage we are discussing, as a condition of entering the adytum. The account in the *Andromache* therefore seems to agree exactly with that in the *Ion* except that it contains no mention of the πέλανος.

The interpretation here given of the passage in the *Ion* is, however, not that put forward by Doerpfeld and Robert. They suppose that the sacrifice mentioned by Ion would take place at the great altar, and that the chorus, having offered the πέλανος, are free to advance to the sacrificial platform, or, as Robert supposes, to the steps of the temple. Apart however from the evidence of the *Andromache*, a consideration of what the chorus are doing will suffice to refute this view. They are attendants of Creusa and they have been sent, as they tell us immediately below,[87] to see the sights. It is absurd to suppose that the whole band of servants has made an offering and come with any intention of consulting the oracle. The event proves, as has been obvious from the first, that Xuthus has offered the πέλανος and that he alone is going to inquire of the god.[88]

So far, then, we have ascertained that the θυμέλαι mentioned by Ion in this passage are inside the cella of the temple. In this same part of the temple Pausanias saw the hearth of Apollo whereon Neoptolemus was killed. This hearth, which stood in the cella also in the fifth century,[89] is of great celebrity: it is alluded to in the Homeric *Hymn to Hestia*:[90]

> Ἑστίη ἥ τε ἄνακτος Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο
> Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ ἱερὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύεις.

and is constantly mentioned by the Tragedians who call it both ἑστία and ἐσχάρα.[91] In view therefore of the previous passages in which we found θυμέλη meaning hearth, we need not hesitate to identify the Delphian θυμέλη with this celebrated hearth on or by which the sacrifice inside the temple is made. This explanation may also be extended without further discussion to another passage in the *Ion* where the word occurs. This is in Ion's opening soliloquy, where he says, addressing his broom:

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[87] ll. 233 f.

[88] Robert's statement that μοχλὸς δόμων is a synonym of θυμέλη can only be true if πέλανος is a synonym of αὐλή—a corollary from which he would probably shrink.

[89] Aesch. *Eum.* 40 and 282.

[90] *H.H.* xxiv. 1 f.

[91] ἑστία: Aesch. *Cheeph.* 1036, *Eum.* 282, Soph. *O.T.* 965, *O.C.* 413, Eur. *Andr.* 1067, *Ion* 462. ἐσχάρα: Eur. *Andr.* 1240, *Suppl.* 1209, *Phoen.* 284; cf. also Aelian *V.H.* vi. 9, Diodorus, xvi. 56, 7. Euripides, in the *Andromache*, speaks of Neoptolemus as killed at a θυμὸν or δωμῶν δεξιοστόλοις ἐσχάραις (ll. 1122, 1138, 1156), which might be the hearth or an altar by the hearth. Pausanias also in another place speaks of Neoptolemus being killed on an altar (iv. 17. 4). The hearth appears to have contained an undying fire (Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. v. 353), so that sacrifices may well have been performed on an altar close by rather than on the hearth itself. Or the thing may have been a hearth with βάθρα (cf. Soph. *Aj.* 860, Eur. *H.F.* 715) resembling an altar, or a real altar replacing and retaining the name of an earlier hearth. The coins of Mopsuestia suggest that a 'hearth' was sometimes a brazier on low feet (*B.M.C. Cilicia*, Pl. XVIII. 2, 5, 7; cf. *Arch. Jal.* vi. 101, 4 f. and the hearth on the Polyxena amphora: *J.H.S.* xviii. Pl. XV), and I seem to detect a similar object on late Delphian coins (*B.C.H.* xx. Pl. XXVII. 2 and 9). This, however, is not the view of Svoronos, who publishes the coins; and in any case the actual nature of the hearth is of no great importance for our present purpose.

ἃ τὰν Φοίβου θυμέλαν
σαίρεις ὑπὸ ναοῖς.[32]

There is also another example of the word in Ion's opening soliloquy. He is warning the birds to keep at a distance and not defile the temple. To the first, an eagle, he cries:

αὐδῶ μὴ χρίμπτειν θριγκοῖς[33]

Of the second he remarks:

δδε πρὸς θυμέλας ἄλλος ἑρέσσει
κύκνος,[34]

while the third is coming he supposes to build its nest *ὑπὸ θριγκούς.*[35] In conjunction therefore these three remarks suggest that the *θυμέλη* is actually in the temple, and though this argument is not very strong in itself, there is no reason to seek an interpretation of the word differing from that of the first two passages. It may at first sight appear strange that Ion should contemplate the possibility of a swan actually entering the cella of the temple; the fourth-century temple, however, was hypaethral, for it is reported that at the Gaulish invasion of 270 B.C. Apollo was seen leaping down into it through the opening of the roof.[36] We cannot be sure that the earlier temple was also hypaethral, but we know at any rate that it was accessible to birds, for the doves whose intervention saved Ion's life actually lived in the temple.[37] Ion moreover appears to consider the eagle, mentioned above, likely to enter the building.[38] It is probable therefore that there was some considerable opening in the roof, an arrangement of obvious convenience where sacrifices take place actually in the temple.

In all these three instances therefore I conclude that the object meant is the hearth of Apollo in the temple cella. The remaining case presents more difficulties and has been left to the last for that reason. In the prologue to the play, Hermes describes how the prophetess of Apollo, on first discovering the child Ion,

ὑπὲρ . . . . θυμέλας διορίσαι πρόθυμος ἦν.[39]

It is, however, far from easy to ascertain exactly where the discovery is supposed to have taken place, and hence to deduce information as to the position of the *θυμέλη*. The evidence is as follows. Apollo instructs Hermes to set the child *πρὸς αὐταῖς εἰσόδοις δόμων ἐμῶν*[40] and Hermes sets him

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[32] l. 114 f. The preposition is rather odd, but cf., *e.g.*, Soph. *Aj.* 754. Robert again, on the ground that Ion, still addressing his broom, says six lines below, *ἢ σαίρω δάπεδον θεοῦ*, assumes that *δάπεδον*, like *κοινὸς δόμος*, is a synonym of *θυμέλη*. But to be swept with the same broom does not constitute identity.

[33] l. 156.

[34] l. 161 f.

[35] l. 172.

[36] Justin, xxiv. 8. 4 *per columbarii operta fastigia.*

[37] l. 1197 f. cf. Diodorus, xvi. 27. 2.

[38] l. 157.

[39] l. 46.

[40] l. 54.

κρηπίδων ἔπι,[101] where he is discovered by the priestess as she is entering the μαντεῖον.[102] At first she is surprised that anyone should dare

λαθραῖον ὠθεῖν' εἰς θεοῦ ῥίψαι δόμων[103]

and proposes 'to banish him beyond [or 'across'] the Thymelae,' but the god intervenes to prevent the child being cast ἐκ δόμων,[104] and the prophetess changes her mind.

The first and most natural interpretation of these phrases is, I think, that the child was left just outside the door of the temple; they are, however, not inconsistent with the view that he was left not at the temple door, but inside the cella at the door of the adytum, and discovered by the prophetess as she was about to enter the latter. If, as Dr. Verrall suggests,[105] Euripides wished to imply that the Pythia was herself the mother of the child, this ambiguity is probably studied, at any rate there is not sufficient evidence to pronounce decisively in favour of either interpretation. If Ion was left at the door of the adytum, θυμέλη may bear the sense ascribed to it in the three other passages of this play. The priestess proposes to banish the child 'beyond the hearth,' which lies between the door of the adytum where he is found and the outer door of the temple.[106] If on the other hand the child was left on the outer steps of the temple, ὑπὲρ θυμέλας διορίσαι probably means 'set outside the precinct,' and we must guess θυμέλαι to mean collectively the altars of the precinct. That θυμέλη may on occasion mean 'altar' though its primary meaning be hearth, I have already shown: whether it does so here I am not prepared to decide. If it does, the word bears a sense which cannot possibly attach to it in l. 227 of this play, and which I see no good reason to ascribe to it in the two other passages of *Ion* in which it occurs.

We have now examined all the passages in literature where the word θυμέλη is employed apart from its technical use for something in the theatre or in meanings derived from that use. We have seen that in tragedy the word bears a sense which concurs very well with that at which we arrived from a consideration of its etymological origin. We have also seen some reason to suppose that the word may be used in the plural with singular signification. This is not a matter which will further concern us, and I will here say only that this conclusion is based on a consideration of various passages, and that it has not been stated as a fact because it cannot be deduced conclusively from any single example. The balance of probability, however, seems to me strongly in favour of the view when we consider Aesch. *Suppl.* 677, Eur. *Rhes.* 234, *Ion* 227, and perhaps *Iph. Aul.* 152.

There remain for consideration two inscriptions, in which I shall hope to

[101] l. 58. [102] l. 42.

[103] l. 45. cf. l. 1266: ἐκ τοῦδε κοὐκ ἐξόπιθεν παρθένου.

[104] l. 48.

[105] *The Ion of Euripides*, p. xxxvi.

[106] The mention of the hearth here is the more appropriate in view of the importance of the hearth in the recognition ceremonies (ἀμφιδρόμια) after the birth of a child to a human father.

show that the word is still used in the sense of 'hearth.' This contention, if it prove well founded, will show that the sense we have seen reason to ascribe to the word in tragedy was not a mere poetical usage, but belonged to ordinary life.

III.—*The Inscriptions.*

(i) The first inscriptional instance is simple, and will not detain us long. It occurs in a list of payments from Delos and belongs to the year 279 B.C. In these accounts is mentioned a sum paid :—

τὴν θυμέλην τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ κονιάσαντι.[107]

Here Robert supposes the θυμέλη to be the altar-steps, and Doerpfeld, the sacrificial platform. Nothing can be deduced from the passage itself, and anyone may hazard guesses as to its meaning. All we can do is to apply the meaning we have found suitable to all the tragic passages and see whether it fits.

This question does not need much debate. The θυμέλη of the altar is what Euripides calls in the *Phoenissae*[108] βώμιος ἐσχάρα and probably what he calls in a passage of the *Andromache* already mentioned βωμοῦ δεξίμηλον ἐσχάραν.[109] The scholiast on the *Phoenissae* supplies us with a definition: βώμιοι ἐσχάραι· τὰ κοιλώματα τῶν βωμῶν . . . ἐσχάρα ἔνθα τὸ πῦρ ἥπτετο, βωμὸς δὲ τὸ περιέχον τὴν ἐσχάραν οἰκοδόμημα. The 'hearth' of the altar is the top surface or depression on which the fire burns, and it is easy to understand that this surface might require stuccoing at times when the rest of the altar did not, for it stood exposed to the action of fire.

The inscription is interesting because it proves conclusively that the accepted translation 'altar' cannot be right.

(ii) The second inscription presents more difficulties and is in some ways more interesting. Among the sights of the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus Pausanias[110] mentions a circular building of marble called the θόλος, remains of which were discovered by the excavators of the site.[111] This building, which was of a highly elaborate and ornate character, dates from the fourth century, and it was built, as we know from Pausanias, by Polyclitus. Further excavation at Epidaurus produced also a long inscription[112] extending over a period of 21 years, giving accounts of the money expended on this Tholos. The remarkable feature of this inscription, however, is that the building is called in it θυμέλα, not θόλος, and the officials charged with the task of superintending its construction,

[107] *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, xiv. p. 397.

[108] *Phoen.* 274.

[109] *Andr.* 1136 ; cf. Soph. *fr.* 35 N², and see Pauly-Wissowa, I. col. 1667.

[110] ii. 27. 3.

[111] On this building see Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, pp. 13 ff., Τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ, pp. 48 ff., Frazer, *Paus.* vol. iii. p. 245. No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the curious labyrinthine foundation-walls of the building, nor have I any to offer.

[112] Cavvadias, *Fouilles*, p. 93, No. 242.

θυμελοποιοί or θυμελοποῖαι. Neither Pausanias nor the inscription gives any hint as to the purpose of the building, nor can this be discerned from the remains. We are therefore left to conjecture to explain the name θυμέλα which is given to it in the accounts.[113]

Doerpfeld's theory of the building is as follows: he says that the ramp by which the Tholos was entered points in the direction of the altar of Asclepius and hence draws the following conclusion: 'Ich fasse demnach die Tholos als ein Gebäude auf, das zum Altar gehörte und in dem die officiellen Opferschmäuse stattfanden.' It is very possible that the sacrificial meals took place in this building (indeed Pausias's paintings of Eros playing the lyre and of Methe, which Pausanias saw in the building, point to its having been used for banquets), but to the argument by which this conclusion is here reached I would reply: first, that the structure to which the ramp is supposed to point cannot be identified with certainty as the altar of Asclepius at all;[114] second, that though the structure would be cut by the line of the ramp if produced, it would be cut to one side, not in the middle (the foundations lie, says Doerpfeld, genau in der Axe der Tholos vor ihrer Rampe); third, that there is no reason to suppose that the ramp ever reached nearly as far as the structure in question; fourth, that we have seen that θυμέλη has nothing to do with ramps or sacrificial pavements, and finally that even if it had, this would not explain why the building at the end of the ramp should be called θυμέλα.

On the other hand the explanation which we have seen reason to attach to the word in other cases will supply here a perfectly intelligible explanation of the functions of the building at Epidaurus. According to Servius[115] the Romans built round temples to three deities only—Vesta, Hercules, and Mercury, and the round temple of Vesta in the Forum (twice called *tholos* by Ovid)[116] naturally occurs to the mind as an example of this practice. The remains of the pavement of the Epidaurian Tholos show that the centre must have been occupied by a round slab which may well have served for a hearth, so that if we can find evidence for hearths in round buildings in Greece, we shall have good reason, in view of the previous evidence, for supposing the Tholos to have contained such a hearth and taken its name therefrom.

The evidence on this subject is not very extensive, but for our present purpose it is sufficient. Let us consider the Tholos at Athens first. This building was a kind of deputy-prytaneum, built, according to Dr. Frazer's ingenious hypothesis,[117] when the business centre of Athens shifted to the

[113] Robert maintains, however, that the whole building is not called θυμέλη, but that this word refers only to its foundations, and that the *Thymelopoei* formed a separate commission, whose activities were confined to the foundations. This hypothesis, however, is both improbable in itself and inconsistent with the evidence supplied by the inscription. Moreover we have seen in previous instances that the interpretation of θυμέλη as 'foundation' and the supposed connexion with θεμέλιος cannot be maintained.

[114] On the altar, see Cavvadias, *Fouilles*, p. 10, Ἔφημ. p. 47.

[115] ad *Aen.* ix. 408.

[116] *Fasti*, vi. 282, 296.

[117] *Journal of Philology*, xiv. pp. 148 ff.

Cerameicus and made the old Prytaneum an inconvenient centre for officials. This Tholos is actually called the Prytaneum by Suidas,[118] and in it dined the Prytaneis, while those who received the right of public meals for public services continued to dine in the real prytaneum.[119] The Tholos also contained the statues of the eponymous heroes of the Attic tribes, and, though we are not expressly told so, probably also contained a hearth. We know from Pausanias[120] that the Prytanes offered sacrifice there: and since it is said of Hestia:

οὐ . . . ἅτερ σοῦ
εἰλαπίναι θνητοῖσιν, ἵν' οὔ πρώτῃ πυμάτῃ τε
Ἑστίῃ ἀρχόμενος σπένδει μελιηδέα οἶνον[121]

it is natural to suppose that her presence was as necessary at the meals of the Prytanes in the Tholos as it was at those of distinguished guests in the Prytaneum.[122]

The evidence so far gives us reason to suppose that round buildings may well be connected with the common hearth of the city. The most interesting parallel to the Epidaurian case is, however, to be found at Mantinea, where Pausanias[123] mentions among the sights of the city, *ἑστία καλουμένη κοινή, περιφερὲς σχῆμα ἔχουσα*, that is to say, a round building called 'The Common Hearth.' For there can be no question that the common hearth was not merely a round hearth in the open. Moreover the remains of a Tholos have been found at Mantinea and may be pretty certainly identified with the building mentioned by Pausanias.[124]

Here then we have a round building called 'The Hearth': I believe the Tholos at Epidaurus to have been precisely the same, except that the word for hearth is not here *ἑστία* but its equivalent *θυμέλη*.

The connexion of hearths and round buildings is in itself natural enough, nor need we necessarily look for the origin of the temple of Vesta in a primitive round hut. A heap of burning material on the ground naturally tends to be round, and hence the hearth made to contain it takes that shape rather than any other. Not only do we find *ἐσχάρα* explained as *ἡ ἐπὶ γῆς ἑστία ἡ στρογγυλοειδής*,[125] but we have the great round hearths of the palaces of Tiryns and Mycenae to assure us, if assurance be needed, that

[118] θόλος· ὅλως περιφερὴς δὲ ᾗ οἱ πρυτάνεις εἰσιόντες, πρυτανεῖον δέ τι ἴδιον ὠνόμασται ἔνθα συχνὰ δεῖ τοὺς τοιούτους.

[119] Frazer, *l.c.*

[120] i. 5. 1. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* p. 1322 b 28.

[121] *Hymn. Hom.* xxiv. 4 ff. Cf. also the proverbial phrase ἀφ' ἑστίας ἀρχεσθαι, on which see Escher, coll. 2814 ff.

[122] The reason why this deputy-prytaneum at Athens was round in shape cannot be settled with certainty, but there is a good deal to be said for Dr. Frazer's view that it was so merely because the prytaneum itself was round. Cf. Suidas, Πρυτανεῖον· περιμέτρητον θόλου.

[123] viii. 9. 5.

[124] *B.C.H.* xiv. p. 251. Objections have been raised to the identification on the ground that Pausanias says the hearth was 'not far from the theatre.' As the round building in question is only 140 yards from the theatre, I cannot see that this would be any ground for rejecting the identification, even were Pausanias a very precise topographer (see however the notes of Frazer and Hitzig and Blümner, *ad* Paus. viii. 9. 5).

[125] *Bekk. An.* p. 256. 32. Cf. Cornutus, *Epist.* 28.

hearths were really of this shape. It follows therefore that a building built primarily for the purpose of containing a hearth may very appropriately assume a round shape also.

It remains only to add that if this interpretation of the *θυμέλη* of Epidaurus be accepted, it will afford an interesting parallel to the interpretation of the passage in the *Supplices* of Aeschylus proposed above. In both these instances we have, on my view, the word *θυμέλη* used of the public hearth, once at Argos and once at Epidaurus. It is even conceivable that the word was technically so used by the Argives, since there is evidence that Epidaurus was really an Argive settlement.[136] In this case the Aeschylean use will be a remarkable instance of a *vox propria*.[137]

IV.—*The Theatrical Thymele.*

This paper can hardly be concluded without some reference to the Thymele in the Greek theatre, though the subject is so obscure and the evidence so confused and conflicting that I shall be as brief as possible.

Hitherto I have said nothing about the many definitions of the word *θυμέλη* provided by the ancient grammarians and lexicographers, for I believe that little or nothing is to be ascertained from them as to the fundamental meaning of the word. Proof, or even argument, is usually impossible in dealing with these glosses, and what I shall say here is to be regarded as an expression of opinion which must commend itself, if at all, by its intrinsic probability.

The word *θυμέλη* acquired in antiquity three definite and principal meanings in connexion with the theatre. These were the meanings which were familiar to the grammarians, and their glosses deal for the most part with these three meanings and, as I believe, with confusions resulting from them. They had access, no doubt, to more examples of the word than we have, but I can see no reason to suppose that they were in possession of any information or any tradition which gave them a further advantage over more modern scholars in the attempt to ascertain its original and obsolete meaning. There are indeed one or two glosses which appear to refer not to the theatrical but to earlier uses of the word, but to none of these can much importance be reasonably attached. Hesychius, for example, gives, as

[136] Paus. ii. 26. 2. cf. however Strabo viii. p. 374.

[137] Mr. G. F. Hill kindly calls my attention to an article by Svoronos dealing with the building at Epidaurus (*Die Polyklietische Thole* in *Ephemeris Journ. Internat. d'Archéol. Numismat.* vol. iv. pp. 1 ff.). Svoronos regards the mysterious labyrinthine substructure of the θόλος as a tomb—probably of Asclepius himself; he wishes also to recognise the θόλος on certain Epidaurian coins of the second century A.D., which show apparently a round building containing a female statue (identified by Svoronos as Hygeia). Svoronos can hardly be said to establish these hypotheses, and I will merely observe that neither of them is incompatible with the view expressed above. The presence of a statue is not out of place if the building was the public hearth (cf. Paus. i. c. 1, i. xviii. 3; Pindar, Ἄτας. xi. 4), and, according to Pausanias, the Κόρης Ἔρριν at Mantinea was a tomb. For a historical instance of burial at a hearth see Plut. *Phoc.* 37 (a reference I owe to the kindness of Miss Harrison).

one alternative interpretation of the word, *ἔδαφος ἱερόν*. This might mean, as Doerpfeld naturally maintains, the sacrificial pavement, just as it might also mean several of the other things with which the *θυμέλη* has been at one time or another identified, including the well-attested meaning 'orchestra.' But is it not much more likely to be a mere guess at the meaning in some such passage as Eur. *Ion* 46, and of very much the same value as the guesses of modern commentators?

To me it seems clear that the truth is not to be ascertained by arbitrary selection from the various contradictory explanations of ancient grammarians; I deal with these glosses here chiefly because the origin of some of those which have been emphasised by modern writers seems to me traceable to confusion in the various uses of the word in connexion with the theatre.[118]

(i) At one time or another the word *θυμέλη* certainly bore three distinct meanings in connexion with the Greek theatre. It meant:—

A.—*The Altar of Dionysus.*

Schol. Greg. Nazianz. 355 b. [*Hermes* vol. vi. pp. 490 f.]

μετὰ τὴν ὀρχήστραν [the stage] *βωμὸς ἦν τοῦ Διονύσου τετράγωνον οἰκοδόμημα κενὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου ὃ καλεῖται θυμέλη παρὰ τοῦ* [*ἢ τὸ*] *θύειν.*

Suidas and *Et. Magn.* s.v. *σκηνή*, Suidas s.v. *θυμέλη*. Cf. Pratinas, *fr.* i. 2 and Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 516.

B.—*The Orchestra.*

Phrynichus, p. 163 (Lob.).

θυμέλην· τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖοι ἀντὶ τοῦ θυσίαν ἐτίθουν, οἱ δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἐν ᾧ αὐλῆται καὶ κιθαρῳδοὶ καὶ ἄλλοί τινες ἀγωνίζονται· σὺ μέντοι ἔνθα μὲν κωμῳδοὶ καὶ τραγῳδοὶ ἀγωνίζονται λογεῖον ἐρεῖς, ἔνθα δὲ οἱ αὐλῆται καὶ οἱ χοροὶ ὀρχήστραν· μὴ λέγε δὲ θυμέλην.

Schol. Aristid. iii. p. 536 (Dind.).

C.—*The Stage.*

Bekk. An. p. 42, 23.

νῦν μὲν θυμέλην καλοῦμεν τὴν τοῦ θεάτρου σκηνήν.

id. p. 292, 13, *Et. Magn.* s.v. *παρασκήνια*, *Gloss. Philox.* 176, 24 (Vulc.), Charisius, i. p. 552 (Keil), Cyrillus s.v. *θυμέλη*: cf. *Anth. Pal. Append.* 520, Lucian *de Salt.* 76, Plut. *Demetrius* 12 [cf. *Sulla* 19 and probably *Alexander* 67], Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 149.

These three meanings are assured, and it is clear that *θυμέλη*, like other Greek theatrical terms, was used erratically in later times.[119] The confusion which results from these different uses is responsible in my opinion for

[118] So also Haigh, *Attic Theatre*[3], p. 142, n. 2.

[119] 'Ορχήστρα='stage' in Suid. s.v. *σκηνή*, Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 505, Iambl. *Or.* xviii. 44, *Σκηνή* also has a variety of meanings.

several other glosses which conflict with these. Thus Pollux, when he says (iv. 123):

> ἡ δὲ ὀρχήστρα τοῦ χοροῦ [ἴδιον] ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ θυμέλη εἴτε βῆμά τι οὖσα εἴτε βωμός,

is probably confused by the double use of the word for stage and altar. Pollux's doubt is reflected in his language but the error seems to have reached a further point in Isidore, who writes (*Or.* xviii. 47):

> et dicti thymelici quod olim in orchestra stantes cantabant super pulpitum quod Thymele vocabatur.

This remark I take to arise from a reminiscence of the use for 'stage' leading to a false inference from some passage such as Vitruv. v. 7. 2:

> . . . se tragici et comici actores in scaena peragunt, reliqui autem artifices suas per orchestram praestant actiones, itaque ex eo scaenici et thymelici graece separatim nominantur.

Hesychius glosses the word *θυμέλη*:

> οὕτως ἔλεγον ἀπὸ τῆς θυηλῆς τὸν βωμόν· οἱ δὲ τὸ ἐπίπυρον ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιθύουσιν, ἢ ἔδαφος ἱερόν.

The gloss *ἔδαφος ἱερόν* I have already spoken of: the other alternative gloss is interesting, for, so far as it goes, it is accurate. The *θυμέλη* is not an altar, but, when used of an altar, strictly the top surface on which the fire is placed. The *θυμέλη τοῦ βωμοῦ* at Delos is precisely *τὸ ἐπίπυρον ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιθύουσι*.

There remains a group of glosses apparently all connected. *Et. Magn.* s.v. *θυμέλη*:

> ἡ τοῦ θεάτρου μέχρι νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὠνόμασται· παρὰ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὰ θύη μερίζεσθαι· τουτέστι τὰ θυόμενα ἱερεῖα. τράπεζα δ' ἦν ἐφ' ἧς ἑστῶτες ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ᾖδον μήπω τάξιν λαβούσης τῆς τραγῳδίας.

Et. Gud. s.v. *θυμέλαι*:

> τράπεζαι, ὀρχήσεις· Αἰσχύλος τοὺς βωμοὺς λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ θύεσθαι ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ τίθεσθαι. [*θέσθαι*, Sturz; *θύεσθαι*, Robert, presumably rightly.]

The first of these is repeated in slightly shortened form in *Et. Orion.* s.v. *θυμέλη*, and both are echoed by Cyrillus, as quoted by Alberti (Hesych. vol. i. p. 1743).

Mr. A. B. Cook, on the evidence of the former passage, concludes that the Thymele might represent either form of the Dionysiac altar, whether it was a table or an altar properly so called. I have, however, difficulty in believing that *θυμέλη* ever meant a table, and the table form of altar is used, on Mr. Cook's own showing, not for the division of the victims but for the reception of cereal offerings. It is impossible of course to pronounce definitely against the extension in meaning from hearth and altar to table, but I prefer to see in these glosses an attempt to explain the use of the word *θυμέλη* for stage. Pollux, who knew about the table from which the stage

was supposed to have sprung, does not connect it with the Thymele, but writes (iv. 123):

> *ἐλεὸς δ' ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ Θέσπιδος εἷς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο,*

and the *ἐλεός* really answers to the description of the table in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, for it was a butcher's table.[120] Given the tradition as to the table and the fact that *θυμέλη* meant 'stage,' the inference drawn in the *Etymologicum Magnum* is obvious but not necessarily correct.[121] The reasoning might also be assisted by the fact that there was a table called *θεωρίς* or *θυωρίς* which, according to Pollux (*l.c.*), stood on the stage.

Of the additional glosses in the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, *ὀρχήσεις* seems to refer to some use of the word for a *θυμελικὸς ἀγών*. *θυμέλη* is used for dramatic performances by Alciphro,[122] for dramatic choral songs, apparently, in Hesychius,[123] and perhaps for dances by Plutarch.[124] The reference to Aeschylus may or may not be to the passage of the *Supplices* already discussed, but, if it is, its accuracy we have seen to be improbable. The word *θυμέλη* is more than once glossed *βωμός* elsewhere:[125] it certainly sometimes meant 'altar' in connexion with the theatre, and there is, as has been said, no inherent reason why it should not have been so used as an extension of meaning by the tragedians. There is, however, no clear case of such an extension of meaning in the examples we have discussed.

Thus, if we leave out of account references to the theatrical uses of the word and (what is probably an incorrect inference from them) the statement that *θυμέλη* meant 'a table,' the glosses supply us with the following information. (i) *θυμέλη* meant *ἕδαφος ἱερόν*. (ii) Aeschylus used it in the sense of 'altar.' This is conceivably true. (iii) The ancients used it to mean *θυσία*. This also is conceivable: cf. Pherecrates's use as an equivalent for *θυλήματα* (possibly the gloss *θυσία* refers to this same passage). (iv) It meant *τὸ ἐπίπεδον ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιθύουσι*. This has already been established from the Delian inscription, but is not a complete account of the word. These glosses are no material for constructing a theory of the original meaning of the word, nor would disagreement with them constitute a very serious objection to any theory put forward. The theory advocated in this paper neither stands nor falls with them, though most of the meanings they propose, so long as they are regarded as secondary meanings, may be admitted if any theory is accepted.

Of the three theatrical meanings of the word, 'altar' must be the earliest, not only because we have seen reason to suppose that the word originally meant 'hearth' but also since the development in meaning to

[120] Pollux, vi. 90, x. 161, Schol. Ar. *Equ.* 152.

[121] Cf. Müller, *Orlach, Bühnenalt.* p. 132[2].

[122] ii. 3. 16. Cf. the spurious epigram of Alethiades on Eup. lic quoted by Tzetzes (*Prolegg. Aristoph.* p. 114 K.) and Athenaeus.

[123] s.v. Γλυκεῖαν Σάπφω.

[124] *Galba*, 14. Cf. Suidas, *θυμέλη ἡ αὐλητική*. Strabo x. p. 468.

[125] Hesych. s.vv. *θυμέλαι* and *θυμέλη*, Schol. Lucian *de Salt.* 76 (ed. Lehm. v. p. 227); Cramer, *Anecd.* ii. p. 449, Phot. *Lex.* s.v. *θυμέλαι*.

'orchestra' and 'stage' can then be explained, while the reverse process would be unintelligible.[126] The question must now be asked, how, if *θυμέλη* primarily means 'hearth,' the word came to be attached especially to the altar of Dionysus in the Athenian theatre.

(ii) It may first be pointed out that this special connexion of the word *θυμέλη* is not early and that its importance has been exaggerated owing to the accident of its extension to other parts of the theatre and the resulting confusion which led grammarian after grammarian to animadvert upon the word. As to the date at which the word became specially attached to the altar of Dionysus, nothing can be determined, but it is clear that we cannot assume it to be technical in the Pratinas fragment. Long after the date of that poem, the tragedians could use the word freely in the theatre without any reference to their immediate surroundings, and it follows from this fact that the Thymele of Dionysus was one *θυμέλη* among many, not th Thymele *par excellence*. For Athens the evidence fails us after the fifth century, but the two inscriptions discussed above show that the Thymele was not the prerogative of Dionysus at Epidaurus in the fourth century nor at Delos in the second. The theatrical use would therefore be adequately accounted for, if we could ascertain that the altar of Dionysus in the theatre had been at some time or another a hearth, and had retained the name if not the form.

Now in all the accounts and records of Dionysiac cults which have come down to us, once and, so far as I am aware, once only do we find the god connected with a hearth. The cult in which this hearth occurs is that of Dionysus Eleuthereus, the god of the Athenian theatre in whose precinct that theatre stands.

The ritual preceding the dramatic performance at Athens is imperfectly known, but we have some important information regarding the city Dionysia. On the day preceding the dramatic performances there was a great procession, and the image of Dionysus Eleuthereus was carried from the precinct along the road to Eleutherae to a shrine in the Academia. At nightfall it was escorted back by torch-light along the road by which the god traditionally entered Athens, but instead of returning to its shrine it remained in the theatre to witness the performances of the following days.[127] We have two inscriptions recording, among other things, the share taken by the Ephebi in this procession. Of these the first [128] says: *εἰσηγαγον δὲ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας θύσαντες τῷ θεῷ*, and the second:[129]

[126] It is maintained by some (e.g. Robert, Bethe, and Smyth) that in Pratinas *fr.* 1, the word already has the meaning 'orchestra.' Pratinas is protesting against the growing licence allowed to the flute accompaniment of choral songs and says:

εἰς ἕβαν ἰόντες ἐπὶ Διωνυσιάδα καλυκώπιδα θυμέλαν;

The impression that *θυμέλη* here means 'orchestra' arises from connecting *καλυκώπιδα* with *κισσόστολε* (so L. and S., 'much-trodden.' It really belongs to *κατάγειε*, as is shown by the following verse:

ἰὰν ἰὰν ὁ Βρόμιος· ἰὰ δεῦ καλλιβόαν, ἰὰ δεῦ κατάγειε.

[127] Farnell, *Cults* vol. v. pp. 225 f., A. Mommsen, *Feste d. Stadt Athen.*, pp. 436 ff. Haigh, *Attic Theatre*[3], pp. 8 ff.

[128] *I.G.* ii. 470.

[129] *I.G.* ii. 471.

εἰσήγαγον δὲ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας εἰς τὸ θέατρον μετὰ φωτός. This hearth is also mentioned by Alciphron,[140] where Menander is made to enumerate among the delights of life in Athens τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάρας ὑμνῆσαι κατ' ἔτος Διόνυσον.

About the hearth we know nothing, but the evidence suffices to show that Dionysus, at the very moment when he is coming to preside at the dramatic contests, is associated with what is, in name at any rate, a hearth and not an altar. It is therefore far from impossible that the object on which the minor rites celebrated actually in the theatre were performed was also, ritually if not in fact, a hearth and not an altar.[141] Whatever view we take of the origin of the drama, it is clear that its connexion with Dionysus precedes the erection of regular theatres. These can only have been necessitated after the development of the performances made the original scene inconvenient. Hence if these performances originally took place at some spot where the god was worshipped at a hearth, not at an altar, we should naturally expect to find a 'hearth' rather than an altar for him in the theatre which is built as a substitute for the original scene of the celebrations.[142]

[140] ii. 3. 16.

[141] In the time of Pratinas it may well have been an actual hearth.

[142] Further traces of this hearth of Dionysus may perhaps be looked for in the words περίστια and περιστιάρχοι—the preliminary rite of purification and the officials who performed it in the theatre and the assembly (Ar. *Eccl.* 128 and schol.; Pollux viii. 104; Suidas s.v. καθάρσιον, Photius *Lex.* s.v. περιστιάρχοι). The name may however be derived from the hearth in the Prytaneum or council chamber.

As to the hearth as a scene of dramatic and choral performances, Mr. A. B. Cook kindly calls my attention to a representation of nymphs dancing round a hearth, on the coins of Apollonia (*B.M.C. Thessaly* pl. XII. 13 and 14); one is reminded also of the hearth-like basis on which musicians stand on vases (*e.g.* on the amphora by Andocides and the crater by Euphronius in the Louvre; Furtwaengler-Reichhold, Taff. 93 and 111).

The occurrence of 'hearths' in Olympian cults is not confined to Dionysus; Apollo, as we have seen, had a hearth at Delphi, Hermes had one at Pharae (Paus. vii. 22. 2), Poseidon at Agrae (*Bekk. An.* p. 327. 1), Zeus at Harma (Strabo ix. 404), and perhaps at Dodona (see *Cl. Rev.* xvii. p. 183, and, on the whole subject, Pauly-Wissowa vi, col. 614). Their significance need not be discussed here. An explanation of the hearth of Dionysus has already been put forward by Prof. Ridgeway (*C.R.* 1912, p. 128) and Miss Harrison tells me that she will deal with the subject in a forthcoming paper.

A. S. F. Gow.

Trinity College, Cambridge.

ADDENDA.

Since this paper went to press Pomtow's discussion of the Delphian θόλοι has appeared (*Berlin. Phil. Woch.* Oct. 26, 1912, coll. 1386 ff.). Pomtow holds that θόλοι were in general 'Altargebaude der Hestia, Herdstatten der ἑστία κοινή.' I regret that his article came too late for me to use in my discussion of the θόλος at Epidaurus.

A third important inscriptional instance of the word θυμέλη has also come to my notice too late for inclusion in this article. In Aristonous's Delphian hymn to Hestia (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* Nov. 2, 1912, coll. 1394 ff.) occur the lines: . . . Ἑστία, δίδου δ' ἀμοιβὰν ἁ [ἁ]γίαν πολὺν ἐμᾶι δλβον ἔχοντα[ι] [ἁ]ε[ὶ] Λατωοθόρωνι ἄμφι σὰν θυ[μ]έλαν χορεύειν. The use of the word θυμέλη as a synonym for ἑστία is clearly dictated here by the presence of the latter word as a proper name just above. The exact force of Λατωοθόρωνι is not clear, but it is closely paralleled by Aesch. *Eum.* 808: Λατωοθρόνοισιν ἐν ἐσχάραις, from which Aristonous perhaps borrowed the word. On χορεύειν see my footnote 142.

THE SCENIC ARRANGEMENTS OF THE *PHILOKTETES* OF SOPHOCLES.[1]

THE *Philoktetes* is a play of singular interest and importance, on account of the light which it throws upon dramatic representation in the Athenian theatre of the fifth century B.C. I am not aware, however, that any consistent and intelligible interpretation of it from that point of view has yet been given. In Jebb's edition and translation spasmodic stage directions and *obiter dicta* on the scenic arrangements and action are to be found, but no coherent or complete exposition. I propose, therefore, to analyse the play so far as may be necessary in order to exhibit the apparatus of the drama, and its bearings upon the action. It is evident that the result of this examination must finally be brought into connexion with certain fundamental problems relating to the theatre of the Greeks and their methods of dramatic representation; but throughout this investigation at any rate those issues remain entirely in the background. The aim is not to support a thesis. Orchestra, Stage, Parodoi—we will for the nonce allow ourselves to forget that these ever existed, the problem for us is simply this—What can we infer from the bare text of the *Philoktetes* as to the *mise en scène* of that drama?

At the very outset of the play we find indicated with quite remarkable clearness the three elements which constitute the scenic background of the action—(1) a beach, ἀκτή, on which Odysseus, Neoptolemos, and the Chorus enter, (2) a cliff, πέτρα, (3) a cave, σπήλαιον. These three—beach, cliff, and cave therein, to which access is possible from the beach by means of a path up the face of the cliff, remain the unvaried features of the scene, and together make up the entire apparatus of the drama.

With regard to the cave, three questions at once arise—as to (1) its situation, (2) its shape, (3) its use or significance in the action.

(1) The cave is situated at a not inconsiderable elevation above the beach, for Odysseus warns Neoptolemos that he may look to find a spring[2] a

[1] The substance of this paper was first given as a lecture at the first meeting of the Classical Association of New South Wales, in Aug. 1908.

[2] What is the object of the spring, which receives no further mention? (1) It is meant to suggest intimate knowledge of the locality on the part of Odysseus, and thus to eliminate all idea that he has to search for the spot; (2) to give a sufficient reason for the choice of this place by Philoktetes for his ten years' home. The words ἔστιν δστι κἀκ in 21 do not suggest

little below it on the left (20: *βαιὸν δ' ὑπερθεν ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς*), i.e. between the beach at the foot of the cliff and the height at which the cave opens. Again, Philoktetes threatens to end his life by flinging himself upon the rocks below (1002: *πέτρᾳ πέτρας ἄνωθεν πεσών*, and *cp.* 1000: *αἰπεινόν*). He is at that moment standing near the mouth of the cave. Lastly, the entrance of the cave, doubtless on account of projections and angles of the rock, is supposed to be invisible to Odysseus[3] as he stands on the beach (28: *οὐ γὰρ ἐννοῶ* implies this). It is clear, therefore, that we have a cave opening on steep rocks at some height above the beach (Jebb).

Neoptolemos, obeying Odysseus, goes up to examine[4] the cave. There is a not too difficult path leading diagonally upwards along the face of the cliff. He catches sight almost immediately of the cave a little way above him (27: *δοκῶ γὰρ οἷον εἶπας ἄντρον εἰσορᾶν . . . τόδ' ἐξύπερθε*), and pauses to listen (29: *καὶ στίβου γ' οὐδεὶς κτύπος*)—he cannot yet *see* whether it is empty (Jebb). Odysseus next suggests that he should look inside; Philoktetes may be lying asleep within the cave. The reply of Neoptolemos (31: *ὁρῶ κενὴν οἴκησιν*) shows that his head is now at least on a level with the entrance; he is cautiously making the last few steps of his ascent to a platform[5] of no great size in front of the cave. Jebb's remark on 31, 'Neoptolemos, mounting the rocks, has now just reached the mouth of the cave,' does not seem quite right. It is only at his next reply, in answer to the question of Odysseus about the contents of the cave, that Neoptolemos finally steps upon the platform, and actually peers into the cave. All that he can see from the entrance is a pile of leaves evidently used recently as a bed. He could not see the couch of leaves before because it occupies a recess of the cave—'the blasts of the stormy *νότος* could carry rain and spray into the inmost recesses' (Jebb), and there naturally the couch would be made.

Not until we reach 35, where he gives the sorry inventory of the contents of the cave, is Neoptolemos actually within it. He discovers then a rude wooden cup, which he describes as he turns it round in his hand—and 'tinder stuff here,' he adds, as his eye falls upon it stored in some dry nook within the cavern.

(2) Turning now to our second question, the shape or plan of the cave, we notice that Sophocles takes pains in a variety of ways to impress upon the audience a correct idea of this, which *ex hypothesi* cannot be made

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that Odysseus is something of a geologist (see Jebb's note), but give us a perspective—even the face of Nature may have changed in some degree, so long is it since Philoktetes was marooned.

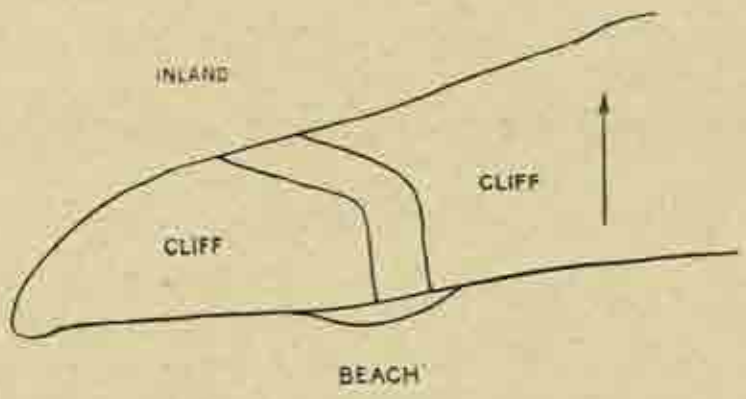
[3] But of course it is not necessarily invisible to the actor standing on the level which represents the beach.

[4] *σκεπτὸς δ' ἥκω γε δυσβάτοις βίστοκος πέτραις* (16). For the significance of *σκεπτός* see 467: *πλοῦν μὲν ἐκπέμπω μᾶλλον ἢ γνώθου σκεπτός*. The question is not as to the exact whereabouts of the cave, but whether it is tenanted at the moment.

[5] Proof of the platform is given by 1003, where it is large enough for three men at least. Note there that the two Attendants of Odysseus who seize Philoktetes go up quietly at 981—which explains *αἴρεσθ'* in 988. Odysseus of course gives them some sign at 980 or 981. They do not therefore have to rush up at breakneck speed at 1003. Hence at 988 Philoktetes can say quite naturally *οἴμ' ἐκ βίας ἕξουσιν*; Probably the Attendants begin to ascend actually at about 977, and are at the top of the ascent at 982.

visible. Perception of this anxiety of the poet was in fact the starting-point of the present inquiry.

We revert to 16, where Odysseus describes the cave. It has, he says, two entrances (*δίστομος πέτρα*), which are, however, not side by side, but so placed that an inmate of the cave can follow the movement of the sun in winter, and in summer enjoy a good through draught (17: *ἐν ψύχει ἡλίου διπλῆ πάρεστιν ἐνθάκησις . . . . ἐν θέρει πνοή*), for the rock is bored through from side to side (*δι' ἀμφιτρήτου αὐλίου*). It is a pleasant enough place, though a trifle draughty. Jebb correctly infers that 'the morning sun could be enjoyed at the seaward mouth of the cave, which had a S. or S.E. aspect (*cp.* 1457); while the afternoon sun fell on the other entrance, looking N. or N.W.' The cave is, in fact, a tunnel through the end of a ridge, rather than a cave properly so called. 'Through the end of a ridge' we say, for clearly the extent of the cave from one entrance to the other is not to be imagined as very great. We must imagine a ground plan something like the subjoined sketch.



The stress laid upon the shape of the cave is not confined to the passage just examined. We left Neoptolemos just within the cave, investigating its contents (36). 'The store whereof you give the inventory,' says Odysseus ironically, 'is undoubtedly his.' At this moment Neoptolemos, having disappeared within the tunnel or cave, is *passing quite through it to its landward end*: *ἰοὺ ἰού* he calls out—'yes, here is something else—hung up to dry in the sun—rags to wit, that have been used as dressing for a wound' (38: *καὶ ταῦτά γ' ἄλλα θάλπεται βάκη κ.τ.λ.*). Jebb explains that these rags are drying 'in the sun at the seaward mouth of the cave.' If, however, they are to be thought of as spread on the rocks at the seaward mouth to which Neoptolemos had made his cautious approach, they would surely have caught his eye before he espied the less conspicuous objects already enumerated.

There is yet a third passage[*] in which emphasis is laid upon the tunnel-

[*] And here note that the emptiness of the Cave is in 181: *καὶ γὰρ ὁ πλοῦτος αὐτὸς ἔνεστιν*; is meant to continue the ambiguity that there is no deception—the cave really is empty. So

like character of the cave. When Neoptolemos invites the leader of the Chorus to view the habitation of Philoktetes, he does so with the words: 'Here thou seest his home with its portals twain, his rocky lair' (159: *οἶκον μὲν ὁρᾷς τόνδ' ἀμφίθυρον πετρίνης κοίτης*), where the word *ἀμφίθυρον* gives the distinguishing peculiarity of this cave.

As viewed from the theatre, then, there is a cave in the face of the cliff, with a single visible entrance, like a cave of the usual type. In reality this cave is a natural tunnel, pierced through an angle of the cliff and communicating by means of an easy slope with the open country behind the cliff. That such is the real character of the cave is impressed upon the audience in the only way possible, namely by repeatedly telling them that so it is, and, above all, by the device of making Neoptolemos discover the rags drying on the rocks at the *landward* end of the tunnel.

The discovery of the rags is followed by eight lines put into the mouth of Odysseus. I imagine that the startled exclamation *ἰοὺ ἰού* is uttered within the cave; and perhaps with the explanation *καὶ ταῦτά γ' ἄλλα θάλπεται ῥάκη* Neoptolemos reappears. Of the eight lines given to Odysseus, the first five are of the nature of a soliloquy, rather than directly addressed to his companion. *They are designed to occupy the time taken by Neoptolemos in descending to the beach.* At 45 (*τὸν οἶν παρόντα κ.τ.λ.*) he is once more on the beach, drawing near Odysseus.

(3) What is the use of the cave, or its significance for the action?

Here it is to be remarked as a fact beyond dispute, that, from the moment of his appearance in 219 down to 675, Philoktetes is visible to the spectators, and throughout that time is to all intents and purposes stationary.[1] When he and Neoptolemos at last enter the cave, they remain therein only for the short time covered by the *στάσιμον* (676–729; 53 lines). Philoktetes retires to the cave again probably at 1217, and at 1263 finally emerges (time within the cave = 47 lines). Thus, during an action covering 1,470 lines, Philoktetes uses his cave for a period of time equivalent to 100 lines, that is to say, the cave fulfils its ostensible and natural purpose for just that fraction of the entire action. It would seem indeed to be well-nigh superfluous.

This criticism is not entirely met by the argument that the play would be in fact impossible if one of the chief characters persisted in lurking unseen within the recesses of a cave. Nor again is it met by calling attention to the aesthetic significance of the joint entry of Philoktetes and Neoptolemos into the cave—that this carries us over without shock or harshness to the visible manifestation of Philoktetes in the grip of his malady; or again, that it exhibits the outcast and his new-found friend in a relationship analogous to that of host and guest with all its implied claims and duties, and the like.

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that when Philoktetes comes out of it he must have previously got into it at the other end. The point is to deprive the subsequent entry of Philoktetes of all flavour of mystery; for on the face of it it is astonishing to see a man come out of a hole in a cliff—unless you have been warned that there is an alternative way into it.

[1] Except perhaps at 485: *προσίτω σε γέμων*—which, however, is hardly to be taken literally.

These and the like significances are undoubtedly intended by the poet, but they are *ἐν παρέργῳ*, and hardly to be accounted as giving the *raison d'être* of the cave. Far more profitable is it to acknowledge a certain clumsiness and lack of *vraisemblance* in the motive assigned for entrance into the cave at all—as though Sophocles having got his cave hardly knew quite what to do with it. In 533 no motive, save that of mere curiosity,[3] is suggested for the entry of Neoptolemos at any rate into the cave; certainly 'a farewell salutation (as by kissing the soil), because the cave had so long given him shelter' (Jebb), appropriate enough for Philoktetes, can have, properly speaking, no interest or significance for Neoptolemos. In 649 Philoktetes bethinks him of his soothing herb. The criticism here is obvious, but perhaps not inevitable. What however, are we to say to the additional suggestion[4] made in 652 (*εἴ μοί τι τῶνδ' ἀπημελημένον παρερρύηκεν*)? Surely after ten years of it Philoktetes might be expected to know the count of his arrows!

At 201 the Chorus first hears the cries of Philoktetes as he approaches the cave. It is quite evident that nothing is seen of him until he bursts into view at 219 with his exclamation *ἰὼ ξένοι*. How then does Philoktetes make his entrance? Jebb has the stage direction—'*Enter* PHILOKTETES, *on the spectators' right*'; this in obedience to the canon according to which entrances to the right of the audience were used by persons from the neighbourhood, the entrances to the left by persons from a distance. How then would he defend his previous stage direction, with reference to the Σκοπός,—'*Exit* ATTENDANT, *on the spectators' left*,' and his note on 124—'it is natural that Odysseus should expect to meet the sentinel, since the latter would be keeping watch on that side of the cave at which Odysseus himself had hitherto been standing; viz., the side nearest to the ships'? If everyone in the theatre knew that the convention must inevitably be observed, and that consequently the entrance of Philoktetes, at whatever moment permitted, must be from the right, then the despatch of the *σκοπός* in the opposite direction for the specific purpose of watching for his possible entrance becomes simply intolerable.

Now the truth is that up to this point we have not hit upon the real significance of the cave in the scenic apparatus of the play. It provides in fact the ingenious solution of the artistic problem necessarily involved in the choice of this particular subject for dramatic representation. The dramatic inconvenience of a hero who cries aloud from bodily pain has been dwelt upon by the critics; but not so formidable has seemed the inconvenience of a hero who can at best only hobble about on one leg, the other leg being

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[3] Ὑμᾶς . . . δι' ἃ μὲ σὺ μάλιστ' ἂν δι' ἓν δείξειν κ.τ.λ. Note that the motive of a farewell salutation is hardly strong enough even for Philoktetes himself. For at the end of the play this same idea of farewell greeting recurs (1403 : στείχω προσείσας χθόνα), but it is not felt to be necessary to enter the cave in order to carry out the suggestion.

[4] Jebb: 'he is afraid that one or more of the arrows may have been accidentally left behind in the cave.'

swathed and bandaged in a way that inevitably suggests *ποδάγρα*.[10] Such is the depravity of human nature that the emotions of pity and fear run great risk of being quite overpowered by the grotesque associations of a foot in swaddling bands.

Philoktetes makes his entrance neither to right nor to left of the spectators, neither by Paraskenion nor by Parodos, but *from the cave itself*, having got into it by what we may be allowed to call the back-door—the landward mouth. This is the 'great and noble secret' in the scenic economy of the play. Herein lies the key to the understanding of the true inwardness of the passages in which so evident emphasis is laid upon the existence of that landward entrance as to which the spectators could have no direct ocular proof. It is just because he is about to enter from the centre, through the cave itself, that the cries of Philoktetes penetrating the tunnel prove confusing to the Chorus, they are loud enough and distinct enough in themselves (*ἔτυμα* and *διάσημα*); but it is impossible to say from what direction they are coming (204: *ἦ που τῇδ' ἢ τῇδε τόπων*). The words in 217 (*ἢ ναὸς ἄξενον αὐγάζων ὅρμον*) are naturally suggested by the perception that the cries are now plainly issuing from the cave, and that Philoktetes is approaching its seaward mouth, whence there is a wide prospect over the Aegean. Again, we now understand why in 211, just before Philoktetes emerges, the leader of the Chorus says *οὐκ ἔξεδρος, ἀλλ' ἔντοπος ἀνήρ*, which does not mean, as Jebb translates, 'the man is not far off, but near,' but, 'the man is not outside the cave, but now within it.'

When Philoktetes at last appears, in 219, with his *ἰὼ ξένοι*, he is actually outside the cave. There extends in front of it a level patch, or platform, of rock, provided with a low natural parapet. His laboured uneasy leaning upon this during his long conversation (300 lines) with Neoptolemos, who stands on the beach below him, is the visible and sufficient sign of his crippled state; but the spectators actually see only the upper part of his body. The words employed by Neoptolemos in 163 (*στίβον ὀγμεύει*), and by Philoktetes himself in 291 (*εἰλυόμην, δύστηνον ἑλκέων πόδα*), appeal merely to the imagination. The perilous exhibition of the actual method of progression adopted by the cripple has no practical interest for the poet, who thus ingeniously avoids all necessity for it.

It is not until the invitation comes from Philoktetes in 533 (*ἴωμεν, ὦ παῖ, προσκύσαντε τὴν ἔσω δοκὸν εἰσοίκησιν*) that Neoptolemos prepares to mount the rocky path to the cave.[11] Before he has taken many steps he is

[10] Philoktetes had plenty of rags by him. Some were left with him at the first (274). These were indeed clothes, but he uses the word *ῥάκη* in contempt. Additional raiment he got from time to time (309). He thus has at any rate at least a change of dressing (581).

[11] In his Appendix Note on 533, Jebb, in answer to Seyffert's remark *χρείαν ἦν δῶν ἀναβάσεως τινός*, says—'But they are now at the entrance to the cave, not below it: see n. on 814.' I cannot discover at what point Jebb imagined Neoptolemos to have gone up to the cave, or how he thought the interference of Odysseus in (293 sqq.) effected. I think that while he is making his courteous reply to the pretended Merchant in 557 fol., Neoptolemos retraces his steps from the path. I suspect that the Merchant is really Odysseus himself, who is constitutionally a liar, but withal an experimenter daring to a pitch of foolhardiness; in

stopped by the entrance of the pretended Merchant. The situation is clear from the words of the Merchant in 573: ἀλλὰ τόνδε μοι πρῶτον φράσον τίς ἐστίν, indicating Philoktetes with an affectation of mystery. Philoktetes is of course at some distance above the speaker; Neoptolemos takes care to reply in tones loud enough for him to hear, in order to excite his curiosity and alarm (578 τί με κατὰ σκότον ποτὲ διεμπολᾷ λόγοισι πρὸς σ' ὁ ναυβάτης;). After this interruption Neoptolemos resumes the ascent; but the moment of this resumption, as well as the moment at which he reaches the place where Philoktetes stands, is not very clearly marked. It seems likely, however, that at 654 (ἦ ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ κλεινὰ τόξ' ἃ νῦν ἔχεις;) the speaker is already close to Philoktetes. I imagine that the lines 628–634, spoken by Philoktetes, *occupy the time of the ascent*; and that the renewed address in 635 (ἀλλ', ὦ τέκνον, χωρῶμεν) marks the moment at which Neoptolemos steps to the side of Philoktetes upon the platform at the mouth of the cave. At 674 (χωροῖς ἂν εἴσω. Καὶ σέ γ' εἰσάξω κ.τ.λ.) the two disappear into the cave. Then follows the Stasimon.

At 730 (ἔρπ', εἰ θέλεις) Philoktetes and Neoptolemos, having re-appeared from the cave as the strains of the Chorus cease,[12] begin to descend to the beach, Neoptolemos leading the way. The slow, painful movements of Philoktetes, the repeated stoppages, the convulsive grasping of the projections of the rocky balustrade of the path—it is obvious how readily all these symptoms could be combined in the production of a powerful effect, without the least exhibition of anything that might have endangered the pathos of the situation.

Jebb has thus imagined the scene, in his note on 814—'On leaving the cave with Neopt. Ph. had moved a few steps on the path leading down the cliffs to the shore. When the first attack of the disease came on (732) he stopped. The second attack (782) found him stationary in the same spot. A third is now beginning; and he begs Neopt. to take him ἐκεῖσε, i.e. up to the cave, where he will at least have the couch of leaves (33) to rest upon. Neopt. does not understand that ἐκεῖσε means, to the cave: so Ph. adds ἄνω. Neopt. has meanwhile taken hold of Ph., fearing that he may fall, or throw himself, from the cliffs (1001). his speech and manner show a fresh frenzy of agony (παραφρονεῖς αὖ), and his rolling eyes are upturned to the sky (τὸν ἄνω λεύσσεις κύκλον). The mere touch of the youth's hands is torture to the sufferer (817): and Neopt. releases him the moment that he seems to be recovering self-mastery (εἴ τι δὴ πλέον φρονεῖς).'

In this, while seeming to explain all, Jebb eludes the real question, viz. where are Philoktetes and Neoptolemos when the transference of the bow to the latter takes place (776)? Or, if you like, where is Philoktetes when sleep overcomes him (820)? Have the two made any progress in their descent, between the second attack (782) and what Jebb speaks of as the

addition, he is not quite sure of Neoptolemos—rightly, as the event proved. In 978 Philoktetes says ἆρ' Ὀδυσσέως κλύω; because he had been warned that Odysseus was actually coming for him.

[12] They reappear from the cave probably at 719—as Jebb, correctly, I think.

third attack (814)? His suggestion that Neoptolemos is afraid that Philoktetes may fall, or throw himself, from the cliff seems to imply that they are both to be imagined as standing yet at some height above the beach. The second attack (782) is clearly of increased severity as compared with the first, and we can hardly imagine that Philoktetes can walk, at any rate during 782 to 792; so that, if at 814 he is still a good height above the beach, it would seem that little progress can have been made between 792 and that point. Further, the nature of the dialogue and action from about 810 (the hand-pledge) is such as to make it more probable that the two men are then to be thought of as side by side than that they are to be pictured as descending in single file; so that their progress down the path would be limited apparently to the eighteen lines 792–810. These eighteen lines cannot well be taken to cover the entire remainder of the descent, or indeed any considerable portion of it, if, as according to Jebb is the case, no progress at all is made during the fifty lines 732–782.[9]

The truth is rather that between 732 and 782 the painful progress must be supposed to continue, as the words *ἀλλ' ἴθ', ὦ τέκνον* sufficiently indicate. Philoktetes is then wrestling with his growing agony, hoping that a desperate effort of will may avert the attack and enable him to reach the goal of his hopes, the ship. Spasm follows hard upon spasm (*ἰὼ θεοί . . . . , ἆ ἆ*), until, at 742, he must confess himself beaten (*οὐ δυνήσομαι κακὸν κρύψαι παρ' ὑμῖν*). I imagine that the pause is followed by a short recovery, during which he goes on again (from 752; at 754 a recurring spasm). At 760 he has just managed to reach the bottom of the path, but reels there faint and giddy with pain, so that Neoptolemos, *now that they find themselves together again on the level ground*, offers his assistance (762: *βούλει λάβωμαι δῆτα καὶ θίγω τί σου;*). The remainder of the scene, therefore, is enacted at the foot of the path, on the beach itself.

On this disposition of the action two moments of dramatic significance are exhibited with proper solemnity—the transference of the bow to Neoptolemos (763–776), and the hand-pledge (809–813). On any other arrangement these actions must be performed either on the platform in front of the cave, or in most awkward and ineffective fashion during the actual descent.

At 814 it is not a question of a third attack of the malady, but of the onset of the lethargy foretold by Philoktetes himself at 766 (*λαμβάνει γὰρ οὖν ὕπνος μ', ὅταν περ τὸ κακὸν ἐξίῃ τόδε*) on the basis of his past experiences. If only he could have reached the ship before it seized him! The second attack (782) made this hopeless; his anxiety now is that he may not be fated to wake to find himself abandoned, as once before had been his bitter experience (276: *ποίαν μ' ἀνάστασιν δοκεῖς αὐτῶν βεβώτων ἐξ ὕπνου στῆναι τότε;*). At this point Philoktetes collapses. As he feels himself slipping into unconsciousness he craves the familiar shelter of his cave (814:

[9] Note that, of these 50 lines, the last 28 (754–782) are unbroken by spasm or outcry, and quite clearly mark an interval of calm between paroxysms.

ἐκεῖσε νῦν μ', ἐκεῖσε)—but it is too late: *μέθες μέθες με*, he gasps—not, as Jebb translates, 'let me go, let me go!' but, 'put me down'; all that can be done for him now is to lay him gently down, for as he says in 820 *τὸ γὰρ κακὸν τόδ' οὐκέτ' ἀρθοῦσθαί μ' ἐᾷ*. Neoptolemos does not understand his collapse, and with mistaken kindness insists upon supporting him on his feet —*οὐ φήμ' ἐάσειν* (817) means 'I will not let you down.' When Philoktetes screams out *ἀπό μ' ὀλεῖς, ἢν προσθίγῃς*, Neoptolemos realises that the case is beyond him and lets him sink gently to the ground, with the words (818) *καὶ δὴ μεθίημ'· εἴ τι δὴ πλέον φρονεῖς*, 'there then: I lay you down; you understand your own case better than I do.' Jebb's suggestions of momentary suicidal frenzy on the part of Philoktetes, and recovery of self-control, are all a vain imagination.

Then the Chorus and Neoptolemos retire a few paces: the Chorus has naturally gone forward towards the foot of the path ready to give assistance. It is evident that Philoktetes is now in full view of the Chorus (and the spectators) as he lies unconscious on the beach at the base of the rock. At 865 he opens his eyes, and raises his head; 894 marks the moment when, assisted by Neoptolemos, he slowly regains his feet.

Philoktetes now learns the fatal truth. After the tremendous outburst of mingled imprecation and entreaty he turns, half-dazed by his recent agonies and this new treachery, and with the invocation (952) *ὦ σχῆμα πέτρας δίπυλον, αἴθις αὖ πάλιν εἶσειμι πρός σε ψιλός*, he gropes his way, a broken pathetic figure, up the path. When he reaches the platform before the cave's mouth he turns to hurl a final curse, arrested in the utterance (961: *ὄλοιο—μήπω, πρὶν μάθοιμ' εἰ καὶ πάλιν γνώμην μετοίσεις*). At 974 Neoptolemos, as Jebb correctly remarks, is 'in the act of approaching Philoktetes' (better, is on the point of re-ascending to the cave) to restore the bow, when Odysseus suddenly appears and checks his generous impulse.[14] At the end of the second *κομμός*, with the broken-hearted cry (1217) *ἔτ' οὐδέν εἰμι*, Philoktetes disappears into the cave.

Neoptolemos is standing on the beach,[15] when at 1261 he calls aloud *σὺ δ', ὦ Ποίαντος παῖ, Φιλοκτήτην λέγω, ἔξελθ', ἀμείψας τάσδε πετρήρεις στέγας*. Philoktetes, coming forth with the words *τίς αὖ παρ' ἄντρου θόρυβος ἵσταται βοῆς*; and with the expectation as he peers over the parapet of seeing only the sailors of the Chorus (1264: *τοῦ κεχρημένοι, ξένοι;*), catches sight of Neoptolemos immediately (1265: *ὤμοι· κακὸν τὸ χρῆμα*). At 1286 Neoptolemos has gone up to Philoktetes, and at 1291 (*ἀλλὰ δεξιὰν πρότεινε χεῖρα*) actually hands him the precious weapons. At this instant Odysseus springs into view,[16] just as he did before (974); but on that

[14] Impulse, here the proper word. The final restoration of the bow is the outcome of deliberate resolve based upon conviction.

[15] No one surely will insist that the phrase of Philoktetes, *παρ' ἄντρου*, must signify that Neoptolemos is hard by the mouth of the cave.

[16] Why just at this moment, and not at 1287: *δέχου δὲ χειρὸς ἐξ ἐμῆς δῶρα τάδε*? The reason is purely that Odysseus was not aware of Neoptolemos going up the path, for while he was expounding Philoktetes was cursing vigorously (1281 fol.), and so Odysseus did not dream that that hardly rehuffed he was actually going up to restore the bow. The dramatist also wishes to heighten the interest—Odysseus had intervened at the corresponding moment on the

occasion he was in time to stop Neoptolemos at the foot of the cliff; now he is too late, for Neoptolemos is already on the platform above, while he himself is a mark for the unerring shafts. Jebb surely spoils it by translating 1296 *πέλας γ' ὁρᾷς*, 'thou seest him at thy side.' That Neoptolemos, on the other hand, is close by Philoktetes is manifest from 1301: *μίθες με, πρὸς θεῶν, χεῖρα*.[17] Neoptolemos has seized his arm as he bends the bow. Odysseus, throwing dignity aside, is glad to scurry away with a whole skin.

With 1402 (*εἰ δοκεῖ, στείχωμεν*) begins the final descent from the cave to the shore—as before to be arrested, not this time by the fell agonies of disease, but by the gracious apparition of the glorified Herakles. Herakles, like his old-time benefactor, *emerges from the cave itself*; and in order to deliver his divine message he advances to the little platform in front of its mouth. That is the reason why his appearance is not heralded by any warning on the part of either actors or Chorus. He is a *deus ex antro*, not *ex machina*. This epiphany is surely one of the most dignified and impressive in Greek Tragedy.

Where exactly are Neoptolemos and Philoktetes when Herakles appears? There can be no large interval of time between the words of Neoptolemos in 1408 (*στεῖχε προσκύσας χθόνα*) and the command of Herakles, *μήπω γε κ.τ.λ.* On the other hand, the expression used by Neoptolemos in 1402 (*εἰ δοκεῖ, στείχωμεν*) marks the beginning of the movement. The trochaics 1402 to 1407 *cover the descent of the two from the cave to the shore*.[18] Their further progress is arrested at the foot of the path, precisely where it had been arrested when Philoktetes collapsed. It should be noticed that there is a triple occurrence of the word *στείχω*. When it is used for the second time, in 1408 (*στεῖχε προσκύσας χθόνα*), it is the signal for the final procession of exit, which would naturally here follow were it not interrupted by the appearance of Herakles. When Herakles disappears into the cave again (at 1451), the command which initiates the exit is given once more, this time by Philoktetes, using the same word (1452: *φέρε νυν στείχωμεν χῶραν καλέσω*).

There is, we see, plenty of coming and going, of ascending and descending, in the play; three times, perhaps four,[19] does Neoptolemos make the ascent to the cave and the descent to the beach; even Philoktetes, crippled as he is, makes two descents and one ascent. The action in general is of considerable vigour, not to say violence. A 'certain statuesque simplicity and gracefulness of pose,' which according to some[20] is characteristic of

previous occasion; will he do so now again? Besides this, Neoptolemos must be allowed at some time or other to get to Philoktetes; that is, the alertness of Odysseus must suffer, that the action may proceed.

[17] Notice how the phrase of 816 is repeated. This sort of responsion is frequent and significant.

[18] I venture upon a more particular analysis. During 1402 (*εἰ δοκεῖ, στείχωμεν· ἃ γεγενῆσθαι χρεὼν ἔπος*) they advance to the head of the path. The next lines fall during the descent. With 1407 (*πᾶς λόγος, εἴμῳ καλύπτων*) they reach the foot of the path. At the words *στεῖχε προσκύσας χθόνα* they are in the act of advancing from the foot of the path across the beach in final exit.

[19] Four, if Neoptolemos accompanies the leader of the Chorus to view the cave at 146–160.

[20] See Haigh, Attic Theatre[3], p. 277.

Greek Tragedy, is not much in evidence here. 'On the long and narrow stage the figures were arranged in picturesque and striking groups, and the successive scenes in the play presented to the eye of the spectator a series of artistic tableaux'—on these *a priori* lines we should have to pronounce the *Philoktetes* abnormal. Probably it would be more profitable to refrain from these *dicta* until we have subjected the extant Tragedies severally to a rigorous analysis, conducted without prepossessions, with a view of discovering if possible what each in performance was really like. At any rate the correct procedure is to start from the text—'the play's the thing.'

W. J. Woodhouse.

University of Sydney,
New South Wales.

LIVES OF HOMER.

I.

I SHALL not do injustice to the learning of my readers if I imagine that the lives of Homer are not their usual reading, their *livre de chevet*. They are seldom opened nowadays, unless some wandering folklorist plunders them for an Εἱρεσιώνη or a Κάμακος. Once they were part of the arsenal of learning. The editors of Homer from Chalcondylas to Ernesti printed them at the head of the poet, and herein only followed the Byzantine use. The Eastern Empire had the habit of amassing a considerable quantity of erudition—grammatical, metrical, exegetical, and also biographical—believed necessary for the comprehension of Homer, and arranging it at the beginning of a copy of the poems. Whether the later classical ages also had this habit we cannot tell, for no papyrus has been found to present the beginning of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. It was in any case the latest period of classicism which so consulted the ease of a reader as to include his commentary with his author. The handbook existed, in post-Augustan days, but separately. Scholia of any compass have so far not been found in MSS. earlier than the minuscule era, and their origin appears to coincide very nearly with the act which marked the world's second childhood, the closing of the schools by Justinian.[1]

The documents in question are eight in number. Their age, origin, and relation to one another are doubtful. Most of the information they contain does not reach the level of historical fact, but they constitute a department, not to be neglected, of ancient literature, and are ultimately connected with their ostensible subject. Having recently edited them (Oxford, 1912) I have been led to consider them in general. For bibliographical and diplomatic details I refer to the edition.

The Herodotean life is diffuse and tedious, as tedious to read as to collate. It is in the Ionic dialect. The writer by assuming the person of Herodotus excludes the possibility of quoting technical authorities, and in fact anyone except Homer. We have therefore nothing but internal evidence to go upon. The events of the Life themselves are few: Homer was born at Smyrna of Cretheis or Critheis upon the banks of the river

[1] Martial xii. *Praef.* 25 παραγράψαντος [τοῦ πράκτορος] τῶν ἀντιγράφων τὸν ἀποστράπτην, ἐγένετο εἰς Ὁμήρου λύχνος καὶ ἀποσκήματα στίχων οὐκ ὀλίγων. The word occurs, but not in the sense which we now give it, earlier in Porph. on *Plol.* 5 σχόλια δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ συναγόμενα ἐκαστοῦ τῶν βιβλίων συνήθως τῶν σχολίων.

Meles, travelled about Ithaca and Leucas, returned to Colophon, where he lost his sight. The rest of his life he passed in Smyrna, Cyme, Neon Teichos, Phocaea, Chios, Samos, and Ios, where he died.

The language, Ionic, is an obvious but indecisive factor in the problem of the authorship. The dialect is late, according to Smyth, *Ionic* p. 117. Late literary Ionic was used by many doctors and a considerable number of post-Augustan historians (see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* ii. 995).

We must look at the writer's opinions.[2] He makes Smyrna the birthplace of Homer, and (c. 47) argues that he was an Aeolian, *i.e.*, not a Chian or an Ietan, on the ground of language (*πεμπώβολα*) and institutions (the omission to utilise the *ὀσφύς* of the victim). He holds that Smyrna was founded from Cyme. This, however, was the general opinion. Cyme and Lesbos were the mothers of thirty towns according to Strabo (622). The opposite view that Smyrna was founded from Ephesus is given by Strabo (634) without authority. The Ephesian Artemidorus, one of his principal sources, no doubt maintained it. The writer shews a detailed knowledge of Aeolis, and seems to be the only authority for the statement that Neon Teichos was founded by the Cymaeans eight years after their own settlement;[3] the mountain Σατδηνή above Neon Teichos (mentioned elsewhere only in the poems he cites; Steph. Byz. clearly quotes from him); the iron-works at Cebren, which town the Cymaeans were thinking of founding;[4] the localities shewn at Neon Teichos in connexion with Homer, the survival for a long time of the Κάμινος or Κεραμεῖς in the *ἀγερμός* at Samos (c. 23); and the Ἀπατούρια and worship of Κουρατρόφος at that place (c. 20). Moreover at the end he gives some very precise chronological details: Lesbos was settled in towns 130 years after the Trojan War; twenty years after this Cyme was colonised; from the birth of Homer to the invasion of Greece by Xerxes[5] 622 years passed; from the Trojan War to the birth of Homer was 168 years. For further calculation the reader is referred to the Athenian archons. On the last date the MSS. vary between 168 and 160. The latter is given by Cassius *ap.* Gell. xvii. 21. 3, and, without authority, by Cyril in Julian. vii. p. 225.[6] Philostr. *Heroic.* xviii. 2=318=194. 13. It comes between Aristarchus' 140 years and Philochorus' 180. The reference to archons also points to Philochorus, who gave *ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος* Ἀρχίππου as the exact date (whence the Tzetzean life of Hesiod c. 2).

We depend upon the local knowledge, and must ask who is likely to have possessed it. The great man of Cyme was Ephorus. In his *ἐπιχώριος* (Λόγος?) he dealt with the story of Homer (*vit. Plut.* 2). Homer's short stemma, his parentage, and the meaning of his name are quoted. The latter

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[2] Cf. Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 36. 413 (mainly on chronology).

[3] Strabo 621 made it the original Aeolic settlement, earlier than Cyme.

[4] Ephorus *fr.* 22 agrees in the Cymaean origin of Cebren.

[5] This aera was chosen in character, as by Herodotus.

[6] Hiller *Rh. Mus.* 25. 253 holds that Cyril's chronological statements are taken from Eusebius.

part of the Ephorean stemma is not the same as the Herodotean,[7] this difference seems enough to disprove Ephorus' authorship, and to it we may add two arguments from probability. If Ephorus treated the Homer-legend in his ἐπιχώριος, he can hardly have written a life of Homer also; and the infantine tone and diffuseness of the Herodotean life does not resemble what we know of Ephorus. No one will wish to go back to Hippias and Stesimbrotus. More is to be said for Cephalion of Gergithus (*F.H.G.* iii. 68 *sqq.* 625 *sqq.*). There appear to have been two Cephallones, one of whom wrote Τρωικά, or an account of the geography and history of the Troad (like Demetrius of Scepsis, Attalus I., and Histiaea) and is quoted by Augustan and Antonininian writers, while he is merely a cloak for Hegesianax, who lived under Antiochus the Great. This shadowy person was called of Gergithus. Another of his name under Hadrian, wrote πανταδοπαὶ ἱστορίαι of the sort of Conon and Hephaestion, and was a source for the Byzantian erudites Syncellus and Malalas. He survived till the day of Photius, who analyses him (*Bibliotheca cod.* 68). According to the article in Suidas he was also a Gergithian. This article is currently accused of conflation; but it is to be observed that there is nothing in it inconsistent with the second Cephalion except his birthplace.[8] Suidas does not ascribe Τρωικά to him, nor make him an ambassador to Rome. According to Photius he himself concealed his birthplace and parentage, after the model of Homer. He also gave himself out to be an exile in Sicily—evidently after the model of Herodotus. It is therefore not certain that Suidas' ascription of Gergithus to him is wrong. His history, according to Photius, was in nine books, called after the nine muses and in Ionic. This is plainly in imitation of Herodotus. Moreover, in his ninth book he included, according to Photius, 'the history of Cephalion.' This at first sight means the Τρωικά of his namesake; and as his ninth book treated of Alexander there is an obvious reason why he should have incorporated the Trojan discourse of the elder Cephalion. If he, like the elder Cephalion, were a Gergithian, the origin of the local information in the Life is clear. Cephalion either knew it from personal observation or stole it from his namesake's Τρωικά. One who had copied Herodotus' dialect and his nine Muses, would easily go one step

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[7] *Herod.*

Cothon
|
Ithagenas — Cmyrus
|
Melampus + daughter
|
Critheis
|
Homer

Ephorus:

Apelles — Malus — Dius
|
Phemius + Crithais — Hesiod
|
Homer

The occurrence of Crethon in the Herodotean stemma suggests Dinarchus (v. Part II.).

[8] Κεφαλίων ὁ Κεφάλων, Γεργίθιος· ἱστορῶν καὶ ἱστορικὰς γενεὰς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδώνιδος. ἔφυγε δὲ τὴν πατρίδα δι' ἀνεξήνιον δυναστῶν, καὶ ἔβιω ἐν Σικελίᾳ· ἔγραψε πανταδοπὰς ἱστορίας ἐν βιβλίοις θ', ἅτινα ἐπιγράφει Μούσας. ἴσᾶι δικλέπτῃ, μελέτας τε ῥητορικὰς, καὶ ἄλλα τινά. The μελέται ῥητορικαί may cover the Life.

On Cephalion Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* ii. 895 may still be read.

further and write a life of Homer under Herodotus' name. Photius condemns his childish pretence of learning; the childish prolixity of the Life, together with its well-furnished sources, is obvious. This information would be extant in the Antonine period, the age of Lucian and Philostratus. It was also the age of anecdotic history and Homeric mythology. We need I think not look further for the author of the Herodotean life.

The quotations of the Life are late (Stephanus of Byzantium and Philoponus). The allusion in Tatian is doubtful. It contains beside the epigraphical and archaeological details we have mentioned twenty-eight verse quotations, the so-called Homeric Epigrams, which are often believed to have an independent existence. Of these eight come from the Iliad and Odyssey; one is according to the author the beginning of the *Ilias parva*; two profess to be epitaphs (that on Midas[1] was claimed for Cleobulus of Lindos), two are popular songs, the Κάμινος or Κεραμεῖς (attributed to Hesiod by Pollux) and the Εἰρεσιώνη. The remaining fifteen are not popular or epigraphic or of known source. They constitute a considerable problem. They are in good epic Greek, without Alexandrianism or mysticism. Some of the lines were utilised by Sophocles (Athen. 592 A). Now as the writer draws on the Iliad and Odyssey to supply his hero with utterances it might be supposed that these fifteen deliverances came from other but lost epics, namely the Cycle. But on inspection it looks improbable that they ever stood in a different context from that in which they now find themselves. It would be very difficult to force *αἰδεῖσθε ξενίων* (101), or *οἵη μ' αἶσα* (173), or *κλῦθι Ποσειδάων* (235) into any part of the Tale of Thebes or Troy; and the other verses if less unamenable do not suggest of themselves an heroic context. The verses, in fact, seem to be concerned with nothing but what they ostensibly convey, the Life of Homer. They appear to come all from one poem on that subject. Cephalion (or the author of the Life) seems to have written a prose history out of this poem, incorporating portions which recommended themselves. Similarly the Orphic compiler of the Berlin Papyrus 44 worked in verses here and there from the extant Homeric Hymn. The poem was eminently local, and contained most of the geographical data which we have noticed: the foundation of Neon Teichos from Cyme (102, for Pauw's emendation Κύμης is probable); Σαιδηνή, *ib.*, the foundation of Smyrna from Cyme (175, 6); the worship of Poseidon on Helicon (236); the prophecy of iron at Cebren (285). Cephalion limits himself to comments on these texts. The poem may or may not have contained the Κάμινος or Κεραμεῖς (439), but as Pollux states it was attributed to Hesiod it apparently had an independent existence, and this is slightly confirmed by its mention in the Suidean list of Homer's works (46, ed. Oxf.). We then assume an autobiographical poem, full of local details. Did this poem come down to Cephalion's time and was it used by him directly? That a vast mass of heroic verse existed in Cephalion's age, which is the age of Pausanias and

[1] How the author reconciled this epitaph, written for Midas' sons, with his date 168 or 160 years after the Trojan, is not clear.

Athenaeus, is obvious; still there is no explicit mention of any poem which could be this. It is therefore probable it was known to Cephalion through the earlier mémoiristes, for instance Stesimbrotus. The parody of part of it by Sophocles suggests it was current in the fifth century. Similarly the compiler of the *Certamen* took over his quotations from Alcidamas, as Alcidamas in his turn probably took them from a predecessor.

To this autobiographical poem we shall return; the next document to be considered is the *Certamen*. This singular composition, discovered by Stephanus in what is still the unique fourteenth century MS. at Florence, has been most recently explained by Adolf Busse (*Rh. Mus.* 1900, 108). It consists of three parts: a Life of Homer, the Agon proper, and a third part composed of a Life of Hesiod and a Life of Homer. The Life of Homer comes from the same source as the other Lives: its stemma is the same as the Characcan and the Proculean; and these are all slightly varying representations of the genealogy of Damastes (*v.* Part II.). The compiler therefore used the *ὑπόμνημα*, which is the basis of all the Lives (*ib.*). The original of the central portion, the **Μουσεῖον** of Alcidamas, was still extant in the time of Stobaeus, who quotes 81, 82 from it.[10] A portion of it, of a much earlier date, was discovered among the Flinders Petrie papyri (*s.* iii. B.C.). The composer of the *Certamen* does not name himself, but by a reference to an oracle given *ἐπὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριανοῦ* (32, 3) defines his age *a parte priore*. This author unlike Herodotus quotes: the writers he quotes are Hellanicus, Cleanthes the Stoic, Eugaeon,[11] Callicles,[12] Democrines[13] of Troezen, Eratosthenes, and Alcidamas *ἐν Μουσείῳ*. None of these is late. In the third part the compiler uses the original of the life of Hesiod repeated successively by Proclus (this has perished) and Tzetzes (extant), as well as the Homeric life. He conveys much learned information: the beginnings and stichometry of the Thebais and Epigoni—a method of classification implying access to the *πίνακες* of Callimachus, which we find used in the Antoninian period by Athenaeus;[14] the stichometry of the Iliad and Odyssey, a version with variants of B 559 *sqq.*, Delian anecdotes (from Semus?), such as that Homer recited the hymn to Apollo standing on the *κεράτινος βωμός*, and that the Delians inscribed his verses on a *λεύκωμα* in the temple of Artemis. He equates Homer's period with Midas and Medon

[10] There is no difficulty in believing the reference to concern the original Agon and not our document. Rhetorical exercises by Gorgias and Alcidamas are still extant, and Tzetzes *Chil.* xi. 750 declares he had read 'many' of the latter's λόγοι.

[11] *F.H.G.* ii. 18. Dated by Dion. Hal. *ad* *πρὸ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν τειχῶν*. His ἔργα Σκυλᾶν is to be noticed as an instance of one source of the tradition about Homer.

[12] No independent notice of Callicles exists. He seems to have been a Cypriote, since his candidate as Homer's father Maeagrus here is evidently the same as Dmaegoras favoured by Alexander of Paphos (*vit.* vii. 2. 10). If this is so he is the authority for the statement *Cert.* 30, that his father was given as a hostage by the *Cypriens* to the Persians. He made him a Cyprian Salaminian *vit.* vi. 17. He was probably earlier than Antipater (*vit. Plat.* i. 89).

[13] *Democrines* of Troezen must disappear. Δημόκριτος here is an error for the rarer name, which is preserved *vit.* vi. 28 *schol.* B 744.

[14] Hirt, *Homerische Beobachtungen*, p. 164, *cf.* first lines without ἄρχεται in *Anonymi vita Aristotelis* Did. p. 14, ἔστι δὲ ἀρχὴ ἀχιλ. θεᾶν οὐλομ. ἑκατομβόλ., τελευτὴ δὲ ἀρχὴ καλλιτέχνας κατρὸς δόγματος.

king of Athens. Whether all this erudition came from the *ὑπόμνημα*, or the compiler added thereto *de suo*, we cannot tell. For the post of compiler I have suggested Porphyrius. The anterior time-limit cuts out most of the smaller grammarians whose names we know; the austerity of Apollonius and Herodian cannot be suspected; the book is too erudite in form for a sophist or for Philostratus. The great Homeric activity of Porphyrius seems to draw it by suction into its track. If Proclus two centuries later wrote a Life of Homer, his predecessor (or a disciple) might have composed this mixture of erudition and rhetoric (as he wrote his well-found life of Pythagoras). Still the field is open, and grammarians were innumerable.[15]

The Agon proper, which seems to have been incorporated faithfully—since the papyrus fragment does not differ materially from the fourteenth century MS.—contains a number of verses recited alternately by Hesiod and Homer: *καλῶς δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀπαντήσαντος [τοῦ Ὁμήρου] ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμφιβόλους γνώμας ὥρμησεν ὁ Ἡσίοδος, καὶ πλείονας στίχους λέγων ἠξίου καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον συμφώνως ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Ὅμηρον. ἔστιν οὖν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Ἡσιόδου, ὁ δὲ ἑξῆς Ὁμήρου ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ διὰ δύο στίχων τὴν ἐπερώτησιν ποιουμένου τοῦ Ἡσιόδου.* That is to say Hesiod propounded one line, or two lines, apparently absurd, as

οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀνδρός τ' ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀνάλκιδός ἐστι,

which Homer set right by the simple addition

μητρός, ἐπεὶ πόλεμος χαλεπὸς πάσῃσι γυναιξίν.

In other words the couplets constituted a kind of *γρῖφος* with solution. The presumption would follow either that Alcidamas wrote all the verses himself (a supposition hardly likely in itself, and which would rob the dialogue of most of its point), or that he selected lines which lent themselves to his purpose from the Cycle (since none of them occur in the Iliad and Odyssey) and Hesiod. We should therefore add the first verse in most cases, the first two in some, to the fragments of Hesiod, the last to the fragments of Homer. The author made an early Cento of a griphic character. That the Agon was in fact griphic is the view of Busse *l.c.*, who cites Clearchus *ap.* Ath. 457 D *προέβαλλον γάρ παρὰ τοῖς πότοις οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν ἐρωτῶντες ἀλλήλους . . . Ε ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰς τοιαύτας τῷ πρώτῳ ἔπει ἢ ἰαμβείῳ εἰπόντι τὸ ἐχόμενον ἕκαστον λέγειν, καὶ τῷ κεφαλαίῳ εἰπόντι ἀντεπιφέρειν τὸ ἕτερον ταυτοῦ τινος.* The resemblance between the Agon and these Greek parlour-games, for which Memory was the only requisite, is not strong. Still the griphe which consisted in giving the next verse to one quoted is in so far a support to my belief that the couplets in the Agon were originally couplets as they stand.

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[15] *e.g.* Hermogenes whose epitaph (*C.I.G.* ii. 1, 3311) says *συνέγραψε δὲ βιβλία . . . περὶ Ζωίλου α' β', περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου στάσεως α' καὶ τετράδας α'* (Schrader, *Porph. qu. H.* p. 443), or Cassius Longinus (Suid. *in v.*), teacher of Porphyrius under Aurelius, who wrote several Homeric works.

But there are two difficulties at least in accepting this view: first the couplet 107, 108

> δεῖπνον ἔπειθ' εἵλοντο βοῶν κρέα καὐχένας ἵππων
> ἕλκυον ἰδρώοντας ἐπεὶ πολέμοιο κορέσθην

is cited by Aristophanes *Peace* 1282 with a slight variant. Aristophanes is older than Alcidamas. Therefore either Alcidamas' statement that the couplets are composed of unconnected Hesiodean and Homeric lines is entirely untrue, or the cento is a fifth-century work, appropriated by Alcidamas.[55] It appears to me unlikely that Aristophanes should have put part of a fifth-century cento into the mouth of his boy. As Busse himself remarks 115, 6 are certainly indecent, and 117 ambiguous. They would be unsuitable for children to commit to heart, whatever lessons of style they might convey. Moreover effective parody, which is Aristophanes' object, consists in the quotation of passages really occurring in familiar works, not of lines invented, or artificially brought together, by a compiler.

Further, the passage of the *Peace* in which 107, 108 occur consists of a series of heroic hexameters put in the mouth of a παῖς who has learned them at school. We are to understand therefore that they belong to the stock of heroic poetry on which youth was fed. The first (1270) is the beginning of the Epigoni of Antimachus of Teos: the next, 1273, 4 and 1276, are common lines in the Iliad; the couplet in question follows; then 1280, 7 not in our Homer but in good heroic Greek. The presumption evidently is that the fourth and fifth quotations, like the first three, are from the heroic *corpus*: in fact since the scholiast who identifies 1270 says nothing about them I presume he left it to be understood that they also came from the Epigoni. If now the first couplet in the Contest—107, 108—is transparently not a blend of Hesiod and Homer, the same must hold of all the others, failing specific proof of the contrary. Alcidamas' statement is a blind, a literary fable to introduce his exercise. It is not difficult to see what the intention of the exercise was, and why these particular verses were put into the mouths of the characters. The rhetor himself a stylist of the first rank, intended to pass a veiled criticism on the style of the post-homeric epopoei, in particular on the ambiguity of many of their lines taken in themselves: the fault he censured was the failure to include the elements of predication within the stichus. If we examine the couplets we see that the first line read by itself conveys an absurdity which is set right by the apparition of the second. Thus 107 makes the heroes eat horseflesh, 108 by providing a new verb removes *αὐχένας ἵππων* from the government of *εἵλοντο*. (Meyer and Busse think the lines can never have stood in a heroic poem on account of the hysteron proteron. But this, according to me, and

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[55] Isocrates' words *Panath.* 18 = 236f may apply: . . . *λέγων δὲ ἐν τῷ λυπεῖν τυγχάνεις ὁμοίως τοῖς ἢ τέτταρας τῶν ἐγκλείων σοφιστῶν καὶ πάντα φαυλότατα εἰδέναι καὶ τοσοῦτον τοσοῦτοις γεγονέναι, διαλέγουσιν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῶν Ὁμήρου ποιημάτων, οἷόν μοι καὶ αὐτοὺς λέγοντες τὸ δ' ἐκείνων βαβαιβαῖνες καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἄλλοι, τοιοῦτο γάρ τὰ κάλλιστα μεμιμημένοντες.*

perhaps the crasis also accounted for their selection.) Line 133 τοῖσιν δ' Ἀτρεΐδης μεγάλ' εὔχετο πᾶσιν ἀλέσθαι is mitigated by the long deferred appearance of μηδέποτ' ἐν πόντῳ in 134. Line 131 credits some heroic force with capacity beyond that of Xerxes' host, 122 alarms us with the 'white bones of dead Zeus.' The rhetor castigated these faults of technique by exhibiting the first line in the guise of a puzzle to be solved by the other competitor. The efforts of rhapsodes to ease the grammar and elucidate the sense of Homer himself were a principal cause of the accretions of the Iliad and Odyssey, accretions which the Alexandrians found their most profitable occupation in removing.

We conclude then that Alcidamas used the traditional contest between Homer and Hesiod as a vehicle to convey criticism on badly composed verses of the heroic *corpus*. The interesting question follows: where do these verses come from? None of them occur in Homer or Hesiod as we have them; the Masters presumably were sacred. The presumption is that the remainder came from the Hesiodic *corpus* and the Cycle. Vv. 107, 108 as we have noticed may have come from the Epigoni. The sentiment of 114 resembles *Il. parv.* 2. A few further suggestions may be made. Vv. 121–3, the burial of Sarpedon: no poem is known to deal with this subject separately. The verses may come from a fuller version of Π (*i.e.* at 683). The accumulation of genitives betrays the forger. 124–6 which are retrospective, and recall ξ 468 *sqq.*, would find a place in the Νόστοι or the Τηλεγονία; the Atrides who (133–137) contrived to make a double *gaffe* can only be Menelaus receiving Paris, *i.e.* in the Cypria. The rest I cannot guess at, but the apparent imputation on Artemis' virtue (111) comes from Hesiod, if not from Eumelus (Apollod. iii. 100).

The second objection to believing the Agon to be a cento whether of the fifth or the fourth century is this. The problem set by Hesiod to Homer immediately before the series of couplets begins, viz:—

> μοῦσ' ἄγε μοι τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα
> τῶν μὲν μηδὲν ἄειδε, σὺ δ' ἄλλης μνῆσαι ἀοιδῆς,

with Homer's answer—

> οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμφὶ Διὸς τύμβῳ καναχήποδες ἵπποι
> ἅρματα συντρίψουσι ἐρίζοντες περὶ νίκης,

is given, with verbal variants,[17] by Plutarch *sept. sap. conv.* 153 *e*, on the authority of Lesches. One Lesches and one only is known to history. He rests on the respectable evidence of Phanias the Peripatetic who makes him a native of Pyrrha in Lesbos and a rival of Arctinus (*F.H.G.* ii. 299). He has fared badly at the hands of the learned. Karl Robert, as should e'er be brought to mind, resolved him into the man of the Λέσχη and in this passage he has been for many years past doubled. Should a second Lesches

[17] The Plutarchean μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε κεῖνα defends the μοῦσ' ἄγε μοι of the *Certamen*, which has been misunderstood. The five lines are supposed to be the beginning of a poem, not a literal challenge to Homer. Ἄγε δ' is the usual call to the Muse.

appear in a document this argument will succeed; pending such a resurrection this theoretical tribute to method is sterile. We must deal with the evidence which exists without foregone conclusions.

Lesches, one and indivisible, could only write verse. Prose was not in his day. He therefore narrated the contest between Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis in a poem, from which Plutarch quoted in the first century after Christ, and out of which Alcidamas centuries before composed his *Μουσεῖον*. Lesches then beside the Ἴλιὰς μικρά composed a pious poem on his Master's life. Such another poem, of the Hesiodic school, was that from which Hes. *fr.* 265 (the victory of Hesiod over Homer not at Chalcis but at Delos) was drawn, as it would seem by Philochorus. It is not certain that the couplets 107 *sqq.* of the *Certamen* formed part of Lesches' poem, for Plutarch's reference only covers 97–101. Lesches' day also was so early that he had only, so far as we can prove, Arctinus and Antimachus, the author of the Epigoni, to criticise. We may plausibly add the Thebais (as older than Callinus) and the Cypria (see p. 257, but I do not build on such slender foundations). However, it is more than probable that the professionals of the eighth century did criticise each other, and sharply, as Pindar and Bacchylides exchanged courtesies two hundred years later, and Theognis (if we believe Mr. Harrison's first gospel, as I still do) corrected his poetical brethren. It would be contrary to all we know of the bardic nature if the Homeridae and Hesiodei spared each other—

καὶ πτωχὸς πτωχῷ φθονέει καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀοιδῷ.

It seems then safe to say that the tradition of the rivalry between the heads of the two schools can be traced to a Lesbian cyclic poet of the eighth century. A poem also appeared to be the source of the Herodotean life. The Lesbian poem contained a contest in amoebean verse: it was probably only an episode in the poetical life of Homer. In the fourth century Alcidamas, whose interest was in style, expanded the incident into a rhetorical exercise, conveying criticism on the post-homeric epopoei. That he repeated Lesches' couplets throughout cannot be proved, but it seems not improbable.[16]

In the last volume of Plutarch's dreary Moralia is to be found a lengthy treatise entitled *περὶ Ὁμήρου οὐ πλουτάρχου εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ Ὁμήρου*. It consists of two parts, one short the other long. The contents of both are nearly entirely grammatical: each begins with a short life. Various ancient authors, Galen first, attest that Plutarch wrote *μελέται ὁμηρικαί*, and Stobaeus gives considerable extracts therefrom. Modern scholars[17] who have investigated the matter consider that these two treatises represent the *μελέται*, but that they were put into shape and provided with

[16] These conclusions were I believe reached independently. I see on reference that the idea of a poem of some antiquity as the source of the *Certamen* is countenanced by Bergk, *Gr. Litteraturgesch.* i. 930, 931, Rohde, *Rh. Mus.* 38, Edmund Meyer, *Hermes* 27, 377.

[17] I have enumerated some of these, *ed. p.* 259.

biographical introductions—to gild the pill—by some one else. I can believe anything of Plutarch, and see no reason why the intolerable quality of these books may not be laid at his door. The question has little interest for the Homeric Lives, for the biographies are palpable additions. They are, however, very valuable, and, according to the verdict of criticism, date from the same period as the *Certamen*. The first life contains the views, on the parentage and birth of Homer, of Ephorus *ἐν ἐπιτομῇ*, and Aristotle *ἐν τῇ περὶ ποιητικῆς*; it also collects some oracles and epigrams. The second, which is short, resembles the anonymous lives and gives a catalogue of authorities—Pindar, Simonides, Antimachus, Nicander, Aristotle, Ephorus, Aristarchus, and Crates.

The life by Proclus is part of his chrestomathia (Proclus died, head of the Academy, in A.D. 485) to which we owe our knowledge of the contents of the Cycle. A *précis* of this was prefixed to the archetype of a distinguished family of MSS., including the Venetian and Escorial copies of the Iliad. The same was seen on snake's-gut by Georgius Cedrenus (*c.* xii.) *Hist. comp.* p. 616, ed. Bonn., who says *δράκοντος ἕντερον ποδῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἐν ᾧ ἦν γεγραμμένα τὰ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἥ τε Ἰλιὰς καὶ ἡ Ὀδύσσεια χρυσέοις γράμμασι μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς τῶν ἡρώων πράξεως* (I take this from Gardthausen *Gr. Pal.*², p. 96.) Fortune, however, has dealt hardly with the collection, and blown it almost literally to the winds. The Life and the analysis of the Cypria have been most favoured, and exist in a dozen and probably more MSS. The life quotes numerous authorities, among which Damastes, Pherecydes, and Gorgias appear for the first time; gives a stemma, taking Homer back to Orpheus, and a list of disputed works, the Cycle and the *Ἁλίγεια*. It also mentions the heresy of Xenon and Hellanicus, who denied Homer the Odyssey.

The rest of the lives are anonymous. Nos. IV. and V., to keep the numbers which Westermann gave them, are brief. They are very common, and supplied the public of Constantinople with its intellectual food. IV. is the shorter. V. quotes much the same authorities as Plutarch II. and Proclus, but adds Bacchylides. They both give a place to the Pisistratus-legend. They are eclipsed by VI., the most valuable of these documents. This exists in two forms. Iriarte in the eighteenth century first copied it from one of Lascaris' MSS. at Madrid, and Sittl in 1888 found a much better version in the charming ninth-century MS. of scholia minora on the Iliad, which exists in two unequal parts in the Vittorio Emanuele at Rome, and the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, and goes by the name of its former owner Marcus. It opens in good literary Greek with a profession of impartiality worthy of Pausanias, and catalogues a number of writers on Homer among whom Anaximenes, Theocritus, Hippias, Timomachus, Stesimbrotus, Philochorus, Aristodemus of Nysa, Dinarchus, Heraclides, Pyrander, Hypsicrates, and Apollodorus are new.

Suidas' chapter on Homer is, like the *Certamen*, tripartite. The last section consists of the Herodotean Life, deionicised, the beginning left out, and the order of the quotations altered. It is useful for establishing the text

of the life. The middle contains a passage from Dioscorides *ἐν τοῖς παρ' Ὁμήρῳ νόμοις* already quoted by Athenaeus 8 E. The first portion is new, and constitutes another life. Its immediate authorities are recent, Charax the historian (s. ii. A.D.), Porphyrius *ἐν φιλοσόφῳ ἱστορίᾳ*, and Castricius of Nicaea, who appears as a supporter of the claims of Smyrna.[29] The latter seems to be *Καστρίκιος ὁ Φίρμος καλούμενος*, who possessed a property six miles from Minturnae (Porphyr. *vit. Phot.* 2 7), and belonged to the circle of Plotinus and Porphyry. That he came from Nicaea is new. The materials used through these three sources are the same as those in the other lives: *e.g.* the stemma of Charax is the same as the stemma of the *Certamen* and Proclus, and goes back to Damastes. Who compiled this Life,[30] and also who compiled the chapter of Suidas out of it and the other five parts is unknown.

T. W. Allen.

(To be continued.)

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[29] This mention of him, and that of Callimachus as quoting the epitaph *ἐνθάδε τὸν ἱερὸν* (53) are peculiar to Vind. 39, in which the Suidean life is prefixed to the Iliad. Callimachus perhaps came through Charax, cf. his *fr.* 19.

[30] Charax was extant *a.* D. 502, if Eustathius of Epiphania (*cp.* Evag. v. 24, *F.H.G.* iv. 138), whose history went down to that year, epitomised him.

THE POLICY OF SPARTA.

In two papers published within the last year, one in the *Classical Quarterly* of October, 1911, and the other in the last number of this *Journal*, Mr. Dickins has put forward certain views with regard to the main lines of the policy of Sparta in the latter half of the sixth and in the fifth century B.C.

Inasmuch as his two articles aim at refuting certain views put forward by myself and others in this *Journal* and elsewhere, I should like to reply to his arguments.

In the first place Mr. Dickins, who has had and has used special opportunities for acquiring information with regard to the antiquities of Sparta, adduces a large number of new facts. For this part of his work every student of Greek History must be grateful to him. It is in the conclusions which he draws from the new evidence, and the scant courtesy with which he treats some of the old, that the main defects of his arguments lie. He uses some of the evidence of Herodotus, and ignores the rest. That of Thucydides he treats in the same way. As for that of Aristotle, he appears to regard it as wholly misleading, with regard to both Sparta in early times and Sparta in the fifth century. It seems to me that it is not unreasonable to assume that Aristotle in the fourth century before Christ had access to better evidence in support of his statements with regard to the Spartan state of the fifth century than we in the twentieth century after Christ either possess or are ever likely to possess. I am not arguing for their accuracy in every particular, but the means of proving their general incorrectness do not exist for us. Moreover, that which Thucydides has to tell us with regard to Sparta is, in so far as it coincides in matter with the statements of Aristotle, in general agreement with them.

As to Mr. Dickins' new facts, I welcome them, because they supply me with further premisses in support of the conclusions to which I had come in consideration of pre-existing evidence.

I propose to deal only with that part of Mr. Dickins' paper which refers to Spartan history between 550 B.C. and 400 B.C., because that is the period in which the interest of the historian becomes superior to that of the archaeologist.

Mr. Dickins' general conclusions as to Spartan policy in this period are as follows:—

(1) That there existed two parties in Sparta during this time: a Royalist party led by the kings, and an Anti-royalist party led by the Ephors.

(2) That the Royalist party was up to the time of Archidamus (468 B.C.) imperialist, and the anti-royalist anti-imperialist. But when Archidamus showed himself to be anti-imperialist, the anti-royalist became imperialist.

To these he adds a third conclusion, which, as far as I can see, is as follows:—

(3) That the policy of the kings up to the time of Archidamus, at any rate, was anti-Spartiate, in that it included a plan to unify the Lacedaemonian state by giving the Helots civil and, apparently, political liberty.[1]

My own conclusions are:—

(1) That up to the time of Lysander, in the last years of the fifth century, there were no parties, and consequently no party policy at Sparta. There was merely a national policy, followed by consent of the whole people. It was very definite: and it was departed from very rarely, and then only momentarily, owing to the political eccentricities of powerful individuals like Cleomenes or Pausanias, or owing to the political interests of Corinth.

(2) That this policy followed four definite lines:—

(*A*) Strict maintenance of military efficiency against the Helots at home, and the avoidance of any risks which might withdraw too large a party of the Spartiate population from home at any one time.

(*B*) The maintenance of a direct sphere of influence in Peloponnese, in the form of a league such as would keep the states under control, and would reduce the risk of their tampering with the Helots.

(*C*) The maintenance of a balance of power in Northern Greece, especially between Athens and Boeotia, such as would prevent any northern state from effective meddling in Peloponnesian affairs.

(*D*) Indifference towards affairs outside the mainland of Greece.

Mr. Dickins does not adduce any new facts which are incompatible with this view of Spartan policy.

There are certain general facts which render his own views very improbable.

It is on the face of it very unlikely that anything resembling a 'party' system could have developed among a people subjected from their cradle to their grave to such a stern discipline as that which prevailed in Sparta from 550 onwards. It was different when, under the Lysandrian policy, a number of Spartans were placed in positions abroad where they tasted the sweets of power and personal liberty. Not unnaturally these men had no fancy to go back to the parochial effacement of the past. Then, and not till then, an imperialist party sprang up, opposed to the national policy of the previous century and a half.

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[1] I hope that I have stated Mr. Dickins' view correctly. It does not appear in very clear form in his paper.

Again, is it credible that any community would for centuries submit to the stern life which the Spartan lived merely to prevent the exercise of tyrannical powers by a kingship which it could have swept away at any moment?

In order to understand Spartan politics it is necessary to realise that the Spartan system of life is not merely as regards its form unique in history, but is still more remarkable from the fact that it was accepted for centuries by the free will of a whole people. It cannot have been forced upon the race by any individual or group of individuals. Had that been the case it could not have been of long duration. But men do not consent to make so enormous a sacrifice to personal liberty and comfort except under the stress of compelling circumstances. The Spartan consented to the hard life, because he was convinced that his personal security was dependent upon it. Such is the evidence of Aristotle; such is the evidence implied in Thucydides; such is the evidence derived from the nature of man. Modern writers, however learned, who reject such evidence, cannot hope to convince those who have any respect for the witness of the past.

This overwhelming fact in the home life of Sparta could not fail to have a dominating effect on its foreign policy.

But the system itself, though admirably designed in the interests of the personal security of those who submitted to it, was also fraught with possible dangers.

The very excellence of the military weapon it produced tempted the man who handled it—an ambitious king or commander—to use it to the full; for the Homeric proverb *αὐτὸς γὰρ ἰφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος* is true of all ages.

The discipline, too, of Sparta would certainly repress the freedom of public opinion, so that an ambitious and powerful man might for a long time pursue a policy counter to the interests and views of the mass of the Spartiates without provoking any explosion of protest such as he could not resist.

In dealing with the facts of Spartan history from 550 to 400 B.C. as set forth by Mr. Dickins I must be guided by considerations of space. I shall therefore merely give the references to them, and try to show how far they agree with his views and with my own.

On pp. 19, 20, 21, and 22 of the last number of the *Journal* he gives an account of the changes made under the influence of Chilon. There follows (p. 23) a reference to the intrigues of Cleomenes and Pausanias at very significant dates, of which I shall have to speak later. Then come certain remarks with regard to the *κλῆροι* or allotments of land to Spartan citizens—statements which wholly ignore the fact that the new and restricted policy must necessarily place the acquisition of new *κλῆροι* by the conquest of the new territory outside the design of the Spartan government. New *κλῆροι* on the Spartan plan meant new Helots; and Sparta had come to recognise that she had as many Helots as she could control.

We are then confronted with the following statement:—'There is not a

particle of evidence suggesting grave discontent among the Helots at this period, or of any friction at all between Spartiates and Helots.'

This is mere rhetoric, not history; for Mr. Dickins must be well aware that the only professedly specific evidence as to the internal state of Sparta between the days of Chilon and those of Cleomenes is a series of hypotheses of his own which are in conflict with the only evidence of ancient date which we possess relating to the general condition of Sparta in the fifth century—evidence which gives no hint that any change of conditions had taken place since the latter part of the sixth. Even if Mr. Dickins' remark be referred to the time of Chilon there is no specific evidence as to the motive which prompted him; and Mr. Dickins' suggestion that it was the wish to check the power of the kings is just as much a hypothesis as that the design was to provide against danger from the Helots—with this difference—that the second hypothesis is in accord with explicit evidence relating to the Sparta of the fifth century.

Again, if anti-royalism had been at the bottom of the movement in the middle of the sixth century how can we account for the fact that the chief result of the movement was and must necessarily be an increase in the military efficiency of a state in which the disposal of the military force lay with those very kings whose power, so we are told, it was designed to check. In Sparta individualism was not merely subordinated, but obliterated, and this by the only means which could make such obliteration durable among a free people,—national assent. There are only two motives which induce human nature to submit to such a limitation of individual liberty—fear or religious fanaticism; and no one has as yet discovered the latter to be a characteristic of the Spartiate. Nor does fear express itself in human action by the adoption of measures calculated to make the thing feared—in this case, we are asked to believe, the royal power—more formidable. We are not dealing with a race of lunatics, but with an able people which produced in rapid succession a Brasidas, a Gylippus, and a Lysander.

Mr. Dickins, having become aware, as it would seem, of the weakness of the position taken up in his original paper, puts forward the hypothesis that the real reason for the fear which the Spartiate entertained for the Helot was the fact that the kings had a plan to convert kingship into tyranny by breaking down the strong barrier of Spartiate political exclusiveness, and raising the Helots to the position of free citizens of the state. It is a big hypothesis built upon the slenderest foundation of evidence. How strange it is that the historians and political philosophers of the fifth and fourth centuries should never have caught the faintest echo of a general policy of such significance![2]

But this is really a matter of later date. Let us turn to the facts cited by Mr. Dickins in reference to the changes of 550.

Chilon's actions, so far as they are known, are all in accordance with the

[2] Thuc. i. 132 attributes this policy to Pausanias. But he was not a king; and he was acting obviously for his own hand.

hypothesis of a national rather than a party policy. His traditional saying with regard to Cythera indicates that he feared outside interference in Lacedaemon. That fear is the great motive of Spartan foreign policy during the fifth century. He increases the power of the Ephorate, and even secures for it the right to depose the kings. The Ephorate is the magistracy which is to carry out the national policy, and the kingship is the only power in the state which could be used by an ambitious man to thwart that policy. The introduction of the Thalamae cult, if Mr. Dickins is right in his interpretation of the motive for it, all tends in the same direction. The changed policy with regard to Tegea is all one with the policy of the fifth century. In fact, to sum up, the identity of the policy and of the political ideas of 550 with those of the fifth century points clearly to the fact that the motive which prompted those of 550 was the same as that which lay behind the general policy of the fifth century, which was, as even Mr. Dickins admits, fear of the Helots.

The Helots of Messenia had been crushed in 620 or thereabouts. In that war they had been aided by other Peloponnesians—Arcadians and Argives amongst them. But in the seventy years intervening between 620 and 550 they must have recovered; and just then the attempts at expansion on the part of Sparta received a severe check from Tegea. The Spartiates realised that the Helots with their overwhelming numbers were a danger; and the possibility of interference with them by neighbouring states an added danger. She might defeat Tegea—she did a few years later; but she had not the men to spare for the purpose of keeping in subjection a larger number of subjects than she already possessed, and therefore had to arm herself against the possibility of the unsubdued taking up the cause of the subdued.

That which Mr. Dickins has written on pp. 24 and 25 of his article shows the difficulty of dealing with what he says within a reasonable compass of space. He cites (unintentionally, of course) hypotheses of his own in language which makes them appear to the student of Greek history, who has neither the time nor the inclination to look into the details of the evidence, as if they were statements founded upon the evidence of ancient historians. He makes much play with that most kittle of cattle, the 'might-have-beens' of history, when he speaks of the disastrous effects which the multiplication of κλῆροι might have had upon the Spartiate population, had Sparta pursued a career of conquest. He says that new κλῆροι would have entailed the enfranchisement of new citizens. I cannot find any evidence that previous enlargements of the Spartan state had made any such policy necessary.

The policy of suppressing tyrannies in Greece is a perfectly natural one to a state which, like Sparta, from this time forward was determined to prevent the rise of any outstanding power in Hellas. The tyrants had almost without exception strengthened the states in which they ruled.

I wish that I had space to deal constructively with the details of Mr. Dickins' paper. As it is I can only discuss the larger conclusions to which he has come.

On p. 24 he says: 'It was only after Cleomenes began to dally with the idea of an extension of citizenship to Helots *en masse* that their hopes were too easily aroused, and a condition of disappointment and anger followed.' (Note by Mr. Dickins: 'The passage in Thuc. iv. 80 is to be considered only for the fifth century, but it was the Messenian Helots who were always the real enemies of the Spartan state.')

Those who look at the passage in Thuc. iv. 80 may perhaps feel some doubt as to whether any sound end can be attained by treating such evidence thus airily. It runs as follows: 'Indeed fear of their (sc. the Helots') youth and numbers even persuaded the Lacedaemonians to the action which I shall now relate, *their policy at all times having been governed by the necessity of taking precautions against them.*'

But let us turn to the statement of Mr. Dickins, for it contains the keystone of the whole argument of his paper.

We have really *three* statements of the greatest potential historical importance:—

(1) That Cleomenes tampered with the Helots;

(2) That he held out to them hopes of obtaining the citizenship;

(3) That this was the beginning of Helot discontent, and of pressing danger from the Helots.

It will be noticed that (2) rests logically on (1), and (3) on (2).

But this is not all; for on these three statements rests a fourth, which is the crucial point of Mr. Dickins' whole argument:

(4) That an essential of the policy of the 'Royalists' at Sparta was the unification of the state by giving the Helots the franchise.

It now remains to see on what evidence Mr. Dickins founds this four-storied statement of alleged facts.

The evidence will be found on p. 31 (*ad fin.*), and p. 32 (*ad init.*) of this *Journal*.

Items (2) and (3) which are stated as if they were historical facts, are not in the evidence at all. (2) is a hypothesis derived from (1), and (3) is a hypothesis derived from (2). Therefore the evidence does not extend beyond at any rate the first storey of this great historical edifice.

But when we turn to the evidence for (1) it is so weak that, had not the thing appeared in print, it would be almost incredible that any writer would have ventured to found any hypothesis upon it, still more to build three more storeys of hypothesis on so weak a ground-floor.

The evidence is that in Plato, *Laws* iii. 692 E, and 698 E, where it is mentioned that there was a Helot rising or, rather Messenian War, at the time of the battle of Marathon. Also in Pausanias iv. 15. 2 is a tradition which comes from Rhianus, an Alexandrian writer of the third century B.C., to the effect that Leotychidas was king at the time of the Second Messenian War.

The evidence of the passages in the *Laws* is vague and confused; and certain obvious historical errors in the context do not give one confidence in the truth of the statements relating to the time of Marathon. As to the

evidence from Pausanias it is a gross anachronism, as Mr. Dickins has to admit.

But suppose that a Helot rising at this time be assumed on this obviously doubtful evidence, and despite the silence of Herodotus and all other historians on the point, there is no mention of Cleomenes in connexion with the matter.

So the Helot rising is founded on evidence which is at least doubtful.

On this is based, without evidence, the hypothesis that Cleomenes was responsible for this rising.

On this is based, without evidence, the hypothesis that the enfranchisement of the Helots was the aim of the policy of Cleomenes.

On this is based, without evidence, the hypothesis that the enfranchisement of the Helots was the policy of the 'royalist party.'

Is this to be accepted as a serious contribution to history?

But what of Pausanias? He really was accused of tampering with the Helots—in 470, Mr. Dickins says. In 470 Pausanias was a desperate man, and his last card was the support of the Helots. But it is plain from Thucydides' account that Pausanias represents no one but himself. Also though Thucydides believes the tale, he admits that the Ephors never got any proof against him on this count of the indictment.

The genesis of this large hypothesis of 'royalist' policy with regard to the Helots is quite clear. Mr. Dickins was fully aware that his original theory that the Spartiate people consented to a system of life whose sternness is almost, if not absolutely, without parallel in history, simply to safeguard themselves against kings whom they could depose, and against a kingship which the military power of the people could have brought to an end at any moment, was weak, because it supplied no real motive for the remarkable duration of the system in the Spartan state. He has therefore tried to support his main hypothesis by one almost as important and as far-reaching, to the effect that the kings desired and attempted to adopt an anti-Spartiate policy of Helot enfranchisement.

We do not know much about Cleomenes; and we may as well admit the fact. From what we do know we are hardly justified in calling him an imperialist. All that we can say is that he did not sympathise with the extreme self-restraint of the national foreign policy, and that he tried to use his position to make it more direct and emphatic. Personal ambition played, no doubt, a part in his policy. But we have no grounds for saying that he was an imperialist in the sense that Lysander and Agesilaus were. His dealings with Athens, that part of his policy of which we have most knowledge, illustrate the way in which his designs differed from the national policy. He had been mainly instrumental in bringing about the expulsion of the Pisistratidae; but in this the Ephorate may have been in accord with him, for the Pisistratidae had in their later days formed relations with Argos,—a capital crime in the eyes of the Spartan nationalists, who were ever afraid of Argos tampering with Sparta's interests in Peloponnese,—and not without reason, as the sequel was fated to show. But there the agreement

ceased. Cleomenes seems to have hoped and expected that Athens would return to an aristocratic oligarchy of the old type, which, inasmuch as it could only be kept in being by the support of Sparta, would make Athens a practical dependency of that state. But the nationalists had no desire for a condition of things which would necessitate repeated military interference so far north. Athens was not the formidable state of thirty years later. The Spartan nationalist had only two things to fear with regard to her: that dependence on Sparta might involve them in obligations which they did not want to meet; or that her destruction might destroy the balance of power in Northern Greece. So when, about 506, Cleomenes got up a great combination against her, the nationalists put their foot down, and spoilt the plan. They are singularly consistent in this as in other parts of their policy. They acted in much the same way in 404. It is significant, too, that in 506 Corinth acted with them, either because she feared the policy of Cleomenes, or because she wanted to use Athens against Aegina.

In the later nineties of the fifth century Cleomenes returns, it would seem, to his former policy of supporting the aristocratic party. But the relations of the Athenian democrats with Persia must by then have become known to the Spartiate people; and the possibility of Persia appearing as a large factor in Greek politics on the near side of the Aegean would be quite enough to make the Spartiates acquiesce in the policy of Cleomenes. Still it does not seem to have been a whole-hearted acquiescence, for at the time of Marathon as on other occasions, Sparta took care that the fulfilment of obligations north of the Isthmus should be reduced to its lowest terms.

The nationalist policy towards Argos during this century and a half varied with the variation of the conditions in the rest of Greece. Argos was not going to join any Peloponnesian League under the leadership of Sparta. That was quite certain. Hence the first design was to wipe her out of existence. Cleomenes came near to carrying it out. Why he did not do so, we are not, on the evidence, in a position even to guess with probability. But his failure to do so cannot be set down, at any rate, to an imperialistic policy. Sparta changed her policy later, when Corinth became a troublesome member of the League; for Argos was useful as a standing menace to that wilful state. Later still Sparta found it necessary to be delicate in her relations with Argos lest she should throw her into the arms of the now formidable Athens.

Cleomenes' policy, judged by the little that we know of it, aimed at a more direct control of the Greek states both within and without the Isthmus than the nationalists were prepared to exercise; and hence no doubt, the quarrel between him and the Ephorate. He may have turned to desperate measures in the last days of his life; but we do not know that he did so.

Had space permitted, I should have liked to deal with Spartan policy after 480 with the aid of Mr. Dickins' article. As it is, I must confine myself to one more salient point.

What part does Archidamus play in Spartan policy?

What do we know of the personality and views of the man? Little, if anything, save what Thucydides tells us.

It is the way with that historian to characterise the prominent men and their policies in his contemporary world by speeches put into their mouths. Hence we may conclude that the speech of Archidamus in Book I. gives us that which Thucydides believed to have been characteristic in his public life and views. If so, the dominating motive in his statesmanship was the recognition that the linked fortress system in the hands of a great naval power had introduced into Greek warfare an element with which a land power like Sparta could not try to cope without the prospect of disaster. The Ten Years' war showed the soundness of his judgment. His policy is in a sense negative—the avoidance of hostilities with Athens. His nation, for other reasons indeed, went with him up to a certain point in the confusion of affairs preceding the Peloponnesian War. The matter of Corcyra was rather the affair of Corinth than of anyone else; so let Corinth agree to submit to arbitration. But when Athens interfered with Megara, she made a direct attack on the Peloponnesian League, the maintenance of which was the cardinal point of nationalist foreign policy. There is no reason to call in imperialism to account for Sparta's attitude after that time.

Mr. Dickins' hypothesis that when Archidamus, representing the kingship, became anti-imperialist *(sic)* the anti-royalist party, as he terms it, became imperialist, is to the last degree improbable. His position is full of inconsistency; for he admits that by this time the fear of the Helots was affecting and limiting Spartan policy, and yet he would have us believe that in the years following the earthquake of 464, when that fear stood at its height, the Ephorate, out of what may be described as 'pure cussedness,' threw over the cautious policy which that very fear had inspired.

I have dealt with the major points in Mr. Dickins' article; and I would gladly have dealt with the minor details, would not such a course have demanded far more space than I can ask the Editors of the *Journal* to allow me. To our knowledge of the early history of Sparta Mr. Dickins has made a real and very valuable contribution. But his reconstruction of the history of the state in the fifth century is defective alike in its premisses and in its conclusions. He has rejected the evidence of ancient authors whose authority must prevail with those who would write the truth about the fifth century.

G. B. Grundy.

A NEW ASTRAGALOS-INSCRIPTION FROM PAMPHYLIA.

THE inscription here published was discovered on the site found by Mr. E. S. G. Robinson and myself beside the deserted village of Indjik,[1] some six hours to the N.E. of Adalia (Attaleia in Pamphylia). The stone stood towards the N.W. corner of the site, near the ruins of a large apsidal building, which was probably a Byzantine church. Most of the site was covered with thick brushwood, and in a fire which is said to have taken place some ten years ago the stone suffered severely. The lower part, which was covered with earth, is better preserved, but a square capital which, when found, lay beside the pillar, had suffered so badly from the effects of the fire that although it seems to have been inscribed on the four sides it was not possible to make out more than occasional letters, either from the stone itself or from the impressions. The stone was found on a second visit to the site early in June, 1911. The paper which I then had, having previously fallen into the Xanthos marshes, prevented me from making reliable impressions, and I only succeeded in copying most of the western face and a part of the southern, before a slight sunstroke compelled me to return to Adalia. It was not until the end of July that I was able to re-visit the site with a fresh supply of paper. In the meantime my former activities had attracted the attention of the treasure-hunter. The stone, already much damaged, had now been split in two, and the surface further destroyed, while many fragments that I had previously collected were not to be found. The departure of the *Yuruks* with whom I had stayed on my former visit prevented me from remaining more than one night on the site, during which time I copied as much more as possible of the southern face and made new impressions of the whole. The parts that I publish from the eastern and northern faces, in each case from the lower part of the stone, have been read from the impressions made on the last visit. A new examination of the stone would probably clear up many doubtful points, and add to what I have been able to read from the impressions.[2]

[1] See *B.S.A.* xvii.

[2] Mr. Nikola Michael Fertekiis of Adalia, who accompanied me on all three visits to the site and was the first to find the stone, has asked me to express his willingness to show the exact position of the inscription to anyone undertaking this work. The most favourable time of year would be May or early June, when there is still ample pasture for horses and the *Yuruks* have not yet departed for the higher ground.

The inscription belongs to the class of *χρησμοὶ ἐν πέντ' ἀστραγάλοις*, examples of which, although none complete, have been found in various parts of S.W. Asia Minor.[1] In the present example the whole of the following throws are lacking: Nos. I.–XII.–XXII.–XXXII.–XXXIV.–XLI.–XLIX.–LIV.–LVI. The stone, when first seen, measured ·93 m. in height, ·54 in breadth on the W. and E. faces, and ·63 on the N. and S. To the height must be added the 40 cm. of the capital. The letters, except where stated, are c. ·016 in height, the following forms being used: Α Ε Ζ Θ Ξ Σ Υ Ω. For *stigma* Ϟ is used, and ligatures are employed throughout.

I have to thank Mr. A. M. Woodward for assistance given in the final revision of the impressions, and Mr. W. R. Halliday, who very kindly lent me his manuscript notes on the text of the inscriptions.

Western Face.

II. Ἀθην[ᾶς Ἀρείας.
χεῖοι τέσσ]αρες ὄντες ὁμ[οῦ - - - - φρά]ξει·
ἔχθραν καὶ [κακότητα φυγὼν ἥξεις ποτ' εἰ]ς ἄθλα,
ἥξεις, καὶ δῶ[σει σοι θεὰ γλαυκ]ῶπις Ἀθήνη.
ἔσται σοι [βουλὴ καταθύμιος] ἣν ἐπιβάλλῃ.

III.[2] ὃ]σσα[α]α η. Μοιρῶν
τέσσ]αρες εἰς πέπτων καὶ χε[ῖοι τέσσαρες ὄντες·
π]ρᾶξιν ἣν πράσεις μὴ πράσε οὐ [γὰρ ἄμεινον.
ἀμφὶ δ]ὲ κάμοντος χαλεπ[ὸν καὶ ἀμήχανον ἔσ]ται,
εἰ δ' ἀπόδη[μο]ν [ἴ]δεσ[- - - - - -]χρόνῳ καὶ ο[ὐθέν σοι κακ]ὸν [ἔσται.

[1] In citations from other examples I have used the following abbreviations:

K. = Kosaghatch in Lycia, (Petersen u. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien*, ii. p. 174, No. 229, *a, b, c.*)

Tef. = Tefenni, (Cousin, *B.C.H.* viii. 1884, pp. 496, *segg.* Sterrett, *Papers of the American School at Athens*, vol. ii. ["*An Epigraphical Journey*,"] pp. 79, *segg.* Nos. 56–58).

V. = Varialli, (*C.I.G.* 8956 *c*, Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 1041, A. H. Smith, *J.H.S.* viii. 1887, p. 260, No. 50.)

S. and *Ter.* = Sagalassos and Termessos, (Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, ii. pp. 51, 139, 226, *segg.*)

A. = Attaleia, (Hirschfeld, *Berlin Akad. Sitzungsber.* 1878, p. 716. Barth, *Rhein. Mus.* viii. p. 251, No. 20, Kaibel, *Hermes*, x. pp. 193 *segg.*, *Epigr. Gr.* 1038, Lanckoronski, *loc. cit.*, also vol. i. No. 4*a*, Woodward, *J.H.S.* xxx. 1910, pp. 269 *segg.*)

O. = Oerdekji, (Sterrett, *Papers of the American School at Athens*, vol. iii. ["*The Wolfe Expedition.*"] pp. 208 *segg.* Nos. 339–342. Kaibel, *Hermes*, xxiii, p. 303.

I have in every case quoted from the last published text of the inscriptions. Another example is known at Seridjik in Lycia, which was found by E. Huin in 1892, and revised by Hyvernat and Kalinka (see *Denkschr. der K.K. Akad. in Wien, Philos. Hist. Kl.* xlv. p. 34). The stone was seen by Mr. Robinson and myself in May, 1911 at Seridjik, but I cannot find that it has yet been published. Heinewetter's *Wanyel- und Inschriftabschriften in Griechenland und Kleinasien* came into my hands only after this article was in proof.

[2] III. 2. *S.* ἀξῆς for ὄντες.
3. *Tef.* εἰς δεξιὰ.
4. *Tef.* χαλεπὸν ἄ[ξ]ιμά χαιὸν ὄντ.
5. *K.* ἥ]ξ[ε]ι δ' ἀπόδημο[ν ἐ]πὶ δεξ[ιὰ] ἐς χρόνῳ
οὐδὲν κ]ακὸν ἔσται.
S. . . .]κάσεται χ. οὐδ[ὲ]ν κ. ἔ.
Tef. ἐ]πιβάλλων δέξ[ι]ᾳ.

On the Indjih stone there is a gap after ε]δεσ at the end of the line, and a space for three or four letters at the beginning of the new line before χρόνῳ.

IV.[a] γ[γαα]α θ. [Ἀετοῦ] Διό[ς.
εἰ] δέ κε [πεί]πτωσιν δ[ύο τρεῖοι τρεῖς δ']ἆ[μα χεῖοι·
ἀετὸς ὑψιπετὴς ἐπὶ δεξιὰ] χειρὸ[ς] ὀδεί[της
ὧν ἐπὶ μαντ]είαν ἀγαθὴν σὺν Ζ[ηνὶ με]γίστῳ,
τεύξῃ ἑ[φ'] ἣν ὁρμᾶ[ς] πρᾶξ[ιν], μηδὲν δὲ [φ]οβη[θῇς.

V.[b] τ]ααα[α Δαίμ]ονος Μεγ[ίστου.
ἓξ]είτης μοῦνο[ς] κ[αὶ] χε[ῖοι τ]έσσαρα[- - - -
δαί]μονι ἥντιν' ἔχεις ε[ὐ]χ[ὴ]ν ἀποδόντι [σοι ἔσται·
βέ]λτειον εἰ μέλλεις [πράσ]σειν κατὰ νοῦν ἃ [μεμνᾶς,
Δη]μήτηρ γάρ σοι καὶ Ζεὺς σωτήριος ἔ[σται.

VI.[c] ααaδγ ι Τύχης Γ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ
ε]ἰ δέ κε τρεῖς χεῖοι καὶ τέσσα[ρ]α [κ]αὶ τρεῖ ὁ π[έμπτος·
τὴ]ν πρᾶξιν μὴ πράξῃ[ς ἣν] νῦν ἐπιβάλλ[ῃ,
τόν τε [- - - - -]ον ἔοντα θεοὶ κα[τέ]χουσι μέ[γιστ]οι,
τό[ν τε π]όνον λύσου[σ]ι θεοὶ κ[αὶ] σὺ[θὲ]ν κακὸ[ν ἔσται.

VII. γγ[γ]αα ια Νείκης.
εἰ δέ κε τρεῖς τρία πείπτω[σι]ν χεῖοι δύο δ' ἄ[λοι·
νεικητὴς λήψῃ ὅ' ἃ θέλεις, τὰ δὲ πάν[τ'] ἐ[πιτεύξῃ·]
τει[μητόν σε τίθει δαίμων, ἐχθρῶν συ κρατ[ήσεις,
β]ουλὴ δ' ἔσται σοι καταθύμιος ἣν ἐπ[ιβάλλῃ.

VIII. δδααα ια Νείκης Ἱλαρᾶς.
εἰ δέ κε πείπτωσιν δύο τέσσαρες τρεῖς [δ' ἄ]μα χεῖοι·
τὴν πρᾶξιν πᾶσαν πράσσ, ἔσται γάρ ἄμ[εινον,
τόν τε νοσοῦντα θεοὶ σώσουσ' ἀπὸ κα - - - -
καὶ τὸν ἐν ἄλλῳ δημῷ ἐόντα ἦξειν θεὸς αὐδᾷ.

IX.[d] δγγαα ιβ Ἀσκληπιοῦ.
τέσσαρα δ' εἰς πείπτων χεῖοι δύο καὶ δύο τρ[εῖοι·
πρᾶξιν μὲν χειμὼν ἐνκείσεται ἀλλὰ καλο[ί - - -
ΚΑΙΤΟΝΚΑΜΝ ΝΞΝΟΥ σώζειν θεὸς αὐδᾷ,
τόν τ' ἀπόδημον ἐόντα θεοὶ σώζουσιν ἐνο[- - -

X.[e] ααασγ ιβ Τύχης Κυβερνώσ[ης.
τρεῖς χεῖοι καὶ ἑξείτης πέντπτος τρία πείπτω[σιν
μὴ σπεῦδ', ἀλλ' ἀνάμεινον εἰ δέ κε [· ·] σπουδῇ (?)
ΑΡΗΣ· ἑαυτὸν μεγὰ βλάψεις, ἐπίμε[ινον]
τάδε, καιρὸν κατὰ πάντ' ἐπιτεύξῃ.

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[a] IV. *K.* δε (Pelerinus.
Tef. δν (Sterrett.)

[b] V. 2. *Tef.* ξ]είτης μοῦνο τέσσαρες ἔστιν.
5. *K.* δ[ημήτηρ γάρ] σοί καὶ Ζεὺς σωτῆρες ἔσονται.
Tef. Δημήτηρ γάρ σοι καὶ Ζεὺς [σ]ωτῆρες ἐσέσονται.

[c] VI. 1. *Tef.* has ///ΙΔΑΙΓΜΟΝΟΣ.
[εὐ]δαίμονος.
I believe both cases to be a late spelling of εὐδαίμων.

4. *Tef.* καὶ] τ' ἐν τόσῳ ἔστα θεοὶ κατέχο[υσί σε] τοῦτον.
Indjik:
ΤΟΝΕ - - -
ΟΝΕΟΝΑ

[d] IX. 4. Mr. A. M. Woodward suggests :—
καὶ τὸν κατμη[σ]ητ' ἐε(θω)οῦ σώζειν, θεὸς αὐδᾷ.
5. [ἐν ἄ]μαῳ.

[e] X. 1. ΚΥΒΕΡΝ@ΣΗ_

XL. *αααεδ ιγ* Ἀφροδείτης.
τρεῖς χεῖοι καὶ ἑξείτης πέμπτος τέσαρα πεί̣πτων·
στέλλε ὅπου χρῄζεις χαίρων σὺ δὲ οἰκαδ᾽ ἀφ̣[ίξῃ.
ε̣]ὑρὼν κ̣[α̣]ὶ πράξας ὅσα φρεσὶ με̣[ν]οιν̣[ᾶ]ς.
- - - - - - - - -

Southern Face.

XXIII. *τέσα̣]ρα* - - - - *κα̣]ὶ τέσαρ - -*
- - - - - - *ἐ̣γ̣[α̣]θὸν μὴ σπε̣[ῦδ - - -*
- - - - - *γ̣]ὰρ ὕστεραι*
οὔτε γ̣]ὰ̣[ρ ὠν]εῖσ̣[θαι τὸ] δὲ λώιον οὔτ᾽ ἀπ̣[οδόσθαι.

XXIV. Ἀπόλλωνος [- - - -
- - - -]δὲ τρις - - - Τ · · Σ καὶ τε[- - - - -
μὴ σ̣]πεῦδ᾽, οὔπ̣[ω γὰρ ὁ καὶ]ρ̣[ὸ]ς ΕΤΑΙΑΥ - - - - -
πά̣]ντα κατὰ γν[- - - - - - - θ̣]εὸς ἡγεμ̣[ονεύει·
*οὔτ̣]ε γὰ̣[ρ] ὠνεῖσθ̣αι - - - - - - -] ΣΤΟΔΕ - - - - -

XXV. *τε̣[αα]γ* - - - ΩΣΣΘΤ - - - -
εἰ δύω δ᾽]ἑξεῖται· [χεῖοι δύο] καὶ τρι᾽ ὁ πέμπ̣[τος·
- - - - ΟΝΔΕ · · ΟΥ
- - - π̣]ολλῶν σὺ γὰρ [οἶκ]αδ᾽ [ἀ]φίξῃ.
ε̣[ὐδαίμων] ἃ θέλεις πράξας, [εὑ]ρὼν δ᾽ ἃ μεριμνᾷς

XXVI.[10] *α̣[τγγδ* Θε]οῦ Σωτῆρος.
χ]εῖ̣[ο]ς καὶ ἑξε[ί]της δύ̣]ο [τρεῖς] καὶ [τέ]σαρ᾽ ὁ [πέμπτος·
οὐθέν σοι λυ̣[π̣ηρ]ὸν [π]ερὶ ὧν μ᾽ ἐπερωτᾷς·
μ]ηδ᾽ [ὁ]λιγοψύχ̣[ει . . .] ΡΩ · ΝΙΟΙ πάντα δ᾽ ἃ χρῄζεις·
ε̣]ὑ̣[ρή]σεις, εὐχ̣[ῆς] δ᾽ [ἔσ]ται καὶ κ̣(α̣)ιρὸς ἄμεμπτ̣ος.

XXVII.[11] *δδγγ[γ ι]ζ* Σεράπεως.
τέσσαρα δ᾽ εἰ π̣[είπτ̣]ωσιν δύο τρὶς τρια ΚΑΝ · Θ - - -
θήρσ<ε>ι ἄπων, νε̣[αρῷ ?] Ζεὺς κτήσιος ἐστὶν ἀρω̣[γός.
τάν τε σὺν ἰν̣[τ̣]ἰπαλον (?) κο̣[λ]ίσῃ κ̣αὶ) ὑπὸ χιρ̣[ι](sic) θ᾽ ἕξ̣[εις.
δώσει δὲ τῷ ῥο̣[- - - - ΣΛΝΟ]ων σὶ χα̣[ρ̣]ήσ̣[ι-

XXVIII.[12] *αδδδδ* Νεμέσεως.
μο]ῦνος δ᾽ ἦκε πε̣[σὼν] καὶ τέσαρ᾽ οἱ ἄλλοι·
ν̣]ῦν σοι πάντα τελ̣[εῖ δ̣]α̣[ι]μων καὶ εἰς ὀρθὸν ὁδηγ̣[εῖ.
πράξεις π̣]ίμτα κατὰ ν̣[οῦ]ν, μηκ̣[έ]τι τροῖχε (sic) σεαυτὸν.
ἐπιτευ̣]ξ̣[ῃ] σύ τε ἀ̣[μ]ε̣[μπ̣]τος ὢν ἐπιθυ̣[μ]ε̣[ῖ]ς.

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[10] XXVI. 5. ΚΟΙΡΟΣΑΜΕΝΙΠΟΣ.

[11] XXVII. 4. ΤΟΝΤΕΣΟΝΑΝ . . . .
ΠΑΛΟΝΚΟ · ΛΣΙΚΥ-
ΠΟΧΙΡ//ΟΕΖ . . . .
I have assumed a flaw on the stone in the word ἀν[ε]ίκαλον, and that the Ζ in ἑξ[εις] is an error of the stonecutter for Ξ.

[12] XXVIII. 2. *Fin.* - - - πάντες.
4. *F.* τρῦχε.
5. *F.* ὧν δὲ ἐνθυμεῖς.

XXIX.[10] ττ]ααδ [Ἀ]δραστείης.
εἰ δύο δ᾽] ἑξεῖται χ[εῖσι δ]ύο καὶ τέσσαρα ὁ πέμπτος·
. . . ΑΞΙΝ᾽ ΑΣΩΝ . . . . ΡΕΓΕΣΤΑΙ ὁ καιρός.
ἐν γ]ενέσει χαλεπ[ὸ]ν, καὶ ὁ [κ]ίνδυνος π[α]ρακεῖτα[ι,
κ]αὶ π(ε)ρὶ τῶν ἄλω[ν μα]ν[τ]ε[ίω]ν ἐστὶ καλῶς σοι.

XXX.[11] α[τ]δδγ [ι]η Διὸς Κεραυνίου.
χ]εῖος καὶ ἑξείτη[ς δύ]ο τέσσαρα καὶ τρ[ί]᾽ ὁ πέμπτ[ος·
ο]ὔκ ἐστιν πράσσο[ντα κατὰ] γν[ώμην] ἃ μεριμνᾷς,
ο[ὔ]τε [ἐ]ν ἄλλῳ δήμῳ ἰέ[ναι σ]υνφορόν ἐστιν,
αὖτ᾽ ὠ[νούμ]ενος οὔτε ὀνη[σιμό]ν ἐστιν.

XXXI.[12] δδδγγ [Δαίμον]ος [Ἰκ]ε[σίου.
τέ]σσαρα δ᾽ ἦν φ[- - - - - κ]αὶ δύ[ο] τρ[εῖσι·
οὐ σ]οι ὁρῶ βο[υλὴν κ.τ.λ.

Eastern Fisse.

XXXV.[13] γ]δδ[δδ Ἑρ]μοῦ [Κερ]δεν[πόρου.
εἰ δέ κε τρεῖ[ς μοῦνος καὶ] πάντες τέσσαρ᾽ οἱ ἄλ[λοι·
Ζεὺ[ς ἀγα]θ[ὴν βο]υλὴν σ]αῖσιν [φρεσ]ὶν ὦ ξένε δ[ώσ]ει·
ὦ[ν ἕνεκ᾽ ἔσ]ται - - - - - - Λ᾽ Λ᾽ ΩΣ ἐ[π]ιτεύξῃ
- - - - κ]ὲς δ᾽ ὅσα μαντεύῃ, καὶ [ο]ὐθὲν [κ]ακὸ[ν ἔσται.

XXXVI.[14] γγγδδ ιθ Νείκης [- - - -
τρεῖς δὲ τρὶς μ]οῦνος δ᾽ ἑξ[είτης] καὶ τ[έσσαρ᾽ ὁ πέμπτ]ος·
μαντείαν ἀγαθὴν - - - - - , ὦ ξένε, τήνδε νοήσῃ·
ῥα - - - - Σ - - - ξις καὶ ΣΥΝΔ - - - - - - θεος - - - - -
- - - - - - - ΗΣΙΣ [κ]αρποὺς λη[ν]ψῃ, κα[ὶ π]αι[τ᾽] ἐπιτεύξῃ.

XXXVII.[15] δδδδδ κ Μοιρῶν Ἀδυσω[πήταν.
εἰ δέ κε τ[έσ]σαρα πάντες ὁμοῦ πείπ[τωσι]ν [ὁμοί]ως·
᾽᾽ ΟΣ ᾽᾽ ΤΕ δέδοικεν, ἐ[π]έστηκεν δ - - - - - - - - -
πάντα δ᾽ ἀμαυροῦται, παύ[σαι π]ερὶ [ὧν μ᾽ ἐπερω]τᾷς,
οὔτε γὰρ ὠνεῖσθαι τὸ λωιο[ν] ο[ὔ]τ᾽ ἀπο[δόσθαι.

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[10] XXIX. 3. *Tert.* μὴ πράξῃ π[ρᾶ]ξ[ι]ν τοίνυν [οὕνεκα γαρ] ὁ καιρός.

[11] XXX. 2. *Tert.* - - ια καὶ τρεῖσι ὁ πέμπτος.
3. *Tert.* πράξοντα.
4. *Tert.* οὔτε γὰρ ἐν [ἄ]λλῳ.
5. *Tert.* οὐτ᾽ ὠνούμενος αἰσθάνῃ ἢ ὀνήσιμόν ἐστιν.

[12] XXXI. 2. *Tert.* - - - τρεῖσι τάδε φράζει.

[13] XXXV. 2. *Tert.* τέσσαρα ἄλλοι.
4. *Tert.* ΝΩΝ ἕνεκ᾽ ἔσται πάντα.
5. *Tert.* εἰς δ᾽ ὅσα μαντεύῃ α. εἰ. σαι (?) κ. ἔ. (= *Tert.* ?).

Heinsworthy: κ[ὀρῶσται δ᾽] (ἔσα).

[14] XXXVI. 1. *Tert.* - - Νείκης.
On the Inujik stone I can see no letters following Νείκης, but contrast Nos. VII, VIII.
3. *Tert.* ΜΕΠΙΕΙ (?) ξίνε τήνδε νο - - -

[15] XXXVII. 1. *Tert.* Lanckoronski τοιῶνδε Μοιρῶνάδδλων ἐπιχώων (?), and numbers XXXVIII.
3. *Tert.* - - - δεν δ᾽ ἐδίκ κῆ[σται,

XXXVIII.[19] ἔγγυα κ Ἐλε[ν]ης.
τ]έσσαρα καὶ τρία δύο δ' [ἐ]ξεῖται καὶ χεί[ος] ὁ π[έντος·
- - - - - - - Α · · · ΝΤΑΥ · · · · πρό[ξ]ῆς οὔ[κ]· ἐστὶ σο[ι - - - - -
- - - - - - - τον τ' ἐν τ]ούτῳ ἑ[ό]ντα σώζε[ιν] θεὸς αὐδᾷ·
εἰ δὲ φόβος τις ἔπεστιν, οὐκ ἔ[σ]ται [σ]οι κακὸν οὐθέν.

XXXIX.[20] ἐγγυδδ κ. Διοσκόρ[ων] ἡ Δαιμόνο[υ.
μοῖνος δ' ἑξεί[τ]ης τρεῖοι δύο καὶ τέσαρ' οἱ ἄλλοι·
ο]ὐκ ἔστιν σπεύδαντα τυχεῖν ὅσα καιρὸς ἀνώ[γ]ει·
κ]έρδος ἔχεις, πάντ[η] δ' ἐσ[τι]ν φό[βος ? κ]ακότ[η]τ[ος·
δ]ύσμορος ἡ [π]ρᾶξις μοχθ[η]ρ[ὰ] δὲ πάντα φύλ[αξ]αι.

XL.[21] ααττ κ Ἡφαίστου
χεῖοι δ]ύο τρεῖς δ' ἑξεῖται τάδε φράσει·
- - - ΓΡΑΖΑ:ΤΙΜΑΗΙ · ΔΗΚΕΝΑΜΟΧΕ// - -
- - - - - - - - εἰ μὴ σκορπίον εὕρῃς·
- - - - - - - - π[ά]ντα φυλάξῃ.

Below No. XL. at the right-hand bottom corner of the stone the impression shows the letters:

///ϹΙ///ΙΤΑΓΑϹ
[- - - - - κατ' ἐπι]ταγάς.

It seems at first sight to be some dedication (*cf. Reisen in Lykien*, vol. ii. p. 157, No. 186) but its position on the stone make this improbable. I would suggest that it may possibly refer to the insertion here of No. XL. which is omitted altogether on the Termessos stone. The round ε and σ of the ἐπι]ταγάς are not found elsewhere on the stone and the letters are considerably larger, measuring 023 m.

Northern Face.

L.[22] δδδς κδ [Κ]ρόνου Τεκ[νοφάγου.
τέ]σ[σ]αρα τ[ρ]εῖς δύο δ' ἑξεῖται τάδε φράζει·
μ]ίμνε δόμων ἐπὶ σῶν· πάλιν μηδ' ἄλοθε βαίν[ε,
μ]ή σοι θὴρ ὀλοὸς καὶ ἀλάστωρ ἐνγύθεν ἔλθ[η.
οὐ] γὰρ ὁρῶ πρᾶξιν τήνδε ἀσφαλῆ [ο]ὐδὲ [β]έβ[αιον.

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[19] XXXVIII. (= XXXIX. in Lanckoronski).
1. *Ter.* Νεμέσεως (?).
3. *Ter.* σοι ἔξω (?)
4. *Ter.* ἐν τούτῳ ἔσετ' ἀρήξειν θεὸς αὐδᾷ.

[20] XXXIX. (= XL. in Lanckoronski).
1. *Ter.* Διὸς κούρων κηδεπόνων.
2. *Ter.* τέσσαρα δ' οἱ ἄλλοι.
3. *Ter.* οὐκ ἔστιν σπεύδ[ειν πράσ]σοντ' ἄτα καιρὸς ἀνώγει.

[21] XL. (Lanckoronski: 'ααττς ist angeblasen.' Its place is here, and, as L., XXXVII.
2. [π]ράξεις· τίλια τ[ά]γ' ἢ ἀεὶ μοχθ[ηρ]ά.

[22] L. 2. *O.* τάδε τοι θεὸς αὐδᾷ.
Ter. σοι θεός.
3. *O.* omits πάλιν.
A. πάλιν μηδάμοθι βαίνε.
Ter. μηδ' ἄλλοθι.
5. *O.* ἀλλ' ἐσζωσιων.
A. τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀσφαλῆν.
Ter. = *A.* but τηδε ἀσφαλὲ and βέβαιον.

LI.[2]

δεττη κε Μ]ηνὸς Φωσφόρου.
τέσσαρα δ' εἰς πείπτων [τρ]ὶς δ' ἑξεῖται κ[αὶ τ]ρεῖος ὁ πέπτος·
θάρσει, καιρὸν ἔχεις, πράξας ὃ θέλεις, καιροῦ ἐπιτε[ύ]ξῃ
εἰν ὁδὸν ὁρμηθ[ῆ]ναι. ἔχει καρ(π)ὸν τ[ιν' ὁ] μόχθος
ἔργον δ' ἐνχειρεῖ[ν] ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀγῶνα δίκην τε.

LII.[3]

ττττα κε Μητρὸς Θεῶν.
τ]έσσαρα δ' ἑξεῖται πέντ[τ]ις χεῖος τάδ[ε φ]ρίσει·
ὡς ἄρνων κρ[ατ]έουσι λύκοι [κ]ρατεροὶ [τ]ε λέοντες
β]οῦς ἕλκας, πάντας τούτων δ' [ἕ]τι καὶ σὺ κ[ρ]ατήσ[ε]ις,
καὶ πάντ' ἔσται σοι [ὅσ]σ' ἐπιρρωτῇς σὺν Διὸς Ἑ[ρ]μῆι.

LIII.

...ὃὃ κε Διὸ[ς] Καταχθον[ίου.
τρ]εῖς ὁ[μοῦ ἑ]ξεῖται δύο τ[έσσαρα . . . . . .

H. A. OBMEROD

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[2] LI. 1. *Tor.* has names of LI. and LII. transposed.
2. *O.* κρ' ὁ πέμπτος.
Tor. τέσσερα πείντως εἶς.
3. *O.* omits καιρόν.
A. καιρὸ ἔ'.
Tor. καιρὸ τ'.
4. *O.* καρπὸν (*read*) ὃ[ν ΚΑΡΟΝ].
A ἔχει καιρὸν τιν' ὁ μόχθος.
Tor. = *A.*
5. *A.* δὲ[ἄσαι.

[3] LII. 2. *O.* τέσσαρες ἑξεῖται καὶ χεῖοι πάντον' ἄσσα[ν.
Tor. τέσσαρες ἑξεῖται πέμπτως χεῖος τάδε φρίζει.
3. *A.* ὡ]ς ἄρνα κατέχουσι.
Tor. ἄρνας κατέχουσι.
4. *O.* πάντων.
A. πάντων τούτων καὶ σύ.
Tor. = *A.*
5. *O.* πάντα σοι ἔστιν.
All and all lines *(read)* ΔΙΟΣΕΙ//ΜΕΙ.
A Λ'////.
Tor. Διὸς Ἑρμῆ.

THE MINOAN AND MYCENAEAN ELEMENT IN HELLENIC LIFE[1]

In his concluding Address to this Society our late President remarked that he cared more for the products of the full maturity of the Greek spirit than for its immature struggles, and this preference for fruits over roots is likely to be shared by most classical scholars. The prehistoric civilization of the land which afterwards became Hellas might indeed seem far removed from the central interests of Greek culture, and it was only with considerable hesitation that I accepted, even for a while, the position in which the Society has placed me. Yet I imagine that my presence in this Chair is due to a feeling on its part that what may be called the embryological department has its place among our studies.

Therefore I intend to take advantage of my position here to-day to say something in favour of roots, and even of germs. These are the days of origins, and what is true of the higher forms of animal life and functional activities is equally true of many of the vital principles that inspired the mature civilization of Greece—they cannot be adequately studied without constant reference to their anterior stages of evolution. Such knowledge can alone supply the key to the root significance of many later phenomena, especially in the domain of Art and Religion. It alone can indicate the right direction along many paths of classical research. Amidst the labyrinth of conjecture we have here an Ariadnê to supply the clue. And who, indeed, was Ariadnê herself but the Great Goddess of Minoan Crete in her Greek adoptive form qualified as the Most Holy?

'The chasm,' remarks Professor Gardner, 'dividing prehistoric from historic Greece is growing wider and deeper.'[2] In some respects perhaps—but, looking at the relations of the two as a whole, I venture to believe that the scientific study of Greek civilization is becoming less and less possible without taking into constant account that of the Minoan and Mycenaean world that went before it.

The truth is that the old view of Greek civilization as a kind of 'enfant de miracle' can no longer be maintained. Whether they like it or not, classical students must consider origins. One after another the 'inventions' attributed by its writers to the later Hellas are seen to have been anticipated on Greek soil at least a thousand years earlier. Take a few almost at random: the Aeginetan claim to have invented sailing vessels, when

[1] From the Address of the President delivered to the Hellenic Society, June 1912.

[2] *J.H.S.* xxxi. (1911), p. lx.

such already ploughed the Aegean and the Libyan seas at the dawn of the Minoan Age; the attribution of the great improvement in music, marked by the seven-stringed lyre, to Terpander of Lesbos in the middle of the seventh century B.C.—an instrument played by the long-robed Cretan priests of Hagia Triada some ten centuries before, and, indeed, of far earlier Minoan use. At least the antecedent stage of coinage was reached long before the time of Pheidôn, and the weight standards of Greece were known ages before they received their later names.

Let us admit that there may have been re-inventions of lost arts. Let us not blink the fact that over a large part of Greece darkness for a time prevailed. Let it be assumed that the Greeks themselves were an intrusive people and that they finally imposed their language on an old Mediterranean race. But if, as I believe, that view is to be maintained it must yet be acknowledged that from the ethnic point of view the older elements largely absorbed the later. The people whom we discern in the new dawn are not the pale-skinned northerners—the 'yellow-haired Achaeans' and the rest—but essentially the dark-haired, brown complexioned race, the Φοίνικες or 'Red Men' of later tradition, of whom we find the earlier portraiture in the Minoan and Mycenaean wall paintings. The high artistic capacities that distinguish this race are in absolute contrast to the pronounced lack of such a quality among the neolithic inhabitants of those more central and northern European regions whence *ex hypothesi* the invaders came. But can it be doubted that the artistic genius of the later Hellenes was largely the continuous outcome of that inherent in the earlier race in which they had been merged? Of that earlier 'Greece before the Greeks' it may be said, as of the later Greece, *capta ferum victorem cepit*.

It is true that the problem would be much simplified if we could accept the conclusion that the representatives of the earlier Minoan civilization in Crete and of its Mycenaean outgrowth on the mainland were themselves of Hellenic stock. In face of the now ascertained evidence that representatives of the Aryan-speaking race had already reached the Euphrates by the fourteenth century B.C. there is no *a priori* objection to the view that other members of the same linguistic group had reached the Aegean coasts and islands at an even earlier date. If such a primitive occupation is not proved it certainly will not be owing to want of ingenuity on the part of interpreters of the Minoan or connected scripts. The earliest of the Cretan hieroglyphs were hailed as Greek on the banks of the Mulde. Investigators of the Phaistos Disk on both sides of the Atlantic have found a Hellenic key, though the key proves not to be the same, and as regards the linguistic forms unlocked it must be said that many of them neither represent historic Greek, nor any antecedent stage of it reconcilable with existing views as to the comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages.[1]

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[1] I especially refer to some of the strange linguistic freaks of Dr. Hempl. Prof. A. Cuny has faithfully dealt with some of these in the *Revue des Études Anciennes* T. xiv. (1912), pp. 95, 96. The more plausible attempt of Miss Stawell leaves me entirely unconvinced.

The Phaestos Disk indeed, if my own conclusions be correct, belongs rather to the Eastern Aegean coastlands than to prehistoric Crete. As to the Minoan Script proper in its most advanced types—the successive Linear types A and B—my own chief endeavour at the present moment is to set out the whole of the really vast material in a clear and collective form. Even then it may well seem presumptuous to expect that anything more than the threshold of systematic investigation will have been reached. Yet, if rumour speaks truly, the stray specimens of the script that have as yet seen the light have been amply sufficient to provide ingenious minds with a Greek—it is even whispered, an Attic—interpretation. For that it is not even necessary to wait for a complete signary of either of the scripts!

For myself I cannot say that I am confident of any such solution. To me at least the view that the Eteocretan population, who preserved their own language down to the third century before our era, spoke Greek in a remote prehistoric age is repugnant to the plainest dictates of common sense. What certain traces we have of the early race and language lead us in a quite different direction. It is not easy to recognize in this dark Mediterranean people, whose physical characteristics can be now carried back at least to the beginning of the second millennium before our era, a youthful member of the Aryan-speaking family. It is impossible to ignore the evidence supplied by a long series of local names which link on the original speech of Crete and of a large part of mainland Greece to that of the primitive Anatolian stock, of whom the Carians stand forth as, perhaps, the purest representatives. The name of Knossos itself, for instance, is distinctively Anatolian; the earlier name of Lyttos—Karnessopolis—contains the same element as Halikarnassos. But it is useless to multiply examples since the comparison has been well worked out by Fick and Kretschmer and other comparative philologists.

When we come to the religious elements the same Asianic relationship is equally well marked. The Great Goddess of Minoan Crete had sisters East of the Aegean, even more long-lived than herself. The Korybantes and their divine Child range in the same direction, and the fetish cult of the Double Axe is inseparable from that of the Carian *labrys* which survived in the worship of the Zeus of Labraunda.

Some of the most characteristic religious scenes on Minoan signets are most intelligible in the light supplied by cults that survived to historic times in the lands East of the Aegean. Throughout those regions we are confronted by a perpetually recurrent figure of a Goddess and her youthful satellite—son or paramour, martial or effeminate by turns, but always mortal, and mourned in various forms. Attis, Adonis or Tharammuz, we may add the Ilian Anchises,[1] all had tombs within her temple walls. Not least, the Cretan Zeus himself knew death, and the fabled site of his monument on Mount Juktas proves to coincide with a votive shrine over which the Goddess

[1] 'Tombs' of Anchises—the baetylic pillar may also be regarded as sepulchral—were erected in many places, from the Phrygian Ida to the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Eryx.

rather than the God originally presided. So too, on the Minoan and Mycenaean signets we see the warrior youth before the seated Goddess, and in one case actually seem to have a glimpse of the 'tomb' within its temenos. Beside it is hung up the little body-shield, a mourning votary is bowed towards it, the sacred tree and pillar shrine of the Goddess are hard by.[1] In another parallel scene the female mourner lies prone above the shield itself, the divine connexion of which is shown by the sacred emblems seen above, which combine the double axe and life symbol.[2]

Doubtless some of these elements, notably in Crete, were absorbed by later Greek cult, but their characteristic form has nothing to do with the traditions of primitive Aryan religion. They are essentially non-Hellenic.

An endeavour has been made, and has been recently repeated, to get over the difficulty thus presented by supposing that the culture exemplified by the Minoan Palaces of Crete belongs to two stages, to which the names of 'Carian' and 'Achaean' have been given. Rough and ready lines of division between 'older' and 'later' Palaces have been laid down to suit this ethnographic system. It may be confidently stated that a fuller acquaintance with the archaeological evidence is absolutely fatal to theories such as these.

The more the stratigraphical materials are studied, and it is these that form our main scientific basis, the more manifest it appears that while on the one hand the history of the great Minoan structures is more complicated than was at first realised, on the other hand the unity of that history, from their first foundation to their final overthrow, asserts itself with ever-increasing emphasis. The periods of destruction and renovation in the different Palaces do not wholly correspond. Both at Knossos and at Phaestos, where the original buildings go back well nigh to the beginning of the Middle Minoan Age, there was a considerable overthrow at the close of the Second Middle Minoan Period. Another catastrophe followed at Knossos at the end of the Third Middle Minoan Period. At Phaestos, on the other hand, the second, and in that case the final destruction took place in the First Late Minoan Period. The little Palace of Hagia Triada, the beginnings of which perhaps synchronize with those of the Second Palace of Phaestos, was overthrown at the same time. But the Minoan sovereigns who dwelt in the Later Palace of Knossos seem to have thriven at the expense of their neighbours. Early in the Second Late Minoan Period, when the rival seats were in ruins, the Knossian Palace was embellished by the addition of a new façade on the Central Court of which the Room of the Throne is a marvellous surviving record. At the close of this Second Late Minoan Age the Palace of Knossos was finally destroyed. But the tombs of Zafer Papoura show that even this blow did not seriously break the continuity of local culture, and the evidence of a purely Minoan revival in the Third Late Minoan Age is still stronger in the new settlement of Hagia Triada, which may claim the famous sarco-

[1] See my 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar-Cult' (*J.H.S.* 1901), pp. 81, 88, and p. 79, Fig. 58.
[2] *Op. cit.* p. 78, Fig. 52.

phagus as its chief glory. There is no room for foreign settlement as yet in Crete,[1] though the reaction of Mainland Mycenaean influences made itself perceptible in the island[2] towards the close of the Third Late Minoan Period.

Here then we have a story of ups and downs of insular life, and of internecine struggles like those that ruined the later cities of Crete, but with no general line of cleavage such as might have resulted from a foreign invasion. The epochs of destruction and renovation by no means synchronize in different Minoan centres. But when we come to regard the remains themselves as stratified by the various catastrophes it becomes evident that they are the results of a gradual evolution. There is no break. Alike in the architectural remains and the internal decorations, in every branch of art the development is continuous and, though the division into distinct periods stratigraphically delimited is useful for purposes of classification, the style of one phase of Minoan culture shades off into that of another by imperceptible gradations. The same is true of the remains of the Early Minoan Periods that lie behind the Age of Palaces, and the unity of the whole civilization is such as almost to impose the conclusion that there was a continuity of race. If the inhabitants of the latest Palace structures are to be regarded as 'Achaeans' the Greek occupation of Crete must, on this showing, be carried back to Neolithic times. A consequence of this conclusion—improbable in itself,—would be that these hypothetical Greeks approached their mainland seats from the South instead of the North.

Who would defend such a view? Much new light has recently been thrown on the history of the mainland branch of the Minoan culture at Mycenae by the supplementary researches made under the auspices of the German Institute at Athens, at Tiryns and Mycenae. It is now clear that the beginnings of this mainland plantation hardly go back beyond the beginning of the First Late Minoan Period—in other words long ages of civilized life in Minoan Crete had preceded

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[1] There is no foundation for the view that the later oblong structure at Hagia Triada is a megaron of Mainland type. The mistake, as was pointed out by Noack (*Oenithona und Palast in Kreta*, p. 27, n. 24), and as I had independently ascertained, was due to the omission of one of the three cross-walls on the Italian plan. By the close of the Minoan Age in Crete (L.M. III. b) the Mainland type of house seems to have been making its way in Crete. An example has been pointed out by Dr. Oelmann (*Ein Achäisches Herrenhaus auf Kreta*, *Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.* xxvii. (1912), p. 38, *seqq.*) in a house of the Re-Occupation Period at Gournià, though there is no sufficient warrant for calling it 'Achaean.' It is also worth observing that one of the small rooms into which the large 'megaron' of the 'Little Palace' at Knossos was broken up in the Re-Occupation Period has a stone-built oven or fire-place set up in one corner. This seems to represent a Mainland innovation.

[2] This concluding and very distinctive phase may be described as Late Minoan III. b. (see preceding note) and answers at Knossos to the Period of Re-Occupation, L.M. III. a being represented there by the cemetery of Zafer Papoura, which fills a chasm on the Palace site. Judging from figures on very late lenticid bead-seals in soft material (steatite) the long tunic of Mainland fashions was coming in at the very close of the Minoan Age in Crete.

the first appearances of this high early culture on the Northern shores of the Aegean. From the first there seems to have been a tendency among the newcomers to adapt themselves to the somewhat rougher climatic conditions and, no doubt in this connexion, to adopt to a certain extent customs already prevalent among the indigenous population. Thus we see the halls erected with a narrower front and a fixed hearth, and there is a tendency to wear long-sleeved tunics reaching almost to the knees. An invaluable record of the characteristic fashions of this Mycenaean branch has been supplied by the fresco fragments discovered at Tiryns from which, after long and patient study Dr. Rodenwaldt has succeeded in reconstructing a series of designs.[1]

These frescoes are not only valuable as illustrations of Mycenaean dress but they exhibit certain forms of sport of which as yet we have no record in Minoan Crete but which seem to have had a vogue on the mainland side. The remains of an elaborate composition representing a boar hunt is the most remarkable of these, and though belonging to the later Palace and to a date parallel with the Third Late Minoan Period shows extraordinary vigour and variety. Certainly one of the most interesting features in this composition—thoroughly Minoan in spirit—is the fact that ladies take part in the hunt. They are seen driving to the meet in their chariots, and following the quarry with their dogs. Atalanta has her Mycenaean predecessors and the Kalydonian boar-hunt itself may well represent the same tradition as these Tirynthian wall-paintings.

But the point to which I desire to call your special attention is this: in spite of slight local divergences in the domestic arrangements or costume, the 'Mycenaean' is only a provincial variant of the same 'Minoan' civilization. The house-planning may be slightly different, but the architectural elements down to the smallest details are practically the same, though certain motives of decoration may be preferred in one or the other area. The physical types shown in the wall-paintings are indistinguishable. The religion is the same. We see the same Nature Goddess with her doves and pillar shrines; the same baetylic worship of the double axes; the same sacral horns; features which, as we now know, in Crete may be traced to the Early Minoan Age. The Mainland script of which the painted sherds of Tiryns have now provided a series of new examples, is merely an offshoot of the earlier type of the Linear script of Crete, and seems to indicate a dialect of the same language.

In the Palace history of Tiryns and Mycenae we have evidence of the same kind of destruction and restoration that we see in the case of those of Minoan Crete. But here too there is no break whatever in the continuity of tradition, no trace of the intrusion of any alien element. It is a slow, continuous process of decay, and while at Tiryns the frescoes of the original building were replaced in the Second Palace by others in a slightly inferior

[1] In course of publication.

style, those of the Palace of Mycenae, to a certain extent at least, as Dr. Rodenwaldt has pointed out, survived its later remodelling, and were preserved on its walls to the moment of its destruction.

The evidence as a whole must be regarded as conclusive for the fact that the original Minoan element, the monuments of which extend from the Argolid to Thebes, Orchomenos and Volo, held its own in Mainland Greece till the close of the period answering to the Third Late Minoan in Crete. At this period no doubt the centre of gravity of the whole civilization had shifted to the Mainland side, and was now reacting on Crete and the islands —where, as in Melos, the distinctive 'Mycenaean' megaron makes its appearance. But the return wave of influence cannot, in the light of our present knowledge, be taken to mark the course of invading hordes of Greeks.

Observe, too, that in the Late Minoan expansion which takes place about this time on the coasts of Canaan the dominant element still seems to have belonged to the old Aegean stock. The settlement of Gaza is 'Minoan.' Its later cult was still that of the indigenous Cretan God. In Cyprus, again, the first Aegean colonists brought with them a form of the Minoan Linear script, and a civilization which sufficiently proclaims their identity with the older stock.

We must clearly recognize that down to at least the twelfth century before our era the dominant factor both in Mainland Greece and in the Aegean world was still non-Hellenic, and must still unquestionably be identified with one or other branch of the old Minoan race. But this is far from saying that even at the time of the first appearance of the Minoan conquerors in the Peloponnese, or approximately speaking the sixteenth century B.C., they may not have found settlers of Hellenic stock already in the land. That there were hostile elements always at hand is clearly shown by the great pains taken by the newcomers at Tiryns, Mycenae, and elsewhere to fortify their citadels, a precaution which stands out in abrupt contrast to the open cities and palaces of Crete. In the succeeding period, that of the later Palace of Tiryns, we find on the frescoes representing the boar hunting scene—dating perhaps from the thirteenth century B.C.—the first definite evidence of the existence of men of another and presumably subject race existing side by side with the Mycenaean. An attendant in a menial position, apparently helping to carry a dead boar, is there depicted with a yellow skin in place of the conventional red, which otherwise indicates the male sex. Is it possible that the paler colour was here chosen to indicate a man of northern race?

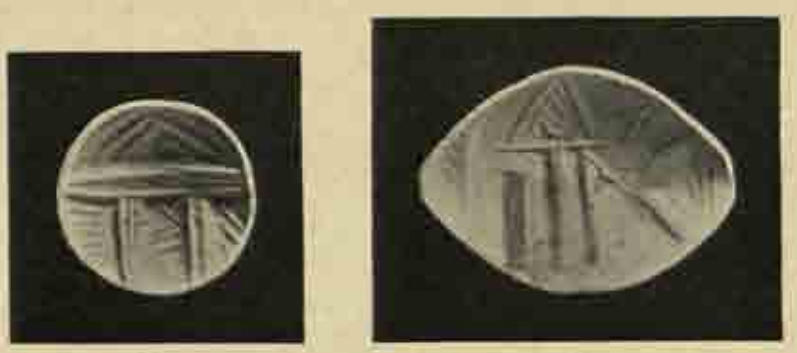
That there was in fact in the Peloponnese a subject race of Hellenic stock during the whole, or a large part of the period of Mycenaean domination, is made highly probable by certain phenomena connected with the most primitive of the Greek tribes, namely the Arcadians, whose religion and mythology show peculiar affinities with those of Minoan Crete. Shortly after the break up of the Mycenaean society, during the period of invasion and confusion that seems to have set in about the eleventh century B.C., men of Arcadian speech (who must then have been in possession of the Laconian

coast-lands) appear in Cyprus in the wake of their former masters, and this Cypriote offshoot affords the best evidence of the extent to which this primitive Greek population had been penetrated with Minoan influences. The very remote date of this settlement is established by the important negative fact that the colonists had left their Mainland homes before the use of the Phoenician alphabet was known in Greece. Considering the very early forms of that alphabet at the time when it was first taken over by the Greeks, this negative phenomenon may be taken to show that the Arcadian colonization of Cyprus took place before 900 B.C. The positive evidence seems to indicate a still higher date. Thus the fibulae and vases of the early tombs of the Kuklia Cemetery at Paphos show a distinct parallelism with the Sub-Mycenaean types from those of the Greek Salamis, and point to an impact on Cyprus from the Mainland side about the eleventh century before our era, which may well have been due to the advent of the Prae-Dorian colonists from the Laconian shores. These, as we know from inscriptions, brought with them local cults such as that of Amyklae: but what is especially interesting to observe is the whole-hearted way in which they are seen to have taken over the leading features of the Minoan cult. Fanassa, the Queen, the Lady of the Dove, as we see her at Paphos, Idalion or Golgoi, is the great Minoan Goddess. The Paphian temple to the end of the chapter is the Minoan pillar-shrine. Were all these Minoan features taken over in Cyprus itself? May we not rather infer that, as the colonists arrived, with at least a Sub-Mycenaean element in culture, so too they had already taken over many of the religious ideas of the older race in their mainland home? In the epithet "Ariadné" itself, applied to the Goddess both in Crete and Cyprus, we may perhaps see an inheritance from a pre-Colonial stage.

In Crete, where Hellenic colonization had also effected itself in prae-Homeric times, the survival of Minoan religion was exceptionally great. The Nature Goddess there lived on under the indigenous names of Diktynna and Britomartis. A remarkable example of the continuity of cult forms has been brought to light by the Italian excavation of a seventh century temple at Prinià, containing clay images of the Goddess with snakes coiled round her arms, showing a direct derivation from similar images in the late Minoan shrine of Gournia and the fine faience figures of considerably earlier date found in the Temple Repositories at Knossos. At Hagia Triada the earlier sanctuary was surmounted by one of Hellenic date, in which, however, the male divinity had now attained prominence as the youthful Zeus Velchanos. As Zeus Kretagenes, he was the object of what was regarded in other parts of the Greek world as a heterodox cult. But in spite of the jeers of Kallimachos at the 'Cretan liars' who spoke of Zeus as mortal, the worship persisted to late classical times, and points of affinity with the Christian point of view were too obvious to be lost. It is at least a highly suggestive fact that on the ridge of Juktas, where the tomb of Zeus was pointed out to Byzantine times, and on a height above his birth-cave little shrines have been raised in honour of Λίθεντὴς Χριστὸς—Christ the Lord.

In view of the legendary connexion of Crete and Delphi, illustrated by the myth of the Delphinian Apollo, the discovery there by the French excavators of part of a Minoan ritual vessel has a quite special significance. This object, to which M. Perdrizet first called attention, forms part of a marble *rhyton* in the form of a lioness's head of the same type, fabric and material as those found with other sacred vessels in a chamber adjoining the central shrine of Knossos. It clearly proves that at Delphi, too, the religion of the spot goes back to Minoan times and stands in close connexion with a Cretan settlement.

How profoundly the traditions of Minoan and Mycenaean religion influenced the early cult of Greece has been nowhere illustrated more clearly than by the excavations of the British School at Sparta. A whole series of the types of ivory figurines there found are simply derivatives of the scheme of the Minoan Goddess with her associated birds and animals. It was the



(*a*) (*b*)

FIG. 1.—GABLED BUILDINGS ON CRETAN INTAGLIOS (½).

same in Ionia. The Ephesian Artemis has the same associations as the Lion Goddess of Knossos, and among the jewels found by Mr. Hogarth in the Temple Treasure occur miniature representations of her Double Axe.

I will venture to point out another feature which the advanced religious art of Greece inherited from Minoan prototypes, such as those which influenced the Spartan ivories. The Lions' Gate Scheme, appropriate to its position in a tympanum, is only one of a series of Late Minoan schemes of the same kind in which the central figure—either the divinity itself or (as in the above case) a sacred column, which, as the Pillar of the House, stands as the epitome of the temple—is set between two heraldically opposed animals.

Seal impressions from the Palace shrine of Knossos show the Minoan Goddess in this guise standing on her peak between her lion supporters. The same idea is carried out in a variety of ways on Minoan gems and signets.

The Mycenaean element in Doric architecture itself is generally recognized, but I do not think that it has been realized that even the primitive arrangement of the pediment sculptures goes back to a prehistoric

model. That the gabled or pedimental front was itself known in Minoan times may be gathered from the designs of buildings on some intaglios of that date acquired by me in Crete (Fig. 1 *a*, *b*).[10] When we realise that the pediment is in fact the functional equivalent of the tympanum on a larger scale, it is

Fig. 2.—Pediment of Temple at Palaeopolis, Corfû.

natural that an arrangement of sculpture appropriate to the one should have been adapted to the other.

In recently examining the remains of the pedimental sculptures from the early temple excavated by Dr. Dörpfeld at Palaeopolis in Corfu, which have now been arranged by him in the local Museum (Fig. 2),[11] the observation was forced upon me that the essential features of the whole scheme were simply those of the Mycenaean tympanum. The central divinity is here represented by the Gorgon, but on either side are the animal guardians, in this case apparently pards heraldically posed. Everything else is secondary, and the scale of the other figures is so small that at a moderate distance all, including Zeus himself, disappear from view. The essentials of the architectural design were fulfilled by the traditional Minoan group. The rest was a work of supererogation.

The fragment of a sculptured lion found in front of the early sixth century temple at Sparta was clearly part of a pedimental scheme of the same traditional class.

The extent to which the Minoans and Mycenaeans, while still in a dominant position, impressed their ideas and arts on the primitive Greek population itself argues a long juxtaposition of the two elements. The intensive absorption of Minoan religious practices by the proto-Arcadians previous to their colonization of Cyprus, which itself can hardly be later than the eleventh century B.C., is a crucial instance of this, and the contact of the two elements thus involved itself implies a certain linguistic communion. When, reinforced by fresh swarms of immigrants from the North-West, the Greeks began to get the upper hand, the position was reversed, but the long previous interrelation of the two races must have facilitated the work of

[10] The gem Fig. 1*a* is from Central Crete (diaspis). 1*b* is from Sitia (cornelian).

[11] Fig. 2 is taken from a diagrammatic sketch kindly supplied me by Mr. J. D. Beazley, which accompanied his account of these discoveries in the *Times*.

fusion. In the end, though the language was Greek, the physical characteristics of the later Hellenes prove that the old Mediterranean element showed the greater vitality. But there is one aspect of the fusion which has a special bearing on the present subject—an aspect very familiar to those who, like myself, have had experience of lands where nationalities overlap. A large part of its early population must have passed through a bilingual stage. In the Eastern parts of Crete indeed this condition long survived. As late as the fourth century before our era the inhabitants still clung to their Eteocretan language, but we know from Herodotos that already in his day they were able to converse in Greek and to hand on their traditions in a translated form. It cannot be doubted that at the dawn of history the same was true of the Peloponnese and other parts of Greece. This consideration does not seem to have been sufficiently realised by classical students, but it may involve results of a most far-reaching kind.

The age when the Homeric poems took their characteristic shape is the transitional epoch when the use of bronze was giving place to that of iron. As Mr. Andrew Lang well pointed out, they belong to a particular phase of this transition when bronze was still in use for weapons and armour, but iron was already employed for tools and implements. In other words the age of Homer is more recent than the latest stage of anything that can be called Minoan or Mycenaean. It is at most 'Sub-Mycenaean.' It lies on the borders of the Geometrical period, and though the archaeological stratum with which it is associated contains elements that may be called 'Sub-Mycenaean,' it is artistically speaking a period of barbarism and degradation —a period when the great cities of whose rulers the poet sang had for some two centuries been heaps of ruins. The old art had passed away. The new was yet unborn.

'Homer' lies too high up in time for it to be admissible to seek for illustration among the works of renascent art in Greece, or the more or less contemporary importations, such as Cypro-Phoenician bowls of the seventh or sixth centuries B.C., once so largely drawn on for comparisons. On the other hand, the masterpieces of Minoan and Mycenaean craftsmen were already things of the past in the days in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* took their organic form. Even the contents of the latest Mycenaean graves have nothing to do with a culture in which iron was already in use for cutting purposes and cremation practised.

How is it then that Homer, though professedly commemorating the deeds of Achaean heroes, is able to picture them among surroundings, which, in view of the absolute continuity of Minoan and Mycenaean history, we may now definitely set down as non-Hellenic? How explain the modes of combat borrowed from an earlier age and associated with huge body-shields that had long been obsolete? Whence this familiarity with the Court of Mycenae, and the domestic arrangements of Palaces that were no more?

I venture to believe that there is only one solution of these grave difficulties, and that this is to be found in the bilingual conditions which in

the Peloponnese at least may have existed for a very considerable period. The Arcadian-speaking Greek population of that area, which apparently at least as early as the eleventh century before our era sent forth its colonists to Cyprus, had, as pointed out, been already penetrated with Minoan ideas to an extent which involves a long previous juxtaposition with the element that formerly dominated the country. They had assimilated a form of Minoan worship, and the hymns and invocations to the Lady of the Dove can hardly have been other than adaptations of those in use in the Mycenaean ritual—in the same way as the Greek hymn of the Dictaean Temple must be taken to reflect an original handed down by Eteocretan choirs.

We may well ask whether a far earlier heroic cycle of Minoan origin might not to a certain extent have affected the lays of the primitive Greek population. When, in a bilingual medium, the pressure of Greek conquest turned the scales finally on the Hellenic side, may not something of the epic traditions of the Mycenaean society have been taken over? Englishmen, at least, who realise how largely Celtic and Romance elements bulk in their national poetry should be the last to deny such a possibility. Have we not indeed the proof of it in many of the themes of the Homeric lays, as already pointed out? They largely postulate a state of things which on the mainland of Greece existed only in the great days of Mycenae.

In other words, many of the difficulties with which we have to deal, are removed if we accept the view that a considerable element in the Homeric poems represents the materials of an earlier Minoan epic taken over into Greek. The moulding of such inherited materials into the new language and the adapting of them to the glories of the new race was no doubt a gradual process, though we may still regard the work in its final form as bearing the stamp of individual genius. To take a comparison from another field —the Arch of Constantine is still a fine architectural monument, though its dignity be largely due to the harmonious incorporation of earlier sculptures. Not less does Homer personify for us a great literary achievement, though the materials that have been brought together belong to more than one age. There is nothing profane in the idea that actual translation, perhaps of a very literal kind, from an older Minoan epic to the new Achaean, played a considerable part in this assimilative process. The seven-stringed lyre itself was an heirloom from the older race—is it then unreasonable to believe that the lays by which it was accompanied were inspired from the same quarter?

And here we are brought up before an aspect of Minoan Art which may well stand in relation to the contemporary oral or literary compositions covering part of the Homeric ground. The Homeric aspect of some of its masterpieces has indeed been so often observed as to have become a commonplace. In some cases parts of pictorial scenes are preserved, such as primitive bards delight to describe in connexion with works of art. The fragment of the silver vase with the siege scene from Mycenae affords a well-known instance of this. A similar topic is discernible in the Shield of Achilles, but in this case a still nearer parallel is supplied by the combat on the Shield of Heraklês, described by Hesiod. Here the coincidence of subject extends

even to particular details, such as the women on the towers shouting with shrill voices and tearing their cheeks and the old men assembled outside the gates,[12] holding out their hands, in fear for their children fighting before the walls. The dramatic moment, the fate of battle still hanging in the balance—so alien to Oriental art—is equally brought out by the Mycenaean relief and by the Epic description of the scene on the shield, and the parallelism is of special value, since it may be said to present itself *in pari materia*—artistic composition on metal work.

So too at Knossos there came to light parts of a mosaic composition formed of faience plaques, and belonging to the latter part of the Middle Minoan Age. Parts of the composition, of which we have a fragmentary record, represent warriors and a city, like the siege scene on the silver cup. But we also have glimpses of civic life within the walls, of goats and oxen without, of fruit trees and running water suggesting a literal comparison with the Homeric description of the scenes of peace and war as illustrated on the shield of Achilles. These *tours de force* of Minoan artists were executed some five centuries before the Homeric poems took shape. They may either have inspired or illustrated contemporary epic. But if Greeks existed in the Peloponnese at the relatively early epoch, the close of the Middle Minoan Age or the very beginning of the Late Minoan, to which these masterpieces belong, they must still have been very much in the background. They did not surely come within that inner Palace circle of Tiryns and Mycenae, where such works were handled and admired in the spirit (with which we must credit their possessors) of cultivated connoisseurs. Still less is it possible to suppose that any Achaean bard at the time when the Homeric poems crystallized into their permanent shape had such life-like compositions before his eye or could have appreciated them in the spirit of their creation.

Again, we have the remarkable series of scenes of heroic combat best exemplified by the gold signets and engraved beads of the Shaft-Graves of Mycenae—themselves no doubt, as in like cases, belonging to an artistic cycle exhibiting similar scenes on a more ample scale, such as may some day be discovered in wall-paintings or larger reliefs on metal or other materials. Schliemann,[13] whose views on Homeric subjects were not perturbed by chronological or ethnographic discrepancies, had no difficulty in recognizing among the personages depicted on these intaglios Achilles, or 'Hector of the dancing helmet-crest,' and could quote the Homeric passages that they illustrated. 'The Author of the Iliad and Odyssey' he exclaims, 'cannot but have been born and educated

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[12] Ἄρεως, vv. 237 *sqq.* cf. Tsountas, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1891, pp. 20, 21, and Μυκῆναι, p. 94; (Tsountas and Manatt, *Myc. Age*, pp. 214, 215).

[13] In the same way epitomized versions of the scenes on the Vaphéio Cups are found in a series of ancient gems. The *convolvulus* of the Knossos frescoes also reappears in intaglios and there are many other similar hints of the indebtedness of the minor to the greater art, of which the 'Skylla' mentioned below is probably an example.

amidst a civilization which was able to produce such works as these.' Destructive criticism has since endeavoured to set aside the cogency of these comparisons by pointing out that, whereas the Homeric heroes wore heavy bronze armour, the figures on the signet are almost as bare as were, for instance, the ancient Gaulish warriors. But an essential consideration has been overlooked. The signets and intaglios of the Shaft-Graves of Mycenae belong to the transitional epoch that marks the close of the Third Middle Minoan Period, and the very beginning of the Late Minoan Age.[14] The fashion in signets seems to have subsequently undergone a change, and the later class is occupied with religious subjects. But in the later days of the Palace of Knossos at all events, a series of clay documents attests the fact that a bronze cuirass, with shoulder-pieces and a succession of plates, was a regular part of the equipment of a Minoan knight. Sometimes he received the equivalent in the shape of a bronze ingot or talent—a good suggestion of its weight. On the somewhat later Cypro-Mycenaean ivory relief from Enkomi (where bronze greaves were also found) we see a similar cuirass.[15] This comparison has special pertinence when we remember that in the *Iliad* the breastplate of Agamemnon was the gift of the Cypriote Kinyras.

A close correspondence can moreover be traced between the Mycenaean and Homeric methods and incidents of combat due to the use of the tall body-shield—which itself had long gone out of use at the time when the Iliad was put together. One result of this was the practice of striking at the adversary's throat as Achilles did at Hector's—an action illustrated by the gold intaglio from the Third Shaft-Grave. On the other hand the alternative endeavour of Epic heroes to pierce through the 'tower-like' shield itself by a mighty spear-thrust is graphically represented on the gold bezel of a Mycenaean ring found in Boeotia.[16] The risk of stumbling involved by the use of these huge body-shields is exemplified in Homer by the fate of Periphêtês of Mycenae, who tripped against the rim of his shield, 'reaching to his feet,' and was pierced through the breast by Hector's spear as he fell backwards.[17] A remarkable piece of evidence to which I shall presently call attention shows that this particular scene seems to have formed part of the repertory of the engravers of signets for Minoan lords, and that the Homeric episode may have played a part in Chansons de Geste as early as the date of the Akropolis tombs of Mycenae.[18]

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[13] The curious cuirass which has almost the appearance of being of basket-work seen on the Harvesters' Vase and on seal impressions from H. Triada and Zakro has been cited as showing that the corslet was known at a very early period (M.M. III. L.M. I.). This particular type, however, has as yet been only found in connexion with religious or ceremonial scenes and not in association with arms of offence.

[14] I may refer to my remarks on this in 'Mycenaean Cyprus as illustrated by the British Museum Excavations' (*Journal of the Anthr. Inst.* vol. xxx. 1900, pp. 209, *seqq.* and see esp. p. 215). The round targe was now beginning.

[15] In the Ashmolean Museum; as yet unpublished.

[16] *Il.* xv. 645 *seqq.*

[17] I note that Professor Gilbert Murray, who seems to regard the cuirass as a late element, still sums up his views regarding the armour and tactics of the Homeric poems as follows:

Can it indeed be believed that these scenes of knightly prowess on the Mycenaean signets, belonging to the very house of Agamemnon, have no connexion with the epic that glorified him in later days? Much may be allowed for variation in the details of individual episodes, but who shall deny that Schliemann's persuasion of their essential correspondence was not largely justified? Take the celebrated design on the signet-ring from the Fourth Shaft-Grave—in which a hero, apparently in defence of a fallen warrior, strikes down his assailant, whose half-retreating comrade, covered behind by a large body-shield, aims his spear apparently without effect at the victorious champion. Save that in the case of the protagonist a spear is substituted for a thrusting sword, and that the fallen figure behind the champion is that of a wounded man who still has strength to raise himself on one arm, the scene curiously recalls, even in its details, an episode of the Seventeenth Book of the *Iliad*. There the Telamonian Ajax, standing before Patroklos' body, strikes down Hippothoos, while Hector behind hurls his spear at Ajax, but just misses his aim.

Much might be added about these pre-Homeric illustrations of Homer, but I will confine myself here to one more example. In the Temple Repositories of the Palace of Knossos, dating from about 1600 B.C., was found a clay seal-impression exhibiting a sea-monster with a dog-like head rising amidst the waves, attacking a boat on which is seen a man beating it off with an oar (Fig. 3).[19] But this sea-monster is a prototype of Skylla, and though her dogs' heads were multiplied by Homer's time, we have here, in the epitomized manner of gem engraving, the essentials of Ulysses' adventure depicted half a millennium at least before the age of the Greek Epic. It would appear, moreover, that the same episode was made the subject of illustration in larger works of Minoan art, accompanied, we may suppose, with further details. A fragment of a wall-painting found at Mycenae shows part of a monster's head in front of a curving object recalling the stern of the vessel on the seal-impression, and Dr. Studniczka has with great probability recognized in this a pictorial version of the same design.

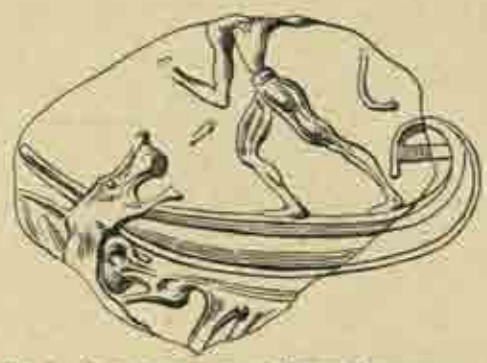

FIG. 3.—CLAY SEALING FROM TEMPLE REPOSITORIES, KNOSSOS (½) (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 50, Fig. 33).

But, over and above such correspondence in the individual episodes and

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[18] The surface speaks of the Late Ionian fighting, the heart of the fighting is Mycenaean.' (*The Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 146). This latter point is the gist of the whole matter. But it is difficult to accept the view that the cultural phase represented by the Homeric poems in their characteristic shape is 'Late Ionian.' The 'Late Ionians' no longer used bronze for their weapons. Moreover they were well acquainted with writing and wore signet-rings.

[19] See my Report, *B.S.A.* No. ix. p. 58.

the detailed acquaintance with the material equipment of Minoan civilization, the Homeric poems themselves show a deep community with the naturalistic spirit that pervades the whole of the best Minoan art. It is a commonplace observation that the Homeric similes relating to animals recall the representations on the masterpieces of Minoan art. In both cases we have the faithful record of eyewitnesses, and when in the *Iliad* we are presented with a life-like picture of a lion fastening on to the neck of a steer or roused to fury by a hunter's spear we turn for its most vivid illustration to Minoan gems.

In the transitional epoch that marks the close of the Age of Bronze in Greece and the Aegean lands the true art of gem-engraving was non-existent;[20] and so, too, in the Homeric poems there is no mention either of intaglios or signet-rings. Yet in the *Odyssey* just such a scene of animal prowess as formed the theme of so many Minoan gems, a hound holding with teeth and fore-paws a struggling fawn, is described as the ornament of Ulysses' golden brooch. The anachronism here involved has been met by no Homeric commentator. For we now know the fibula-types of the Aegean 'Chalco-siderie Age'—if I may coin such a word—to which the poems belong—with their inartistic bows and stilts and knobs. It is inconceivable—even did their typical forms admit of it—that any one of these could have been equipped with a naturalistic adjunct of such a kind. The suggested parallels have in fact been painfully sought out amongst the fashions in vogue three or four centuries later than the archaeological epoch marked by the Homeric poems![21] As if such naturalistic compositions had anything in common with the stylized mannerisms of the later Ionian art—with its Sphinxes and winged monsters and mechanically balanced schemes!

Must we not rather suppose that the decorative motive here applied to Ulysses' brooch was taken over from what had been the principal personal ornaments of an earlier age, when in Greece at least *fibulae* were practically unknown,[22] namely, the perforated intaglios, worn generally as periapts about

[20] Rudely scratched seal-stones of Early Geometric date exist, but they are of soft materials.

[21] Helbig for instance (*Hom. Epos*, p. 277) finds a comparison in a type of gold fibulae, with double pins and surmounted by rows of gold Sphinxes, from seventh- or sixth-century graves of Cære and Praeneste. Ridgeway (*The Early Age of Greece*, i. 446) cites in the same connexion 'brooches in the form of dogs and horses found at Hallstatt.' The best representative of the 'dog' brooches of this class seem to be those from the cemetery of S. Lucia in Carniola (Marchesetti, *Necropoli di S. Lucia, presso Tolmino*, Tav. xv. Figs. 9, 10), where in each case a small bird is seen in front of the hound. A somewhat more naturalistic example gives the key to this: the original of the dog is a cat-like animal (*Op. cit.* Tav. xx. Fig. 12). We have here in fact a subject ultimately derived from the Nilotic scenes in which ichneumons are seen hunting ducks. The same motive is very literally reproduced on the inlaid dagger blade from Mycenae and recurs in variant forms in Minoan Art. The Late Hallstatt fibulae of this class are obviously the derivatives of classical prototypes belonging to the seventh century B.C. (In one case a winged Sphinx takes the place of the cat, or pard, before the bird.) These derivatives date themselves from the sixth and even the fifth century B.C., since the last named example was found together with a fibula of the 'Certosa' class. The S. Lucia cemetery itself according to its explorer (*op. cit.* p. 313) dates only from about 600 B.C. It will be seen from this how little these Late Hallstatt 'dog' fibulae have to do with the design of Ulysses' brooch.

[22] The early 'fiddle-bow' type is hardly found before the L.M. III. period, when the art of gem-engraving was already in its decline.

the wrist. An example of one such from Eastern Crete with a scene singularly recalling the motive of the brooch is seen in Fig. 4. It would not have required much licence on the poet's part to transfer the description of such a design to a personal ornament of later usage with which he was acquainted. But the far earlier associations of the design are as patent to the eye of the archaeologist as are those of a classical gem set in a mediaeval reliquary.

When in the days of the later Epos we recognize heroic scenes already depicted by the Minoan artists, and episodes instinct with the naturalistic spirit of that brilliant dawn of art we may well ask how, according to any received theory, such perfect glimpses into the life of that long-past age could have been preserved. The detailed nature of many of the parallels excludes the idea that we have here to do with the fortuitous working of poets' imagination. We are continually tempted to ask—Could such descriptive power in poetry go side by side with its antithesis in art?—the degraded, conventional art of the period in which the Homeric Epos took its final form.

Fig. 4.—Haematite Intaglio from E. Crete with Dog seizing Stag (?).

But if a combination of such contradictory qualities seems in the highest degree improbable, how are we to explain this phenomenon? By what means could this undimmed reflection of a pure great age have been perpetuated and preserved?

Only in one way, I again repeat, could such passages, presenting the incidents and life of the great days of Mycenae and instinct with the peculiar genius of its art, have been handed down intact. They were handed down intact because they were preserved in the embalming medium of an earlier Epos—the product of that older non-Hellenic race to whom alike belong the glories of Mycenae and of Minoan Crete. Thus only could the iridescent wings of that earlier phantasy have maintained their pristine form and hues through days of darkness and decline to grace the later, Achaean, world.

Where indeed would be the fly without the amber? How could the gestes and episodes of the Minoan age have survived for incorporation in later epic lays without the embalming element supplied by a more ancient poetic cycle? But the taking over and absorption of these earlier materials would be greatly simplified by the existence of such bilingual conditions as have been above postulated. The process itself may have begun very early, and the long contact of the Arcadian branch, whose language most approaches the original speech of Greek Epic, with the dominant Mycenaeans may have greatly contributed to its elaboration. Even in its original Minoan elements moreover we may expect stratification—the period for instance of the body-shield and the period of the round targe and cuirass may have both left their mark.

The Homeric poems in the form in which they finally took shape are the result of this prolonged effort to harmonize the old and the new elements. In the nature of things this result was often incompletely attained. The evidence of patchwork is frequently patent. Contradictory features are found such as could not have coexisted at any one epoch. It has been well remarked by Professor Gilbert Murray[22] that 'even the similes, the very breath of the poetry of Homer, are in many cases, indeed usually, adopted ready-made. Their vividness, their directness of observation, their air of freshness and spontaneity are all deceptive.' Many of them are misplaced, and 'were originally written to describe some quite different occasion.'

Much has still to be written on the survival of Minoan elements in almost every department of the civilized life of later Greece. Apart moreover from oral tradition we have always to reckon with the possibility of the persistence of literary records. For we now know that an advanced system of linear script was in vogue not only in Crete but on the mainland side in the latest Mycenaean period.[23]

Besides direct tradition, however, there are traces of a process of another kind for which the early Renaissance in Italy affords a striking analogy. In later classical days some of the more enduring examples of Minoan art, such as engraved gems and signets, were actually the subjects of a revival. I venture to think that it can hardly be doubted that a series of Early Greek coin-types are taken from the designs of Minoan intaglios. Such very naturalistic designs as the cow scratching its head with its hind leg or licking its flank or the calf that it suckles, seen on the coins of Gortyna, Karystos, and Eretria seem to be directly borrowed from Minoan lentoid gems. The two overlapping swans on coins of Eion in Macedonia recall a well-established intaglio design of the same early class. The native goats which act as supporters on either side of a fig-tree on some types of the newly-discovered archaic coins of Skyros suggest the same comparisons. On the other hand a version of the Lions' Gate scheme—two lions with their fore-paws on the capital of a column, seen on an Ionian stater of about 700 B.C., —has some claims, in view of the Phrygian parallels, to be regarded as an instance of direct survival.

A good deal more might be said as to this numismatic indebtedness, nor is it surprising that the civic badge on coins should have been taken at times from those on ancient gems and signets brought to light by the accidental opening of a tomb, together with bronze arms and mortal remains attributed, it may be, to some local hero. Of the almost literal reproduction of the designs on Minoan signet rings by a later Greek engraver I am able to set before you a really astonishing example. Three rings (Figs. 5, 6, 7) were recently obtained by me in Athens, consisting of solid silver hoops themselves

[22] *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 210. Professor Murray remarks (*op. cit.* p. 215): 'The poets of our Iliad scarcely need to have seen a lion. They have their stores of traditional similes taken from almost every moment of a lion's life.'

[23] Among recent discoveries are a whole series of Late Minoan vases from Tiryns with inscriptions representing a mainland type of the developed Linear Script of Minoan Crete.

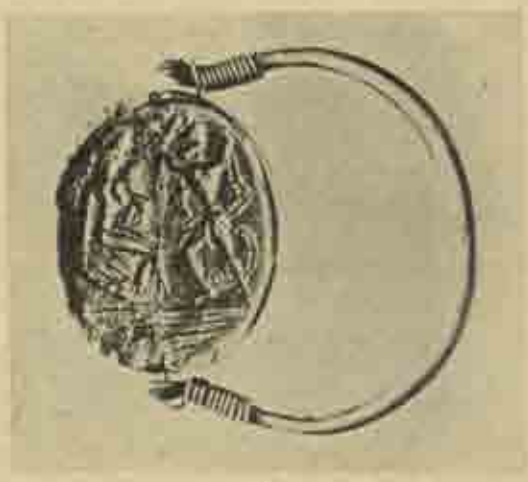
5a

5b

6a

6b

7a



7b

FIGS. 5-7.—GREEK SIGNET RINGS WITH SILVER HOOPS AND IVORY BEZELS FOUND IN CRETE (‖)

X ½

penannular with rounded terminations in which swivel-fashion are set oval ivory bezels, with intaglios on either side, surrounded in each case by a high rim,—itself taken over from the prominent gold rim of Egyptian scarab mountings. These bezels are perforated, the silver wire that went through them being wound round the feet of the hoops. From particularities in the technique, the state of the metal and of the ivory, and other points of internal evidence, it is impossible to doubt the genuine antiquity of these objects.[16] They were said to have been found in a tomb in the Western part of Crete, reaching Athens by way of Canea, and their owner set no high value on them.[20] This type of ring with the wire wound round the ends of the hoop is in common use for scarabs, cylinders, and scaraboids in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and itself goes back to Minoan or Mycenaean prototypes.[21] From the style of engraving, however, it seems impossible to date the signet rings in question earlier than about 400 B.C.

The subjects of two of these are a Sphinx with an ibex on the reverse (Fig. 5*a*, *b*) and another Sphinx coupled in the same way with a Chimaera (Fig. 5*a*, *b*). The intaglios are executed in an advanced provincial Greek style, in which, however, certain reminiscences of artistic schemes dating from the first half of the fifth century are still perceptible.[22]

But the designs on the two sides of the third intaglio (Fig. 7*a* and *b*), though obviously engraved at the same time as the others and by the same hand belong to a very different category. On one side a man in the Minoan loin clothing with a short thrusting sword in his right hand is struggling with a lion, the head of which is seen as from above. It will be recognized at once

[16] The exceptional character of these objects and the appearance of Mycenaean motives on one signet side by side with Classical subjects on the others made it necessary, in spite of their appearance of undoubted antiquity, to submit them to the severest *expertise*. I had them examined by a series of the best judges of such objects, but all were unanimous both as to the antiquity of the signets and as to the fact that the ivory had not been re-cut and re-engraved in later times. Examination of various parts of the surface under a strong microscope confirmed these results. In order, however, to make assurance doubly sure I decided on a crucial test. I entrusted to Mr. W. H. Young, the highly experienced *forcateur* and expert in antiquities of the Ashmolean Museum, the delicate task of re-breaking two of the ivory signets along a line of earlier fracture that followed the major axis of each, and of removing all extraneous materials due to previous mendings or restoration. The results of this internal analysis were altogether conclusive. The cause of the longitudinal fracture was explained in the case of the signet, Fig. 7, by the swelling of the silver pin due to oxidisation. The whole of the metal, transmuted to the purple oxide characteristic of decayed silver, was here within. In the case of the other signet (Fig. 5) this had been replaced by a new pin in recent times, and on removing this the whole of the perforation was visible, and proved to be of the ancient character. The ivory has been attacked at both ends by a tubular drill, the two holes meeting irregularly near the middle. The modern method of drilling is of course quite different. It is done with a chisel pointed instrument and proceeds continuously from one end.

[20] The correspondence of one of the scenes on the third ring with a type on a gold bead from Mycenae suggests, however, that its prototypes were taken from the Mainland side.

[21] An amygdaloid Late Minoan or Mycenaean gem representing a ship, set into a silver hoop of this type, found at Enguia, is in my own collection.

[22] As for instance in the attitude of the ibex (Fig. *b*) and in the type of the Chimaera. The facing Sphinx (Fig. *a*) is carelessly engraved and presents an abnormal aspect. Of its genuine antiquity, however, there can be no doubt. [See note 23.]

that this scheme corresponds even in details with that of the hero struggling with a lion, engraved on a gold perforated bead or ring-bezel found by Schliemann in the Third Shaft-Grave at Mycenae.[29] On the other side of the intaglio, we see a bearded warrior with a girdle and similar Minoan costume, wearing a helmet with zones of plates and bearing a figure-of-8 shield on his back. Owing to the defective preservation of the surface it is difficult to make out the exact character of the stroke intended or to distinguish the weapon used from the warrior's raised arms. That he is aiming a mortal blow at the figure before him is clear. The latter wears the same narrow Minoan girdle, but his helmet, which is broader, is not so well executed. He is shewn in a helpless position, falling backwards over the lower margin of a similar shield and holding a sword in his left hand, which, however, is rendered unavailable by his fall.

Here we have a scene closely analogous to that on a sardonyx lentoid from the Third Shaft-Grave at Mycenae,[30] except that in the present case the body-shield of the falling warrior reaches to his heels. If, as seems probable, this latter detail belongs to the original of the type, and the warrior has tripped backwards over the lower rim of his cumbrous body-shield, the scene itself would absolutely correspond with the Homeric episode of Periphétês to which I have already referred.

> *στρεφθεὶς γὰρ μετόπισθεν ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄντυγι πάλτο,*
> *τὴν αὐτὸς φορέεσκε ποδηνεκέ', ἔρκος ἀκόντων·*
> *τῇ ὅ γ' ἐνὶ βλαφθεὶς πέσεν ὕπτιος, ἀμφὶ δὲ πήληξ*
> *σμερδαλέον κονάβησε περὶ κροτάφοισι πεσόντος.*[31]

We have here, in fact, the curious phenomenon of a pre-Homeric illustration of Homer revived by a Classical engraver.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

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[29] *Mycenae*, p. 174, Fig. 253.

[30] Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Pl. II. 2, and cf. Reichel, *Homerische Waffen*, p. 7, Fig. 6. A strange and indescribably misleading representation of this gem is given in Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 202, Fig. 315.

[31] *Il.* xv. 645 sqq.

AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE CLASSIFICATION OF HOMERIC COIN TYPES

[PLATE V.]

Parivat dissidens non inutilis vultus, sicut in Homero evenit.—PLINY.

I.—*The Relation of Greek Ideal Portraits and Numismatics*[1]

In dealing with any ideal portrait it is well to remember a remark of Pliny's concerning the portraits of the poet Alcman, not that Alcman is represented on any coin we know of, but because the phrase throws light on the whole question: *Alcmanis poetæ nullius est nobilior* [*Calamidis*] there is no nobler portrait of the poet Alcman than that by Calamis.[2] This passage implies that Pliny knew portraits of Alcman by various sculptors and preferred that of Calamis; nor is this surprising, if we consider the number of portraits of Homer and Sappho for example recorded by ancient writers. The obvious but often forgotten deduction to be drawn from the fact that different artists represented the same subject differently is, that it is not legitimate to assume that the identification of one type of portrait necessarily puts all other identifications out of court. When, for instance, the Ny-Carlsberg Anacreon was identified, all other types were discarded; as Bernoulli puts it, "Mit der Auffindung der capitolinischen Herme sind natürlich die früher aufgestellten Anakreondeutungen sämtlich in Wegfall gekommen." (*Gr. Ikon.* i. p. 83.) Yet later representations of Anacreon existed, as the epigrams of Leonidas of Tarentum, Eugenes,[3] and Theocritus[4] show, and coins of Teos represent him not only in the attitude of the famous Athenian statue,[5] but seated in flowing drapery, playing or holding the lyre.[6] That other sculptors would have modelled their portraits on that of Cresilas

[1] The word *ideal* is used throughout as equivalent to imaginary, not as the opposite of realistic; thus the Hellenistic portraits of Homer are treated as ideal when in the artistic sense they are more realistic than many actual portraits of earlier date.

[2] *H.N.* xxxiv. 71. I adopt Mrs Strong's emendation of *Alcmanis poetæ* for the *Alcmanes et* and *alabastrum* of the MSS.; if the name is corrupt, the argument is unaffected.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* xvi. 306–8.

[4] *sub* Ἀνακρέοντος ἀνδριάντα.

[5] *B.M.C. Ionia*, Pl. XXX. 16; Arndt, *Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, text to Pl. 26–28.

[6] Bärtner, in *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, ix. Pl. IV., 11; Visconti, *Icon. grecque*, i. Pl. 2, 8; Jahn, *Darst. Gr. Dicht.* Pl. VIII. 8; Bernoulli, *Musikal.* i. 15.

is in itself highly improbable; that they did not always do so may be safely asserted on the evidence of the coins and epigrams already alluded to. Leonidas and Eugenes describe a statue representing the poet as an old man, his garment trailing at his heels, one sandal on his wrinkled foot, tottering as he sings the praise of his loves; nothing could be further from the serene figure of the poet in the prime of life, with his chlamys cast round his shoulders and his firm and graceful posture, as we see him in the work of Cresilas; the stately draped figure on the coins is again entirely different. So too with portraits of Homer, and, though here artists had at least the traditions of age and blindness to guide them, even these are not always adopted. The serene and Zeus-like head on the coins of Ios has literally nothing but the fact of being bearded in common with the familiar Hellenistic type, so that the "acceptierter Formencharakter" of which Dr. Bernoulli, who believes that sculptors of ideal portraits worked within certain recognised traditions, writes in his invaluable *Griechische Ikonographie* (i. p. 18) can hardly be accepted as a formula by which to judge of these portraits. It is the special function of the class of coins with which we have to deal that they provide inscribed portraits which can be compared with the familiar sculptural types, and which furnish independent and often datable evidence on the whole subject of ancient iconography.

It may be well to make clear at the outset the grounds on which a coin type can be regarded as a copy of a portrait.

(i.) *The direct statements of ancient writers.*

If we read that coins representing such a man were struck at such a place and can recognise the type on the coins of that place, their identification provides a basis for the identification of similar coin types elsewhere.

(ii.) *The analogy of other monuments reproduced on coins.*

Here the *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* of Drs. Gardner and Imhoof-Blumer is invaluable, reproducing as it does over 700 coins and describing many others representing monuments and works of art, most of which are described or mentioned by Pausanias. Few of these are portraits, but the list includes the monuments of Themistocles and Miltiades and the famous group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton—the last curiously omitted hitherto in works on Greek Iconography, though, as I hope to shew in a future paper dealing with the coins, these famous statues are the earliest commemorative portraits we possess. In the great majority of portrait coins we have no Pausanias to aid us, but the analogy of these hundreds of other types is invaluable in dealing with the portrait class.

(iii.) *The recurrence of types at different periods.*

The types with which we are here dealing are very rarely the typical coins of the state; their occurrence, therefore, still more their recurrence, implies a strong local interest in a particular portrait. If the same type occurs sporadically, still more if it appears continuously, for three or four centuries, there is a strong presumption that it represents an actual

monument. Indeed, the imperial issues of Greek cities, to which most of the coins of this class belong, are often so various that the reappearance of the same portrait type on them from time to time makes its monumental origin certain, and also renders it highly probable that the original work of art was in existence, or was at least familiar, when the latest of these was struck, since commemorative coins lose much of their point when the monument commemorated has disappeared.

(iv.) *The dates at which the coins are issued.*

Where commemorative coins occur, they usually belong to a time when the city is looking back on its past glories. This is especially true of Greek cities under Roman rule, which, though usually forced to adopt the imperial portrait as an obverse type, could yet use the reverse for the glorification of the city, its monuments and its great men. Commissions for such monuments, whether in honour of heroes or of citizens, became common after the middle of the fourth century: two of the most famous earlier examples occur on coins and one, if not both, in marble copies also, the Athenian Tyrannicides and the Themistocles on the coins of Magnesia; both throw an interesting light on the subject of ideal portrait groups.

(v.) *Inscriptions.*

Where an inscription exists, the portrait so identified is placed beyond doubt; in spite of this it is usually said that these coin portraits have no value. If, however, the monument so identified was to mean anything to the citizens for whose use it was struck, it must have reproduced a familiar type.

(vi.) *Character of the coin types.*

Conflicting ideals of the same person are often found on the coins of the same city, and if the types are, as is usually the case, obviously earlier than the date at which the coins themselves are struck, there is a strong presumption, if not absolute proof, that these coins reproduce actual works of art. Successful archaising in widely different manners is not characteristic of local die-cutters of the Antonine period, so that the very want of artistic excellence in these later coins is an argument in favour of the genuinely early character of the types. Where again, as at Ios, we find an imperial bronze issue reproducing the type of a Homer found on late fourth-century coins side by side with a rarer issue representing a Homer with short hair of quite different style and unknown at an earlier date, we may be sure that only a different original can account for so unexpected a variation from the national type. Nor is there any difficulty in the supposition. Portraits of great men were common at Athens, yet we know of two statues of Sophocles, erected by Iophon and Lycurgus, and of two statues and one painting of Isocrates;[7] and Homer was almost the solitary glory of Ios. Again, at Smyrna and Colophon Homer is represented on Hellenistic coins with hair knotted

[7] Overbeck *S.Q.* 1430-31.

behind over a fillet and one long lock falling on the neck, a style unknown at the period of the earliest of these coins, soon after 300 B.C., and persisting unaltered to imperial times;[8] the statue therefore must have been earlier than the coins on which it is represented.

(vii.) *Variations of position and details in the same figure.*

Where the same figure is reproduced from a different point of view it is obvious that the artist is copying direct from the original and not from a previous coin type. The best example of this is to be found in the coins representing the Athena Parthenos, whose position varies so much that her shield is seen full-face, in profile, and from the inside,[9] but instances occur on more than one portrait coin.

The scale of the coins is often too small for much detail to be perceptible, though the general character is usually clear. Heads hardly ever occur as reverse types, probably because they are less distinctive of the city which erected the monument in question, rarely even as obverse types, while full-length figures are comparatively common, no doubt because they would be recognised at a glance. Where they do occur, their value is always high, but the only examples among ideal portraits are those of Homer, Sappho, Alcaeus, and Pittacus, the heads of Herodotus, Hippocrates, and others partaking of the character of historical portraits. It has been the misfortune of both classes of portrait coins, ideal and historical, other than those of rulers, to be slighted or neglected by recent writers on archaeology, while numismatists who have dealt with them have made no attempt to correlate them with other monuments. Before dealing with the coins of Homer therefore it may be well briefly to recapitulate the principal existing monuments other than numismatic, as well as the portraits recorded by ancient writers, that we may judge better what relation, if any, the large number of Homeric coin types bear to the portraits known from other sources.

II.—*Existing Portraits of Homer other than those on the coins.*

(i.) Minor monuments include the inscribed herm noted below (p. 304, No. xii) and a head now apparently lost, which seems to have belonged to it;[10] the relief dedicated by Archelaus of Priene now in the British Museum;[11] the relief in Paris representing Homer standing between figures of the Iliad and the Odyssey;[11a] the famous inscribed fragment in Berlin representing Homer reading from a scroll;[12] the statue with long hair given by Fulvius Ursinus (*Imagines*, p. 20) and other writers; the wall painting from Pompeii[13]; the questionable fragment from the South of France

[8] The later bronze coins of this type are attributed in *B.M.C. Ionia* pp. 239 *seqq.* to the second and first centuries B.C.; in *Hist. Num.*[2] Dr. Head puts them among autonomous and quasi-imperial types (p. 593) quoting the famous passage of Strabo.

[9] *Num. Comm. on Paus.* V. xviii–xxii.

[10] *cf.* Bernoulli, i. p. 5.

[11] *B.M.C. Sculpture* iii. No. 2191, where literature.

[11a] Clarac, *Musée du Louvre*, Pl. 228.

[12] Bernoulli, i. fig. 1; Inghirami, *Gall. Omerica*, I, Pl. IV.

[13] *M.d.I.* x. Pl. 35. 2. The figure of Homer appears to be derived from that on the Homereia of Smyrna.

figured in Millin's *Galerie Mythologique*:[14] the much-injured figure on the mosaic of Monnus in Trèves;[15] the silver cup representing Homer, veiled and bearded, borne up to Olympus by an eagle[16]; and several gems. Of these the only one of importance is the inscribed jasper in Berlin which Furtwängler ascribes to later imperial times,[17] and which recalls the statue in the *Homereion* at Smyrna, though the poet is, inexplicably, beardless, and is seated on a cippus in place of a stool; the bust of 'Homer' on a sardonyx in Naples is, according to Bernoulli, a portrait of Epicurus to which the name of Homer has been fraudulently added; the cameo once belonging to Sir William Hamilton (Tischbein, *Homer nach Antiken gezeichnet*, Pl. II.) representing Homer seated with three of the Muses, that figured by Fulvius Ursinus (*Imagines*, p. 20), the beautiful beryl once in the collection of Lord Radnor, which, to judge from Worlidge's etching of it (No. 109 in his *Catalogue*), followed the recognised Hellenistic type, and the long list in Tassie's *Catalogue of Gems* cannot safely be pronounced upon in the absence of the originals.[17a] Finally the 'Homer' in relief which forms the frontispiece of the 1775 edition of Wood's *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Homer* is no other than the life-size medallion of Aeschines now at St. Petersburg.

(ii.) Apart from the examples of the familiar Hellenistic type recorded by Bernoulli, a type which is usually believed to be of Alexandrian origin,[18] and the two statues to which the name is given (that at Naples has the head restored, and may or may not be a Homer; the other, with an attitude like that of the Lateran Sophocles and a head of the Hellenistic type is given by Tischbein, *op. cit.* ii. Pl. I.), three other 'Homer' types have been sometimes recognised, that now commonly known as the Old Sophocles,[18a] that usually called Epimenides, and the so-called Apollonius of Tyana. The first two attributions are very doubtful, as the first is almost certainly a Sophocles, and the only argument for the second, viz. that an artist of the close of the fifth century would, like Raphael in the cartoon of Elymas the sorcerer, represent blindness by closed eyes, is non-proven: the closed eyes are quite as likely to represent sleep, and as the work is almost certainly Attic, and the Athenians erected a seated statue of Epimenides in front of the

[14] ii. Pl. CXXXI *bis*, No. 547; Jahn, *Bilderchronik*, p. 59.

[15] *Ant. Denkm.* i. Pl. 48, 11.

[16] Tischbein, *op. cit.* Pl. III. Inghirami, *op. cit.* i. Pl. XVI.; Overbeck-Man, *Pompeii*, p. 824. The 'Homers' of the reliefs in Welcker, *A.D.* Pl. 18 and 19, have nothing to do with the poet, and I. de Bisschop's Homer (*Icones signorum veterum*, Pl. 71–2; Reinach, *Répertoire*, p. 570) is scarcely antique.

[17] *Beschr. der geschn. Steine*, No. 8883.

[17a] These last gems, like others in the above list, are not mentioned by Bernoulli.

[18] These heads differ from each other in details, but are marked by a unity of conception and general character which makes it convenient to class them together here, with the exception of No. 5, which is a replica of the 'Old Sophocles.' cf. *Bull. Comm.* 1898, Pl. 3–4.

[18a] With which go the Arundel head in the British Museum, whose former name of Homer has recently been again suggested ('ungeblicher Homerskopf') by Klein, *Gesch. d. gr. Kunst*, Vol. iii. p. 195 and Index; and the relief of a seated poet, certainly the same person, in the Cabinet des Médailles, *Annali* 1841, Pl. I.; Jahn, *Bilderchron.* ii. 4; Bernoulli i. p. 136.

temple of Triptolemus (Paus. i. 14. 4), it is quite possible that this famous type is, as Visconti first suggested, a copy of that work.[18b] To the 'Apollonius' we shall return in connexion with the coins of Amastris.[19]

With the exception of the last, which is a doubtful Homer, none of these monuments is pre-Hellenistic; it is then to the coins that we must turn for information as to what the earlier Homeric type was like, and his head or figure appears on the coins of no fewer than eight Greek cities, a number quite unparalleled.[20] The series is of extreme importance from the number of types and periods represented; it is noteworthy that, whereas most of the busts and reliefs represent the poet as bald, the pathos of age being, as we should expect of the Hellenistic period, added to that of blindness, none of the coins, as Dr. Bernoulli points out, so represent him. The coins range in date from *c.* 307 B.C. to the third century after Christ, and, as already said, no portrait series can compare with this for number and variety of type; but before dealing with them it may be useful to give a list of the portraits of Homer mentioned by ancient writers slightly fuller than that of Bernoulli and arranged as far as may be in chronological order.

III.—*Portraits of Homer mentioned by ancient writers.*

(i.) Not earlier than 467 or later than 460 B.C., the sculptor Dionysios of Argos placed portraits of Homer and Hesiod among the dedications of Micythos at Olympia.[20a]

(ii.) A bronze statue reproduced on later coins (*infra*, p. 6) stood in the *Homereion* at Smyrna, which from the style must belong to a period not later, and perhaps earlier, than the beginning of the fourth century B.C.[21]

(iii.) About 340 B.C. statues of Homer and another poet were placed on the grave of the poet Theodectes of Phaselis, on the Sacred Way; of these only the Homer survived in the time of the pseudo-Plutarch,[22] who records elsewhere the inscription of the following statue.

(iv.) At Colophon was a statue of uncertain date whose inscription, recorded by the author of the Life of Homer above mentioned, also occurs in the Planudean Anthology under the title of *εἰς τὰς Ὁμηρικὰς δύο βίβλους*.[23]

(v.) A bronze statue whose inscription, the very oracle given by Apollo

[18b] Dr. Bernoulli supports Visconti's attribution; for the Homer theory see Furtwängler, *Samml. der Münchn. Glyptothek*, p. 298.

[19] To the Homer types already mentioned may be added a bust at Wilton (Michaelis, *Anc. Marbles*, p. 658) and a medallion head at Leather Castle (*ibid.* p. 492), neither mentioned by Bernoulli; the writer has seen neither, and can only note that they are not described as modern by Michaelis.

[20] Bonner (*op. cit.* p. 109) says ten, but this appears to include types assigned by earlier writers to Crete and other cities and now discredited. Bernoulli speaks of 'Smyrna, Kolophon, Chios, Nikaea, Kyme a. and.' as giving the full-length figure, Ios and Amastris as giving the head only. Temnos is in fact the only state omitted, but the different issues are not enumerated by Bernoulli, or apparently elsewhere.

[20a] Paus. v. 26. 2; and Frazer's commentary.

[21] Strabo xiv. 646. The passage is quoted in full in note 32.

[22] *Vit. X. Orat. Lucretius* 10.

[23] *Anth. Gr.* xvi. 292.

to the poet, is recorded by Pausanias, stood in the vestibule of the temple at Delphi.[24]

(vi.) The Argives erected a bronze statue of Homer, whose inscription, beginning *θεῖος Ὅμηρος ὅδ' ἐστίν*, is also preserved, and decreed that sacrifices should be offered to him daily and monthly and yearly, and that another sacrifice should be sent to Chios every five years.[25]

(vii.) Lucian mentions a statue with flowing hair that stood on the right of the temple of Ptolemy at Athens, to which he makes his poet offer prayers.[26]

(viii.) In the temple of the Ptolemies at Alexandria, of which we know nothing definite (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Alexandreia*, p. 1380), were the two following works of art: A statue of Homer, enthroned and surrounded by personifications of the cities that claimed to have given him birth.[27]

(ix.) A satirical picture of Galaton, representing Homer surrounded by a group of poetasters trying to catch his overflowings.[28]

(x.) A bronze statue with flowing hair stood, according to Christodorus, in the Zeuxippos at Constantinople.[29] This statue is described at length by Cedrenus (quoted by Cuper, *Apotheosis Homeri*, 1737, p. 21).

Statues or paintings are recorded or implied in the following passages (cf Pape, *Griech. Eigennam.* p. 1058):

(xi.) *Anthologia Palatina*, *App.* iii. 114; cf. Visconti, *Icon. Gr.* i. p. 27, note 1.

(xii.) *Anthologia Palatina*, *App.* iii. 111–3. These three epigrams, sometimes ascribed to the sophist Aelian, are inscribed on a herm found outside the Porta Trigemina, and may have been originally written for the statue from which the herm was copied, not merely borrowed from a literary source and applied to the work of a sculptor. Fulvius Ursinus (*Imagines*, p. 20) held that the presence of these verses proved that Aelian had a villa on the Via Ostiensis, in the library of which stood this very herm.

(xiii.) It is highly probable from the context that there would be busts of Homer in the libraries built by Asinius Pollio and Atticus (Plin. *N.H.* xxxv. 10; cf. Fulv. Ursinus, *loc. cit.*)

(xiv.) Finally, the basis of a standing bronze statue with a long metrical inscription was found in the sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon.[29a]

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[24] Paus. x. 24, 2: passed. Hdt., *Vit. Hom.*

[25] Ὀνόμου καὶ Ἡσιόδου Ἀγών, ll. 291–5 ed. Teubner, 1908, p. 249; this composition, usually appended to the works of Hesiod, used to be attributed to a sophist of the age of Hadrian; recently the recovery of a fragment from the Fayum (beginning at l. 63) dating from the third century B.C. proves that the text as we have it is a Hadrianic recension of a work of much earlier date, in fact, of the Μουσεῖον of Alcidamas. (See Mahaffy, *Flinders-Petrie Papyri*, 1891, Pl. XXV, F. Nietzsche, *Rhein. Mus. für Phil.* 25, pp. 528 *sqq.*; *Acta Soc. Phil. Lips.* ed. Ritschl, vol. i. 1870; T. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera* v. p. 225. The prose part of the work would appear to be of Hadrianic date, *i.e.* of the period to which the earliest Chian issues bearing the portrait of Homer can be assigned (*post*, pp. 7–8); there is therefore no clue to the earlier date-limit of the statue or of the Argive decree as to the five-yearly embassy to Chios: but the author of the Ἀγών speaks of it as a well-known fact, and his statement as to the Argive sacrifices agrees with that of Aelian, *V.H.* ix. 15.

[26] *Enc. Dem.* 2.

[27] Ael. *V.H.* xiii. 22. [28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Anth. Pal.* ii. 320 *sqq.* Homer is described as bald about the forehead, but with long hair falling on his neck.

[29a] *Fränkel, Inschr. von Pergamon*, i. No. 203.

It is worthy of notice that we find two authors, the art critic Lucian as well as the rhetorician Christodorus, expressly mentioning a type of Homer with long hair—*καθειμένον τὰς κόμας* says the former; it is therefore clear that long hair was not a usual feature of Homeric portraits, and this is confirmed by the coins and monuments (cf. p. 319, *infra*). Which, if any, of the above statues it was that Zoilus flogged Lucian (*Imagg.* 24) unfortunately does not tell us.

IV.—*Coins bearing the portrait of Homer.*

The list of cities which struck coins in the poet's honour does not, curiously enough, coincide with the list of cities which claimed to give him birth in any variant of the famous hexameter

Smyrna, Rhodus, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenae.

They are, as already mentioned, Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Cyme, Nicaea, Temnos, Ios, and Amastris, but others may still come to light, as one or two of the coins are of extreme rarity, existing sometimes in single specimens. M. Fustel de Coulanges' statement[305] that "C'était l'usage dans les anciennes cités grecques amoureuses de la gloire littéraire autant qu'envieuses de toute autre, de représenter des poètes sur leurs monnaies" is, unfortunately for our knowledge of iconography, an overstatement. We have Homer, Sappho, Alcaeus, Anacreon, Stesichorus, and among dramatists possibly Philemon, on the coins of their respective cities, but they are a small proportion even of the Greek poets whose works still survive and who were honoured, by statues or otherwise, in their native cities. The coins of Homer may be divided into two classes, those bearing seated figures, comprising all the issues of the first six states, and those with the head only, comprising all the issues of the two last.

I.—*Full-length Figures.*

(i) *Smyrna.*

The Homeric claims of Smyrna are discussed at length in Leo Allatius, *de patria Homeri*, c. xii[306]; they were very strong, as the familiarity of the name Melesigenes, given to him after his reputed father the river-god Meles sufficiently shows, and they were upheld not only locally, but by the mother-city Athens, who thereby made good her claim to count Homer as in some sort a citizen of her own. Smyrna could not only show the river Meles, and the cave on its banks in which he had composed his works, but a strong body of literary tradition also; *Smyrnaei vero suum esse confirmant,*

[305] *Mémoire sur l'île de Chio*, in *Questions Historiques*, edited by M. Camille Jullian, 1893, p. 313.

[306] For this and all other cities claiming Homer as a citizen the references in Pape, *Gr. Eigennamen*, s.v. *Homeros*; Sluars *Etude sur Smyrne*, 1888; the standard work of Westermann, *Vitae Script. Graec. Minores*; the *Life* printed in Iriarte, *Regiae Biblioth. Matritens. Codd. Gr.* 1769, p. 233, and vol. x. of Mr. T. W. Allen's Oxford Homer should be consulted.

as Cicero writes, and their coins vindicated this claim from the earliest period of Smyrna's entire independence.

The coins are as follows:

α. Æ. ·75 and Æ. ·75–1·0. Second century B.C. to imperial times. [Pl. V., 1 and 2.]

Obv. Laureate head of Apollo r.

Rev. Homer seated l. on cushioned stool with lion fore-feet, a staff or sceptre ending in a flower at his side, r. hand open supporting chin, l. lying on knees holding closed scroll; l. foot forward, r. drawn back, himation passing under r. and over l. shoulder; hair rolled over fillet and knotted on neck with a long lock falling to the shoulder. ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ. Magistrate's name.[51]

This important series, which varies only in the most trifling details, unquestionably reproduces the bronze statue in the *Homereion* at Smyrna of which we hear from Strabo and Cicero[52]; the statement of the former that the *bronze* coins were called *Homereia* from this statue need not be pressed as these issues were incomparably commoner than the earlier silver types: the name is the really interesting point. The statue is represented in such detail, notably on the finer specimens of the bronze issues, that it can be approximately dated to the end of the fifth or at latest the beginning of the fourth century B.C., after which hair knotted on the nape of the neck and the long side lock ceased to be used in portraits until the archaistic revival later than the date of the earliest *Homereia*, if not of Smyrna, at least of the similar type at Colophon (p. 310, *post*). A close numismatic parallel is the head of the Dionysos of Alcamenes on late bronze coins of Athens.[53] The general effect—indeed the whole conception—is that of a cultus statue of the great age; the scroll is a mere attribute, not a motive, as in late statues; and this coin is probably our earliest artistic evidence as to the cultus type of Homer. The next type is very different.

β. Æ. ·8 or ·85: late second or early third century after Christ. [Pl. V., 3.]

Obv. ΟΜΗΡΟϹ. Homer seated r. on stool with decorated legs, wearing himation cast across knees and over r. arm, which rests on stool; in l. hand, which is raised, a scroll half-unrolled.

Rev. ϹΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ within oak-wreath.[54]

[51] *B.M.C. Ionia*, pp. 238, 244–7; Bernoulli, *Homer*, i. 6; Macdonald, *Hunter. Cat.* ii. p. 359.

[52] Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὁμήρειον, στοὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον καὶ ξόανον μετρίως ἐπιχρύσου· γᾶρ καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ διφθέρινον τοῦ κοιτῶνος, καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμά τι χαλκοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς Ὁμήρειον λέγεται. Strabo xiv., 646. Cf. Cic. *Arch.* 8, *Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii arguunt, Smyrnaei vero etiam eius confirmant suum esse civem delubrum etiam in oppido dedicaverunt.*

[53] *Num. Comm. on Paus.* Pl. CC 5.

[54] *B.M.C. Ionia*, p. 282; Macdonald, *Hunter. Coll.* ii. p. 374. This type is inaccurately figured by Cuper, *Apotheosis Homeri*, p. 23, where Homer is described as holding *calamum vel palmam, ut videtur*: cf. Grævius, *Thes.* ii. p. 19.

Smyrna β is obviously derived from a different original of later date than α; the hair is no longer knotted in archaic fashion over a fillet; the scroll is unrolled and held out, not laid attribute-fashion on the knee; the right hand no longer supports the poet's chin, but rests on the stool at his side. The conception in short has changed; from Olympian calm the poet has passed to very human authorship, and the change alone would mark the work as of later date. It is probable that the original statue, which appeared on the coinage of Smyrna from the third century to imperial times and gave its name to it, was longer in existence when this second and unfamiliar type was issued; the probability is that it had been destroyed and replaced between the visit of Strabo and the age of the later Antonines to which β belongs. If this is the case, it must have been this second statue which was seen by the traveller and historian Coriolano Cippico in 1472;[34a] if, however β represents a statue erected elsewhere in Smyrna, Cippico may have seen the very statue recorded on α; the 'monument' would be in either case the famous *Homereion*. Whether this was identical with the building destroyed in 1702 and called either the *Homereion* or (from a double herm found in its ruins) the temple of Janus must remain uncertain. The latter building is discussed by Shaw (*Étude sur Smyrne*, p. 71), but without reference to the interesting, and except as to the actual position of the *Homereion* explicit, statement of Cippico.

(ii.) *Chios.*

For the Homeric claims of Chios the *Hymn to Apollo*, Thucydides, and Aristotle (*Rhet.* II. c. xxiii) all vouch; these and other passages are collected and the claims of the island urged by the Chians Leo Allatius (c. xiii) and Adamantios Korais ("Ατακτα, iii. pp. 240–3) with all the fervour of patriotism; we know the title of a book by Hypermenes, περὶ Χίου Ὁμήρου (Westermann, Μυθογράφοι, p. 197); and Chios shares with Smyrna the distinction of having its Homer coinage recorded by an ancient writer; Χῖοι δὲ Ὅμηρον [τῷ νομίσματι ἐνεχάραττον] says Pollux (*Onomast.* ix. 84), a statement which Allatius rashly enlarges (p. 231) into *apud Chios aenea moneta fuit, cui nomen Homerus*, as if the coinage in this also was an exact parallel to the *Homereia* of Smyrna. There appear to be at least three issues of very different date, although all have hitherto been indiscriminately assigned to the third century of our era.

a. Æ. 8. Early second century after Christ? [Pl. V., 4.]

Obv. Straight-winged Sphinx seated l. on club (?) placing r. forepaw on amphora; border of dots.

Rev. OM[HPOC] XIOC. Homer seated l. on high-backed chair holding scroll in l. hand; r. hand not seen.[35]

[34a] *Inque urbe antiquo earum fortunae ac multis monumentis insignis hierarum, quibus in claris celligus est* (when the Venetians fired it). *Ho vidimus multa antiqua monumenta, quadrati lapidis ac marmore magnifice exstructa, quorum nonnullis carmerant graecanae etiam exstabant, fuit quod Homeri monumentum esse statuae et inscriptione graecis litteris.* This passage, from *Cor. Cippicus Dalmatae de Petri Mocenici Imperatoris gestis libri tres*, Venice 1477, sig. c 8, does not appear to have been hitherto connected with the Homereion.

[35] *B.M.C. Ionia*, p. 346. The date is suggested on p. 343.

β. Æ. 7. Probably later Antonine. [Pl. V., 5.]

Obv. ΝΩΙΧ. Sphinx with straight wings seated l. with paw on prow.

Rev. ƆΟϘΗΜΟ. Homer of finer style seated r., both hands holding open scroll; the same figure as α, but seen to r., so that both hands are visible.[36]

γ. Æ. 65. Age of Gallienus. [Pl. V., 6.]

Obv. ΧΙΩΝ. Sphinx with curved wings seated l. with symbols; border of dots. (Two varieties, with paw raised or laid on amphora.)

Rev. ΟΜΗΡΟC. Homer seated r. as β on chair unrolling with both hands a scroll which is sometimes blank (as in *B.M.* specimens), sometimes inscribed with an Α (Bernoulli, *Münst.* i. 8), sometimes with the word ΙΛΙΑC (Eckhel, *Syll.* iv. 7; Whitte, *de rebus Chiorum*, p. 105).[37]

The arrangement of the three different issues above adopted first calls for comment. The British Museum specimens of α and γ are classed as 'Time of Gallienus?' without regard to the difference of style between α and γ; but Pollux' statement makes it certain that coins bearing the portrait of Homer were struck under the Antonines, and stylistically it is difficult to assign α to a late period, though the exacter date adopted here is based on the evidence of the inscription, which is as follows:

ΧΙΟΣ or ΧΙΟC is found on all Chian coins from before 350 B.C. (*B.M.C. Ionia, Chios* No. 40) to the end of the bronze coinage with archons' names of early imperial times. Next comes a rare issue of obols and dichalka not much later in date than the above, with the form ΧΙΩΝ and without archons' names (*B.M.C.* 113–4; *Hunter. Coll.*: *Chios*, Nos. 52–3) and henceforth the form ΧΙΟΣ or ΧΙΟC never re-appears. Our type α, however, has the form ΧΙΟC, and would therefore be contemporary with the bronze coinage with archons' names of early imperial times; therefore it is probably one of the coins referred to by Pollux.

β, a type to which Mr. Mavrogordato called my attention, and which I reproduce from the specimen in his collection, reads outwards and thereby connects itself with the large 3-assaria issues, on which the same type of straight-winged sphinx, and the same symbol, the prow, also occur (*B.M.C.* 122–5; *Hunter. Coll.* ii. Pl. LIII.); these pieces are assigned to the period of the Antonines, therefore the date of the similar Homer issues is probably the same.

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[36] Collection of Mr. J. Mavrogordato; Macdonald, *Hunter. Coll.* ii. *Chios*, Nos. 67–8; Gronovius, *Thes.* ii. p. 19.

[37] *B.M.C. Ionia*, p. 346, Nos. 146–1; Fulv. Ursinus, *Imagines* p. 20; Leo Allatius *de patria Homeri*, p. 11; Cuper, *Apotheos. Hom.* p. 23: apparently also reproduced in the last of Gronovius' engravings (*Thes.* ii. p. 19). It should be noted that Whitte in the work cited above mentions a second specimen of γ with ΙΛΙΑC inscribed as in the Hunterian Collection. The inscription is not mentioned in connexion with any of the specimens figured in the Hunterian Catalogue.

γ is obviously of very late date, well on in the third century after Christ; probably, as is usually said, it belongs to the age of Gallienus. The weights of all three roughly correspond with the ordinary issues with which they are here connected: I say 'ordinary,' because all three issues are distinguished not only by the type of Homer, but by the entire absence of any mark of value, a feature peculiar to themselves. Whether these coins were issued for special occasions is a matter for conjecture, but it seems at least possible. We hear in the Hadrianic part of the *Ἀγὼν Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου* already mentioned of the Argives' five-yearly embassy to Chios with *θυσίαι*, and the coins might easily be struck in connexion with what must have been a famous festival; on the other hand, Pollux mentions the Chian coins of Homer along with others, such as those of Mytilene and Argos, in which the types are the ordinary currency of the state. The question must at present remain open.

The Chian type itself is clearly sculptural, nor does the contradiction implied in the blind poet reading from the inscribed scroll, familiar also in the Archelaus relief in the British Museum and that at Berlin, appear to have disturbed the artist. The poet is seated, holding a written scroll with both hands, on the throne appropriate to a god, and if this conception of Homer as the author not only holding but actually reading his own works is a late one, the statue, especially as we see it in β, is of considerable dignity and follows a good tradition. This is the only numismatic example of the reading type, which can hardly have arisen before the Hellenistic age; it is therefore probable that in Chios itself an earlier statue existed, which was replaced, in popular favour at least, not earlier than the Hellenistic age by that reproduced on the coins; it is inconceivable that the traditional home of the poet, the actual home of the Homeridae, the state which celebrated its connexion with the poet by a festival every five years, to which a state so remote as Argos sent a solemn embassy, in which at the present day the name of Homer is a household word and a source of pride,[8] would be until Hellenistic times without a statue of Homer himself.

The Homeric coins of Chios are then of unusual interest, both archaeological and numismatic, and are especially valuable as illustrating every one of the reasons already given for believing in the authenticity of these coin portraits. We have the direct statement of Pollux that coins with the portrait of Homer were struck at Chios, the same type recurs on different issues; the dates and absence of marks of value point to a distinctly archaeological intention on the part of the state; the inscription ΟΜΗΡΟC identifies them; their artistic character is that of an earlier age than the date of the earliest of the coins; finally, the figure is represented from two points of view, and correctly represented, the left arm being held higher than the right, and therefore seen alone when the statue is represented from the left, as it is on α, when the scroll is not so visible to the spectator.

[8] Fustel de Coulanges, *Chio*, in *Questions Historiques*, edited by Camille Jullian, 1893, pp. 315 *sqq.*

It is something to have recovered the order of these Chian issues, and if too much has been said of the five-yearly festival of which we know so little, it is in the hope of saving others the difficulty experienced by the writer in tracing the statement at all, accident only having suggested the Ἀγών after years of useless search on the strength of reference-less allusions to the festival in various Dictionaries of Antiquities.

(iii.) *Colophon.*

The literary claims of Colophon were based primarily on the *Margites*, which were made the most of by patriotic Colophonians like Hermesianax. The story was, however, widely received, as the references in Cicero (quoted above *à propos* of Smyrna) and the Palatine Anthology (ix. 213; xvi. 292, etc.) sufficiently show.[39] The coins are of some interest, and vary greatly in date.

α. Æ. 7. After *c.* 300 and before 189 B.C. [Pl. V. 7.]

Obs. ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΩΝ. Apollo Citharoedus advancing r. and holding lyre and patera.

Rev. Homer seated l. on high-backed chair, leaning his head on r. hand; in l. hand a scroll. ΑΠΟΛΛΑΣ.[40]

But for the throne in place of a stool and the absence of a staff, the type is identical with that on the *Homereia* of Smyrna, and it is quite possible that the Colophon type may actually be derived from a copy of the famous statue in the former city, which, as we have seen, probably belongs to the end of the fifth century B.C.

β. Æ. 1·1. Third century after Christ. *Otacilia.*

Obv. M · ΩTAK ЄЄBHPA. Bust of Otacilia r.

Rev. ΚΟΛΟΦ Ω ΝΙΩΝ. Homer seated r. on stool, himation cast round lower limbs, r. foot drawn back, r. hand slightly raised, l. extended holding open scroll on which Α (*Γ*) is written (cf. Chios γ).[41]

This type differs completely from the last, and is a bold and pictorial attempt to represent a statue seen three-quarter face from the front. The date of the original is obviously later than α.

γ. Æ. 1·15. *Volusianus.* [Pl. V. 8.]

Obv. ΑVT Κ · Γ · OVIB · OVOΛOVCIANOC. Laureate bust of Volusian r. wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

Rev. ЄΠICTΡ ΑVΡ ΑΘ HNAI Ὁ ΚΟΛ Ο ΦΩΝ Ι Ω Ν. Homer seated r. on stool, himation cast round lower limbs, r. foot drawn back, r. hand slightly raised, l. extended holding open scroll.[42]

[39] Cf. Leo Allatius, *c.* ix. and Westermann, *Wb. Script. Græc. Mss.* p. 28.

[40] *B.M.C. Ionia*, p. 41; *Hunt. Cat.* ii. p. 525. A variant of this type reads ΠVΘΕΟΣ.

[41] *Ibid.* p. 44.

[42] *Ibid.* p. 45. This specimen is countermarked Β.

δ. Æ. 1·05. *Valerianus.*

Obv. ΑVΤ Κ ΠΟΛΙΚΙΟ VΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟϹ. Laureate bust of emperor r. wearing cuirass and paludamentum.

Rev. ЄΠΙϹΤΡ ΠΟ ΑΙ ϹЄ ΒΗ ΡЄ ΙΝΟΚΟ ΛΟΦΩΝΙΩΝ. Homer seated as on β and γ.[42]

These three clearly reproduce the same original, though the stool on which the poet is seated varies on each specimen; on β it is of the curule order, on γ—by far the finest and best preserved—it has curved legs ending in lions' feet (?) at the four corners, on δ the general form agrees with β, but the legs are straighter. The hair and beard, best seen on β, are short, and there appears to be no suggestion of decrepitude in pose or figure. Its appearance in place of the much earlier type of the Hellenistic coins on coins of the third century after Christ after an interval of some five centuries suggests (*a*) that the first or Smyrnaean type was no longer in existence, (*b*) that the cult of Homer in Colophon had attained some new development between the years 244, the accession of Otacilia, and 260, the death of Valerian, since it is thus emphasised on their coinage.

(iv.) *Cyme.*

The Homeric claims of Cyme, in the older books always referred to as *Cumae*, are described in the pseudo-Herodotean *Life* (cf. Leo Allatius, c. viii.) and were strongly urged by Ephorus, himself a native of the city; cf. also *Anth. Pal.* xvi. Nos. 293–9.

α. Æ. 9–85. *Period of the Early Antonines.* [Pl. V. 9.]

Obv. ΟΜΗΡΟϹ. Homer seated r. on stool, holding sceptre ("hasta pura," Mionnet) and scroll wearing himation cast round lower limbs and over r. shoulder.

Rev. ΚΡΗΘΗΙϹ ΚVΜΑΙΩΝ (or ΚVΜΑΙΩΝ only). The nymph Critheis, mother of Homer, standing to l. clad in chiton and himation and holding out veil in r. hand; in l. transverse sceptre.[43]

β. Æ. 8. *Time of Septimius Severus and his family.* [Pl. V. 10.]

Obv. ΟΜΗΡΟϹ. Homer seated r. on stool, himation cast round lower limbs and brought over r. arm; r. hand rests on seat, l. extended holds scroll; r. leg drawn back; hair knotted on neck.

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[42] *Ibid.* p. 46.

[43] Imhoof-Blumer, *Nymphen u. Charites*, Pl. X. 8, and No. 436, Mionnet, Suppl. vi. p. 15, No. 119. A poorer specimen, Æ. 95, has recently been acquired by the British Museum, with the figure of Critheis turned more to the l. I have to thank Dr. Regling for the cast here reproduced. The Critheis of Gronovius (*Thes.* iii. p. 121) is a purely gratuitious attribution. For Critheis see Philostratus, *Imagg.* ii. 8.

ΚΥΜ
Rev. Α within oak wreath.[46]
ΙΩΝ

This type of Homer exactly resembles that on the coins of Nicaea (*infra*, p. 11.) except that on these the stool is replaced by a solid circular seat; both obverse and reverse are identical with Smyrna β, except that, according to the British Museum Catalogues, the faces are reversed: the last is given to about the same date, that of Nicaea belongs to the time of Commodus. The significance of the group will be discussed later.

γ. Æ. 9.

Obv. ΚΥΜΑΙΩΝ. Critheis standing l.

Rev. ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ. ΠΑΝΟ. Homer seated as on β.[46a]

If Cyme β belongs to a series of coins struck by a group of cities (see *infra*, p. xx.), Cyme α is clearly a local and purely commemorative issue; both obverse and reverse types are associated with Homer, so that the coins can hardly have been of imperial significance. Critheis was commonly said to have been a native of Cyme, hence her appearance on the coin, γ combines the Critheis of α with the Homer of β, but is nearer in date to the latter.

(v.) *Nicaea.*

There appears to be no evidence to connect Homer with Nicaea, but an important series of Homer coins was issued in the reign of Commodus.

α. Æ. 1·0. *Obv.* Μ ΑΥ ΚΟΜ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ. Bust of Commodus r. bare-headed.

Rev. ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ. Homer seated l. on circular seat (or cippus?), wearing himation over both shoulders and knees, leaving torso bare; l. hand rests on seat, r. is extended, holding scroll; l. leg advanced, r. drawn back.[46b] [Pl. V. 11.]

β. Æ. 6. *Obv.* ΑΥ ΚΟΜΔΟΣ (*sic*) ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ. Laureate head of Commodus r.

Rev. ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ. Homer seated r. as above, but type reversed, l. hand holding scroll and r. on seat.[47] [Pl. V. 12.]

γ. Æ. 9·5. *Obv.* (Apparently Commodus, undescribed.)

Rev. ΟΜΗΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ. Homer l. as α; ends of fillet clearly seen on neck and details of drapery clearer than α, which is of broader and coarser style.[47a]

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[46] *B.M.C. Troas*, p. 115; cf. Borrell, *N.C.* vii. p. 47: the form of the seat is somewhat obscure, and was described by Morelli (*Spec. Rei Numm. Tab.* iv.) as rocky.

[46a] Mionnet, iii. 9, 50, who describes the figure as that of a philosopher.

[46b] Waddington, *Revue*, Pl. LXXIV. 23.

[47] *Ibid.* Pl. LXXIV. 24; Gronovius, *Thes.* ii. p. 19.

[47a] Beranulli, *Mus.* i. 7.

These coins represent a type allied to that of Temnos and other cities but distinguished by the type of seat and other details from the Homer of these latter coins; the group will be discussed when the one Homer issue of Temnos has been described.

(vi.) *Temnos.*

Æ. 8, 75. Third century after Christ. [Pl. V. 13.]

Obv. ΣΕΥϹ ΑΚΡΑΙΟϹ. Bust of Zeus Acraeus r.

Rev. ΤΗΜΝΕΙΤΩΝ. Homer seated r. on stool, l. hand extended holding scroll partly unrolled, r. hand resting on seat beside him; r. foot forward, l. foot drawn back; fillet round hair; himation cast about r. arm and lower limbs.[48]

This type belongs to the group already mentioned, but the specimen in the British Museum is of better style than most. The group consists of Smyrna β, Cyme β and γ, Nicaea α and β, and Temnos α, and as Borrell long ago suggested,[49] may have been struck to commemorate some particular festival celebrated in honour of Homer in the cities in question. Smyrna β and Cyme α have precisely the same type on the other side also, the name of the city within an oak-wreath; all but two, those of Temnos and Cyme, bear the name of Homer. The forms ΟΜΗΡΟϹ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ, etc. recall the famous coin of the latter city bearing as reverse type a statue of Alexander the Great and the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙϹ;[50] judging from this type alone it would seem probable that the figure of Homer was a reproduction of a statue. Further, a type common to several cities must have been both famous and familiar, yet the variation in detail is such as to make it improbable that the original was a purely numismatic type. The seat of Homer is at Nicaea a round and solid base resembling a *cippus*; at Cyme, Smyrna, and Temnos it is a square stool; the drapery hangs over the stool in the coins of Cyme, but not in those of Nicaea and Smyrna; the hand holding the scroll also varies, in accordance with the common practice of die-cutters. If then the coin types represent a sculptural type, is it probable that there was more than one original? The answer must, I think, be in the affirmative, though it is in a high degree probable that all were ultimately derived from a common original of earlier date. Were one type agreed upon by the cities of Smyrna, Nicaea, Cyme and Temnos for a common festival during the Antonine period—probably the reign of Commodus, since the Nicaean coins, the only ones bearing an imperial portrait, are of that date—such variations in the seat of Homer and the drapery would be improbable. If, however, the suggestion here made as to a common date for this group of coins is accepted, it would necessitate a revision of the dates above assigned, in accordance with the British Museum Catalogues, to Smyrna β and Cyme β and γ, and this seems stylistically probable. It is, however, possible that

[48] *B.M.C. Troas, etc.* p. 145; *Hunter. Cat.* ii. p. 311.

[49] Imhoof *Kl. M.* p. 9.

one single statue was the direct model for all the coins, as the Olympian Zeus was ultimately the model for the countless varieties of Alexandrine tetradrachms, and that variations in the coins were introduced locally. That the types are either immediately or ultimately based on a sculptural type or types there can be no doubt whatever.

This completes the list of Homeric figure types on coins: before passing to those with the head only, one or two points must be mentioned.

Two of the types, Smyrna *a* and Colophon *a*, are very early for coins of this class, both belonging to the third century B.C. and both obviously reproducing a work or works of still earlier date. That at Colophon may well have been based on the famous statue at Smyrna, but in any case the type appears to belong to the fifth century B.C.; the *Homereion* at Smyrna therefore was not of later date. If then the cult of Homer were established in the fifth century, the cultus type of Homer would in some degree partake of the character of a fifth-century god, and would therefore be very different from the later realistic ideals. What one such type was like these coins of Smyrna and Colophon prove: the poet is seated lost in thought, his scroll, which is treated as a mere accessory, resting on his knee; his bent head rests on his right hand, his staff is beside him. Next in date apparently comes the noble type on Cyme *a*, which is based line for line on the Pheidian Zeus, with the scroll substituted for the Victory and a stool for the throne. In both these types Homer is the god, not merely the poet or the blind old man of Chios. In the second stage represented on the coins the poet is further removed from the divine calm; the scroll no longer rests on his knee, but is held out as if the poet were about to read; the audience is remembered, the Olympian calm is gone, yet even here the poet retains the half-draped dignity of a Zeus, nor on any coin type do we find an approximation to the realism of the poet-statue in the Naples Museum—whether Homer or not—with its every-day garb.[30] In the third and latest type Homer, although he holds the scroll in both hands, appears as the author, not as the god, but the dignity of pose and drapery is otherwise retained: this third type is only found on the coins of Chios. Homer is still ὁ θεός, as he is frequently termed in the Anthology,[30a] though the motive is changed, and we may fairly say even of this later conception that along with the Hellenistic conception of the reading Homer is preserved much of the character of the earlier types with the scroll as attribute, not motive, as we know them on the coins of Smyrna, Cyme, and the rest.

The existence of more than one type in the same city has been already explained; at Smyrna the famous statue was probably destroyed, or a second type would hardly have appeared on the coins; elsewhere more than one type may have existed, or a statue or replica of a statue have been reproduced on the coins of different cities issued at one time for a common purpose. The *Homereia* of Smyrna are universally recognised as reproducing the statue in the *Homereion*, and this statue or its successor was seen by a

[30] A.-B. *Portraits* No. 372. [30a] *Anth. Pal.* xvi. 301 etc.

fifteenth-century traveller; if then these coins are not isolated examples, but only types of other coins bearing commemorative portraits, it follows that the other coins, for which there is no such literary evidence, also reproduce statues. They are therefore the corner-stone of Greek iconography, other than that of rulers, from the numismatic point of view.

How far the evidence here presented applies to the coins of the two states which issued coins bearing the *head* of Homer must now be considered.

(vii.) *Ios.*

The claims of Ios were supported by Apollo,[31] and the statue of Homer at Delphi already referred to was inscribed with the oracle given to him (Paus. x. 24. 2), but even this does not convert Pausanias, who 'will give no opinion as to the country or date of Homer.' That Homer was buried at Ios was, however, very generally believed, and his grave was shown down to a late date. The coins range in date from the end of the fourth century B.C. to imperial times.

α. Æ. didrachm. c. 307 B.C. or earlier (time of Alexander, according to Friedländer, *Z. f. N.* i. p. 294). [Pl. V. 14.]

Obv. ΟΜΗΡΟΥ. Head of Homer r. wearing fillet, the ends of which are visible.

Rev. ΙΗΤΩΝ within laurel wreath.[32]

β. Æ. Drachm.

Obv. ΟΜΗΡΟΥ. Head of Homer as above.

Rev. ΙΗΤΩΝ as above.

Both of fine style.[33]

Æ. 85–6. Fourth–first centuries B.C.

Some of these coins are of fine style, certainly contemporary with *α* and *β*; others (*e.g. B.M.C.* 3 and 4) are very inferior, perhaps even of Roman date.

γ. Æ. 6. Fourth or third century B.C.

Obv. ΟΜΗΡΟΥ. Head of Homer as above; countermark, head of Helios r. [Pl. V. 15.]

Rev. ΙΗΤ ΩΝ. Pallas r. hurling spear; in l. hand shield; before her a palm-tree.[34]

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[31] Further evidence is collected by Leo Allatius, c. xi.

[32] Head, *Hist. Num.*[2] p. 488. *B.M. Cat. Crete, etc.* Introd. p. xliv. The only known specimen of the didrachm is at Berlin, and I have to thank Dr. Regling for sending me a cast.

[33] *B.M.C. Crete etc.* p. 191, 1.

δ. Æ. ·6.

Obv. OMHPOY. Head of Homer as above, but of inferior style; no countermark. [Pl. V. 16.]

Rev. Pallas r. as *γ*.[54]

ε. Æ. ·65.

Obv. OMHPOY. Head of Homer as above, but l., of fine style, not early as *α*; the same type is also found with head to r. [Pl. V. 17.]

Rev. I HT. Palm-tree.[54]

ζ. Æ. ·55.

Obv. OMHPOY. Head of Homer r.

Rev. I HT. Palm-tree, as above.[54]

η. *Probably of imperial times.*

Æ. ·95.

Obv. Head of Homer r., short hair, wearing fillet without ends; border of dots. [Plate V. 18.]

Rev. IH TΩN. Pallas, as on *γ*.[55]

θ. Æ. ·75.

Obv. OMHPO Y. Similar head r., border of dots.

Rev. IH T ΩN. Pallas standing l. holding patera over lighted altar and spear; behind her, shield.[55]

The Homeric coins of Ios fall, it will be seen, into two well-marked classes, *α*-*ζ* and *η*-*θ*. The first represents a type very different from the recognised Homer, a bearded man of serene aspect with flowing hair, deepset eyes and placid features, who, but for the inscription, would be identified as Zeus or Asclepios; its nearest parallel in art is in fact the Asclepios of Melos in the British Museum. This is by far the earliest ideal portrait head identified by an inscription found on Greek coins, and the type of Homer represented appears to belong to the first half of the fourth century B.C., distinctly earlier, that is, than the date of the coin, which is of the Rhodian standard. From its constant appearance on the coins of Ios down to Roman times it may be assumed to represent the type of the poet most familiar in Ios, possibly the head of the statue that must have existed in the sanctuary where his grave was shown, though a reproduction of an existing monument would at this date be unusual.[56] The genitive OMHPOY is hardly

[54] *Ibid.* Nos. 4, 6, 7.

[55] *Ibid.* p. 192; *Hunter. Coll.* ii. p. 265.

[56] I may perhaps quote Plutarch's picturesque remark about Smyrna and Ios at the beginning of his Life of Sertorius, that "of two cities which take their name from the two most agreeable odoriferous plants, Ios and Smyrna, the one from a violet the other from myrrh, the poet Homer is reported to have been born in one, and to have died in the other."

surprising; the nominative is more usual on coins, but we have already quoted the ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ of Nicaea, and may now quote the ΛΕΣΒΩΝΑΚΤΑ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ of Mytilene as parallels, if not precisely similar examples, while the genitive itself is found on certain herms, ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΥ, ΒΑΚΧΥΛΙΔΟΥ, for instance. (Visconti *Mus. Pio Clem.* vi. p. 142, note L.)

Setting aside the coins of Smyrna and Colophon as too small in scale to furnish much stylistic detail, this then is the earliest known portrait of Homer, and its date—about the close of the fourth century B.C.—affords a starting-point for considering the claims of various anonymous poet-heads of this and a somewhat earlier date. Stylistically it seems to be somewhat later than the Epimenides, which it resembles in the hair radiating from the crown and clustering in front of the ears, the somewhat pointed beard and the treatment of brow and cheek.[27] The coin proves in fact how one pre-Hellenistic Homer was conceived, whether the original was a statue, or whether, as is perhaps more probable, the type is numismatic; it marks a second stage in the evolution of the type, the first we know being represented by the *Homereia* of Smyrna, with the long hair knotted behind over a fillet and the formal curls on the neck.

(viii.) *Amastris.*

Like Nicaea, this remote city of Paphlagonia appears to have no connexion with Homer apart from the old name of its citadel, Sesamus, which is mentioned in the *Catalogue* (*Il.* ii. 853), and it borrows at least one numismatic type (*post*, p. 320) from Smyrna. It was founded about the year 300 by Amastris, daughter of Oxathres, niece of the last Darius, by a *συνοικισμός* of four ancient cities, of which Sesamus was one,[28] but in spite of numerous references to it in Lucian and elsewhere we know nothing of the town beyond a few inscriptions, nothing of the works of art and public buildings which made the younger Pliny in a letter to the emperor Trajan call it *urbs elegans et ornata*. The coins, however, are of extreme importance and interest, but with the earlier issues, whether bearing the inscription ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ or not, we have nothing to do.[29] The Homer types, one of which appears to be reproduced in Canini, *Iconografia*, Pl. XXVII., are all of imperial date.

a. Æ. 1·15. Period of the Antonines.

Obv. ΟΜΗΡΟΣ. Bust of Homer r. wearing fillet; drapery visible on both shoulders; hair long, and falling on neck in well-marked locks; beard somewhat long; chin projecting; eyes recessed, with well-marked eyelids and upward gaze;

[27] The comparison should be made with the head in Munich (A-B. 423–4), or the still finer example in the Barracco collection, rather than with the poor and academic copy in the Vatican, from which the type is generally known.

[28] See Strabo xii. 9; Pauly-Wissowa, i. pp. 1749–50.

[29] *HN*[2], pp. 505–6; *B.M.C. Pontus*, etc. pp. 84–5.

features clear-cut and of individual type; face not seen in full profile.

Rev. Undescribed.[80]

β. Æ. 1·05. [Pl. V. 19.]

Obv. ΟΜΗΡΟC. Bust of poet as above, but of coarser style; an attempt is made to render the further eyebrow as on **a**, but it is a failure.

Rev. AMACTPIANΩN. Hades seated l. holding sceptre, Cerberus at his feet.[81]

γ. Æ. ·8. Period of the Antonines.

Obv. ΟΜΗΡΟC. Bust as above, of rougher workmanship.

Rev. AMACTPI ANΩN. Tyche of Amastris seated l.[82]

δ. Æ. ·8. [Pl. V. 20.]

Obv. ΟΜΗ ΡΟC. Bust of Homer r., fine style.

Rev. AMACT PIANΩN. Nike standing l.[83]

ε. Æ. ·8 or ·85. Probably later than the reign of Marcus Aurelius (*post*, p. 320, note 69a).

Obv. ΟΜΗ ΡΟC. Bust as above.

Rev. AMACTPIANΩN. River-god Meles reclining l. holding lyre in r. hand, reed in l.; left arm rests on vase, whence water flows; in exergue ΜΕΛΗC.[84]

ζ. Æ. ·85. [Pl. V. 22.]

Obv. ΟΜΗΡΟC. Bust as above.

Rev. AMACTPIANΩN. River-god Meles as above, but holding uncertain attribute (reed?) in r. hand.[84a]

η. Æ. ·8. [Pl. V. 23.]

Obv. ΟΜΗ ΡΟC. Bust as above.

Rev. AMACTPIC. Bust of Faustina-Tyche of Amastris r., veiled and turreted.[85] Of fine style and fabric.

θ. *Obv.* ΟΜΗΡΟC. Bust as above.

Rev. AMACTPIANΩN. Figure of Anaitis or Aphrodite seated r. (not a male figure, as given by Cuper: *see post*, p. 322).[85a]

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[80] Bernardi, *Mûsat.* i. 1; said to be (1901) in Arolsen collection. The reverse is undescribed by him, and I have been unable to obtain any description of it from Arolsen.

[81] *Ibid.* No. 2. I have to thank Dr. Regling for a cast of this coin, which is now at Berlin.

[82] *B.M.C. Pontus, etc.* p. 86, No. 13.

[83] *Ibid.* No. 14.

[84] *Ibid.* No. 15; Cuper, *Apotheos. Homeri*, p. 22; *Hunter. Coll.* ii. p. 253.

[84a] *B.M.C. Pontus, etc.*, Amastris, No. 16.

[85] *B.M.C. Pontus*, p. 86, No. 17.

[85a] Cuper, *Apotheos. Homeri* p. 22. This type is not published more recently, but is not necessarily suspicious. Cf. *infra*, p. 322, xv.

It seems at first sight unlikely that the heads α–ξ can all be derived from one original. α and ξ for instance, have fine and delicate features, and the recessing of the eyes gives an intensity to the gaze foreign to other coin types. ξ although so much smaller, is much better in style than α, though the latter is interesting as one of the few ideal portraits on coins in which the head is not represented in full profile, but shows the arch of the brow beyond the nose. There can be no doubt, however, that the two represent the same type reproduced from different points of view. β–ε on the other hand are marked by clumsiness of style; the beard and hair are conventional and heavy and the treatment altogether careless, but, agreeing as they do in the externals of the type—the slightly bent neck, the fulness of hair on the forehead, the recessed eyes and prominent chin, the drapery on the left shoulder, the long locks on the neck behind and falling forward on to the collarbone, and a really long-haired Homer is as rare in existing monuments as we gathered it was in antiquity (*supra*, p. 305)—it is impossible to doubt the identity of type. Many of these details are peculiar among coin types to the Homer of Amastris, and it is noteworthy that, whereas late die-cutters constantly conventionalise or slur over details of feature and expression[66], they are usually faithful in reproducing characteristic attributes of a particular type. The coins of Amastris of better style, α and ξ, show a distinct effort to reproduce the style of the original: the worse ignore this utterly, aiming only at external fidelity: by the consensus of both something of the style as well as the externals of the originals may be recaptured.[67]

The distinctive features of this type[68] were recognised by Visconti in the so-called Apollonius of Tyana and its replicas, a view which Bernoulli is disposed to doubt on the ground that the coins 'wegen ihrer wechselnden Typen' offer a precarious ground of identification. We have seen that, though the features vary somewhat, the essentials of the type are fixed, and it is not more unreasonable to base an argument on the coins of finer style than it is to take the best examples of the 'Apollonius'—as Bernoulli himself does—and use those for purposes of comparison. If the likeness between the coins and the 'Apollonius' is in itself convincing, this should suffice: that it is convincing, if we put aside the theory that coins can never be a basis for identification, is almost past doubt. The thick locks clustering on the forehead and falling on the neck before and behind, the drapery on the left shoulder in the two most careful replicas, the straight thin nose, short upper lip and prominent chin, the recessed eyes with their clearly marked lids—these are identical in both, and as different

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[66] *Cf.* e.g. the bronze and silver ΟΜΗΡΟΥ coinage of Ios (*supra*, p. 13).

[67] Visconti's suggestion that, because Amastris was a colony of Smyrna, therefore the coin type was probably taken from the statue in the Homereion there, is quite unsupported by facts; the ΜΕΛΗΣ type ε is, however, of course due to the Smyrnaean origin of the Amastrians.

[68] For the Capitoline example Bernoulli i. Pl. III; Bottari, i. p. 51; Helbig² i. 503; more recently called Hesiod, cf. Bernoulli ii. pp. 26–7.

from other Homer types as is the coin of Ios from the Hellenistic Homer of the British Museum. To say with Dr. Bernoulli that, because the 'Apollonius' has not the least relationship to the Hellenistic Homeric type, therefore it is probably not Homer,[69] is surely misleading, since no single coin corresponds to that Homeric type, even where, as in the case of Smyrna *a*, the coin is known to represent an actual statue: the argument on *à priori* grounds therefore falls to the ground, and the positive evidence of the coins that a Homer type was famous at Amastris which corresponds with the 'Apollonius' even in detail may surely be accepted. Bernoulli justly notes the decorative character of the hair of the busts as belonging to painting rather than to sculpture, and suggests that the original may have been created by an artist of the second Attic school, to which indeed this idealising style also points; if its identity with the Amastris type is accepted, its date must be somewhat later, since the city of Amastris was only founded about the year 300, and the statue cannot therefore have been of earlier date. That it belongs to the later Attic school is, stylistically, highly probable. Attic artists were largely employed in the latter half of the fourth century in Asia Minor, and Queen Amastris, who finally became the wife of Lysimachus, may well have been a patron of art in her new-founded and eponymous city, to whose beauty Pliny later bears witness. The reason for the erection of the statue is obscure: we find it, as already said, in connexion with the type of the river-god Meles, which is borrowed directly from the probably almost contemporary Meles coins of the mother-city Smyrna,[69a] for any other connexion of Meles and Melesigenes with Amastris is still to seek. Most of the cities which struck coins bearing the portrait of Homer had some claim more or less direct to personal connexion with the poet; here it seems likely that the obscure Paphlagonian town, one of the four communities to make up the new city of Amastris, either seized on its only ancient distinction, its mention in the *Catalogue*, or remembered that Smyrna was its mother-city and Homer in some sense a citizen of their own, and erected a statue of the poet, the commission being probably given to some famous artist, which would account for its popularity in Roman times.[70] In later days the Homeric glories of Amastris were emphasised by a bold borrowing of the river-god of Smyrna, equipped with a lyre to make the connexion with the Homer of the obverse the more obvious. History as well as style points to the probability that the statue of Homer was erected by Queen Amastris for the adornment of her city soon after its foundation in 300 B.C.

The *Meles* type is then a reproduction of the coin issued by the river's

[69] I. p. 21. The fillet is unquestionably larger than usual, as it is on some of the coins of Amastris, but this is a detail which varies so much that no great stress can be laid on it. Contrast, *e.g.*, the broad fillet worn by the Homer of the Ios coins with the mere thread worn by the Hellenistic Homer of the Louvre.

[69a] These have been with great probability assigned by Dr. Head to the reign of Marcus Aurelius (*B.M.C. Ionia*, p. 241); therefore the Amastrian issue is later than that reign.

[70] Bernoulli enumerates ten replicas, *op. cit.* I. pp. 27–8.

rightful owner, with the noteworthy addition of a lyre. No other river-god is found with this incongruous attribute, but it is impossible, it seems to me, not to see in it, beside the obvious play on *μέλος*, which, however, does not occur at Smyrna, an allusion to Melesigenes, the singer who took his name from the river. Smyrna had no need of such a canting symbol: she had the river, and she had the cave in which Melesigenes composed his works; but the borrower Amastris is not content with the river-god unless his connexion with the Homer of the obverse, with which type alone he is found, is further explained. It is even possible that a picture or statue of Meles so conceived was placed near the Homer of Amastris, since the type is only found as the reverse of a Homer coin, whereas at Smyrna, where the type originated, it serves for obverse and reverse on coins of different issues. The only other similar type at Amastris, the river-god Parthenios, which is not found with this obverse, is of local origin and presents no special feature, another reason for assuming the lyre held by the Meles to be an allusion to the Melesigenes of the obverse.

One last feature common to the busts and coins must be mentioned, the curious blank look produced by the turning of the axis of the eyes outwards and upwards. This is noteworthy even on the coins, notably on *a*, where the head is seen on a larger scale, and must have been a marked feature of the original, as in fact it is of the copies. The effect of blankness and blindness is very marked, more so indeed than in any of the famous Hellenistic types except the Sans-souci bust (Bernoulli i. 2), in which both eyes are a restoration, and in an accomplished work of this date this cannot have been accidental.

It seems not unreasonable to hope that we have thus, with the help of the coins, re-instated a famous but disputed portrait as a Homer of the earlier part of the third century B.C., and have even in some degree recovered its artistic history. It remains to consider those Homeric coin types found in the older numismatists which modern scholarship cannot accept.

Dr. Bürchner, as already said, states that ten cities struck coins bearing Homeric types; Rasche in his first volume[71] states that besides the eight here mentioned, Crete, Melos, and Myrina also issued them. The following list of Homeric *apocrypha* is probably incomplete but may be found useful.

(ix.) The so-called coin of *Crete*[72] should read ΙΗΤΩΝ, not ΚΡΗΤΩΝ, and is no other than the Ios coin (*Rev.* Athena and palm-tree) above described, as Rasche in the second volume of his *Lexicon* (ii. p. 555) notes.

(x.) The coin of *Melos*.[73]

Obv. ΟΜΗΡΟϹ. Head of Homer r., wearing fillet.

Rev. ΜΗΛΙΕΩΝ. River-god reclining l., holding urn and reed.

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[71] *Lexicon* i. part ii. p. 161.

[72] Figured in Haym, *Thes. Brit.* part ii. p. 58.

[73] *Numismat. Museci Hon. Arigoni*, vol. i. section on *Nummula Deorum, Heroum, &c.* Pl. III. 15. (This book is unpaginated and the sections of plates separately numbered; the present comes towards the close of the book.)

cannot now be traced, but looks in the engraving like a misreading of the familiar Amastris type, itself borrowed from Smyrna, with the river Meles, who usually holds *lyre* and reed: the arm may easily be a mistake for the much less obvious lyre. The form ΜΗΛΙΕΩΝ is improbable, the river-god type unknown in Melos; probably therefore this is a mere misreading of the ΜΕΛΗϹ type, and not purely apocryphal.

(xi.) The coin of *Myrina* reading ΜVΡΙΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΗΡΟϹ is mentioned by Hardouin,[24] but beyond stating that it belongs to the reign of Nero he gives no further account of it, and the coin is apparently untraceable. There is no *a priori* evidence against its authenticity, but as things are it can only be considered doubtful.

(xii.) The coin of *Chios* given by Sestini,[25]

Obv. ΧΙΟΕΣ. Bald bearded head of Homer facing, above taenia,

Rev. Sphinx,

is certainly apocryphal.

(xiii.) Grotowius' medal (*Thes.* ii. p. 20) representing Apollo side by side with 'Homer,' a common altar between them, is really *B.M.C. Ionia*, Chios, Nos. 122–41.

Obv. ΑCCΑΡΙΑ ΤΡΙΑ Sphinx to r.

Rev. ΧΙΩΝ. Apollo with patera and Dionyses with cantharos and thyrsos facing, between them flaming altar.

(xiv.) The Homer of Guillaume Roville, called a 'Medaglia' in the Italian version of the *Promptuarium Iconum*, is a purely imaginary type,[26] a conventional bearded head possibly derived from a contorniate, with a laurel wreath added.

(xv.) The Homer of *Amastris* given by Cuper (*Apoth. Hom.*) and mentioned above (p. 318) as *θ*, may not be genuine, as its reverse, the Aphrodite-Amaitis type, is not recorded in imperial times, to which all the Homer types of Amastris belong, though it occurs on earlier coins: it may, however, be right enough, as the combination is at least not an obvious one for a forgery.

(xvi.) The ΩΜΗΡΟϹ type also given by Cuper (*ibid.* p. 23).

Obv. Homer type as found on contorniates,

Rev. Man leading horse,

is a contorniate misleadingly drawn; so are (*a*)

(xvii.) Cuper's other type,

Obv. Homer, as above,

Rev. River-god,

and (*b*),

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[24] *Opera Selecta*, p. 102.

[25] *Lett. di Cortis.* v. p. 42, tab. i. 22; hence Mionnet, p. 390, No. 18.

[26] *Promuario delle Medaglie*, 1553, p. 59; the Latin title is simply *Promptuarium Iconum*.

(xviii.) Fulvius Ursinus, *Imagines*, 1570, p. 20. These are like other contorniates more fully dealt with below. The writer is unable to identify three of the engravings in Gronovius, that with the small head on a large field, inscr. ΟΜΗΡΟϹ, that without an inscription, which may not be a Homer at all, and the ΟΜΗΡΟϹ head wearing a fillet; all are engraved in the text of vol. ii. p. 19 of the *Thesaurus* as if they were contorniates, but no reverse types are given.

Finally, Haym's 'Homers' (*Thes. Brit.* ed. 1763, vol. i. Pl. XIX. 2–3) *rev.* head of 'Thespis' crowned with ivy, ΑΘΘΕ, is in fact *B.M.C. Attica*, p. 86, Nos. 604 *seqq.*

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus *r.*

Rev. Head of Dionysus. ΑΘΕ,

the first Θ is a misunderstood symbol. Haym's second variety, in which Zeus wears a fillet, is otherwise undescribed with this reverse, although Homer was, indirectly, claimed as Athenian by the historians Aristarchos and Dionysios, and, as we have seen, there was at least one statue to him in Attic territory.

Eight cities then claimed by their coinage a share in Homer: and it is most unfortunate that in the long list of statues mentioned by ancient writers not one corresponds with these numismatic examples except the famous statue at Smyrna, which, though not expressly mentioned, is implied in the mention of coins and shrine by Strabo, and was seen in the fifteenth century. One of the remaining types can be recognised in the so-called Apollonius, but the remaining six are unknown, and likely to remain so. But their very variety, and the fact that not one corresponds with the famous and familar Homer types, may reasonably set us looking among existing busts and statues for types, not necessarily those on the coins, which may, like them, reproduce some of the different Homeric portraits so widely distributed over the ancient world.

A few words must be given to contorniates, since the Homer type on these pieces is widely known. Contorniates, a group of 'medals' so long classed as numismatic that it is hard to break away from the tradition, and call them frankly draughtsmen, have, as I have elsewhere pointed out,[1] very small value as portraits. After Alexander the Great, Homer is by far the commonest of these types, but, like most contorniate portraits, has no individuality, while the treatment of the hair and drapery belongs to the fourth century of our era. This ϢΜΗΡΟϹ type—so the word is almost invariably written—has no claim to rank even as a reflection of a Greek ideal portrait, and its interest chiefly lies in the testimony which its frequent occurrence bears to the popularity of Homer in the later Roman world, as do the scenes from Iliad and Odyssey so common as reverse types on the same objects. It is a curious fact that most of those personages represented on the coins, other than imperial portraits and

[1] *Num. Chr.* 1908, p. 17.

the great majority of the myths are Greek, though contorniates were used solely in the western world and are chiefly found in Italy. Against Horace, Virgil, Terence, Sallust, Apuleius, Roma, the Wolf and Twins, the Rape of the Sabines, and one or two more must be set Homer, Alexander, Demosthenes, Euripides, Olympias, Anaxarchus, Pythagoras, Apollonius of Tyana, Sarapis, Helios, and the very numerous scenes from Greek legend and mythology: the scenes from daily life are, on the other hand, entirely Roman. The value of the heads as portraits is almost nil.[9] It is a curious and apparently unnoted fact that none of the numerous Homer types has any legend on the reverse; the name on the obverse is variously written ΩΜΗΡΟΣ, ΩΜΗΡΟC, and very rarely ΟΜΗΡΟC, but the type varies very little. The reverse types are as follows:—

α. Ceres, the Emperor, Jupiter, Victory, Earth, and Ocean. (Sabatier, *Médailles Contorniates*, xii. 6; Coh. 62.)
β. Cybele and Atys in quadriga. (Sab. xi. 6; Coh. 63.)
γ. Bacchus, Silenus, and panther. (Sab. xi. 9; Coh. 64.)
δ. Legend of Direc. (Sab. xi. 9; Coh. 65.)
ε. Groom and horse. (Sab. vi. 3; Coh. 66; Cuper, *Apotheos. Homeri*, p. 23.)
ζ. Athlete standing. (Sab. viii. 1; Coh. 67.)
η. Huntsman attacking boar. (Sab. ix. 9; Coh. 68.)
θ. Victorious quadriga r. (Sab. vii. 5; Coh. 69.)
ι. Victorious quadriga, full face. (Coh. 70.)
κ. Alexander I (usually called huntsman or Emperor) attacking a lion. (Fulv. Ursinus, *Imagines*, p. 20; apparently the earliest reproduction of a contorniate.)
λ. River-god holding reed, reclining l., leaning on urn. (Cuper, *Apotheos. Homeri*, p. 23; for other possible types cf. *supra*, p. 323.)

Neither of the last has been hitherto identified as a contorniate, but the identification is a certain one both from the types of obverse and reverse and the spelling of Homer with an ω. The last, λ, is of special interest, as the type of the river-god is not elsewhere found on contorniates save in the case of a copy of the Nilus of Alexandrian coins in the British Museum (*Num. Chr.* 1906, Pl. II.). Moreover, it is an unquestionable example of the rare class of contorniate reverses copied direct from coins, the original in this case being the ΜΕΑΗC coins of Amastris already noted, and it is thus directly connected with the obverse type, which is very rarely the case with contorniates.

In these contorniates then we have objects essentially popular, on which the die-cutter produces portraits marked by the peculiarities of hair

[9] There are perhaps three exceptions, the Lysippic head of Alexander, the COΛΩNOC, a faithful copy of a famous Roman gem signed by the engraver Solon, and the type of Pythagoras with obverse head of Helios. See my articles in *Num. Chr.* 1906, p. 17, and in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 1905, p. 310.

and dress of his own times, which is exactly what the die-cutter of the portrait coins does not. No stronger argument for the authenticity of the latter can be adduced than a comparison between their carefully marked and often archaic details and the imaginary portraits created by the makers of contorniates after the fashion of their own times.

In the Homer of monumental art only the later ideal is commonly recognised, and though the vindication of the value of coin types here attempted may re-instate Visconti's second Homer type, the so-called Apollonius, as a copy of the Homer of Amastris, we are still no nearer to discovering the earlier and nobler conception presented by the coins of Ios and Smyrna on a larger scale. It is not perhaps too much to hope that by their aid some portrait head may be identified, more in accordance with the dignity of these earlier types.

To sum up, we can trace three stages in the Homer of the coins, and may therefore assume them for other forms of art. The coins of Smyrna represent Homer under the aspect of an Olympian; seated apart he rests his head on his hand, holding in the other, negligently and as an attribute, the immortal scroll. On certain coins of Cyme he appears as like a Zeus as mortal may, with scroll in place of thunderbolt or Victory. On the coins of Chios α he has become the human poet, and the scroll, no longer an attribute merely, forms part of the motive of the statue; on Chios β Homer has become the reciter, and the scroll is essential to the motive of the work. These three stages, the Olympian, the poet, and the minstrel, correspond to all that we know from other sources of the development of Greek portrait art. In the case of Homer it cannot be doubted that the last stage, artistically speaking, is represented in the familiar Hellenistic type; an intermediate stage and earlier tradition—if we may judge from the head only—is represented in the 'Apollonius.' Portraits such as those on the coins of Ios and Smyrna have not thus far been identified on a larger scale, since Homer types have as yet been judged by their conformity or non-conformity with the Hellenistic types; but the same tendencies can be traced in the Lateran Sophocles on the one hand with its strongly marked idealism so different from the earlier and severer type, on the other in the increasing grotesqueness which marks the later portraits of Socrates. Taking all the portraits together, as well Hellenistic busts as the coin-types of six centuries, we may say of the coins of Ios as Pliny said of the Alcman of Calamis, *Homerus poeta nullius civitatis est nobilior.*

KATHARINE A. ESDAILE.

NOTES ON THE SEQUENCE AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE FABRICS CALLED PROTO-CORINTHIAN.[1]

NEARLY every important excavation carried out in recent years on Greek soil has added to our knowledge of the proto-Corinthian fabric. Thera and Sparta have appeared as importers of the ware in its earliest days; Delphi, the Argive Heraion, and Aegina have illuminated its later stages, with the result that many fresh varieties are now included under this general heading. The provisional publication by Professor Gabrici of valuable material from Cumae has enriched our knowledge of the style in its early phases.[2] None the less, the magnificent tomb-series of Syracuse and other Sicilian sites still afford the best, indeed the only evidence other than that of style by which to establish the sequence and duration of the fabrics which pass under this name. Hence, though the Sicilian material affords but a partial view, it will be given the chief place in the following discussion, supplementary evidence being sought from other sources.

FIG. 1.

At Syracuse, proto-Corinthian with linear decoration is represented, though somewhat scantily, in its earliest form, namely the wide-bodied, often almost spherical lekythos with a small lip which is sometimes depressed towards the centre. (Fig. 1.)[3] The shape is not found in Geometric,[4] and its origin is obscure. Its closest parallel is a Cypriote form found especially at Amathus, which differs from the proto-Corinthian chiefly in having a much longer neck.[5] In their small size and neat execution the two resemble each other, and in the general character of their decoration. The Cypriote type

[1] My thanks are due to Professor Myres for valuable criticisms and suggestions; to Professors Orsi and Professor Gabrici for leave to reproduce illustrations from their publications quoted below; and to Mr. Droop for the drawing of the Sparta pyxis reproduced in Fig. 17.

[2] *Cumae scelta originale delle tombe geometriche di Cuma*, Napoli, 1911. The author's final publication will appear shortly.

[3] *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 179, Fig. 78.

[4] A late geometric form from Corinth bears, however, some resemblance to it. *A.J.A.* 1905, Pl. XIV. B. 4.

[5] Some long-necked vases of this form were found at Cuma (Gabrici *l.c.* Fig. 11) and are regarded by Gabrici as the earliest proto-Corinthian products; but as they differ from the certainly proto-Corinthian specimens in having no slip, and as they are absent from various sites where early proto-Corinthian abounds, it is safer to regard them as a distinct fabric. Possibly they are Cypriote imports; for other possible instances of contact between Cuma and Cyprus in this period see Gabrici, *l.c.* p. 48.

has on the shoulder groups of concentric circles, round the body bands interspersed with fine lines in the Late Mycenaean manner. The handle frequently runs into a handle-ridge on the neck some way below the lip, a feature foreign to proto-Corinthian, but often also joins the lip in the usual way. The proto-Corinthian vases have on the shoulder occasionally rays diverging from the neck, generally some motive characteristic of Geometric,[8] yet with this style the lekythos has but little in common. The maeander is lacking; so is the division of the design into panels by vertical lines. The fine lines succeeded by broad bands which form the invariable decoration of the body have their prototype in the lines and bands of Late Mycenaean ware, though in that fabric the two elements are intermingled, while in proto-Corinthian the bands have all gravitated to the bottom of the vase.[9] The fairly common practice of dividing a few lines from the remainder by groups of vertical zigzags can also be paralleled on Late Mycenaean stirrup vases.[10] A motive neither Mycenaean nor Geometric sometimes replaces the shoulder-ornament on some of these early specimens, viz. the wreath of hanging leaves,[11] characteristic of the later lekythos with incised scales generally regarded as Corinthian, and of the spherical aryballos. It soon drops out of the proto-Corinthian style; but its occurrence suggests a temporary contact with some foreign influence which in the case of the other fabric was more permanent. Some such early contact would explain an instance of the use of crimson paint unique at this date, viz. for a snake on a Syracusan lekythos.[12]

The priority of this wide-bodied type is of course admitted. At Syracuse it occurs in a few graves only, and those the oldest, containing either no other material or forms with linear decoration only. It is fairly abundant at the Argive Heraion, where the sanctuary-deposit goes well back into the eighth century, at Delphi, at Aegina (Aphaia temple), at Thera, and at Sparta, where foreign importation all but ceases with the close of the linear period. It is the predominant form at Cumae, traditionally the oldest of the Greek colonies in the West; but farther north, in Latium and Etruria, it occurs very rarely indeed, an indication that its day was over before the stream of Greek commerce began to flow freely in this region.[13]

From the first the shape of this lekythos is somewhat fluctuating, truly spherical forms (Fig. 1) occurring side by side with others in which the greatest width tends to rise to the level of the shoulders. This tendency becomes more marked until the spherical form completely disappears and is replaced by a type with high flat shoulders, tapering sharply towards the

[8] See Tombs CXXIII., CXVIII., CXXXVII., CXLVI. in the publication of the Syracusan excavations (Orsi, Cronaca del Fusco, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1892 and 1895).

[9] One skyphos from Aegina has bands alternating with groups of fine lines in the Mycenaean style. Pallat, *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, Fig. 8.

[10] Gabrici, *l.c.* Figs. 15 and 17.

[11] *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 138, Fig. 16.

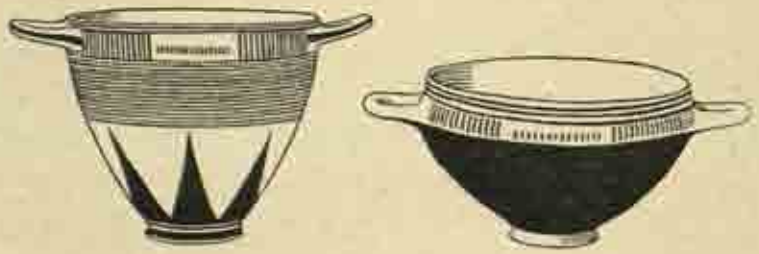
[12] *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 151, Fig. 27.

[13] There is one example in the museum at Corneto and one in the Palazzo dei Conservatori from the cemetery of the iron age on the Esquiline. For the latter see *Mon. Ant. Line.* xx. Pl. IX. 10.

base (Fig. 2)[12] and bearing a general resemblance, often noted, to the Late Mycenaean stirrup vase. Mycenaean affinities undoubtedly exist in the early proto-Corinthian fabric, and may well be derived in part through such late products as the vases from Aegina recently published in the *Ephemeris*;[13] in part, possibly, from Cyprus. But here it would seem that another element has at least contributed to fix the new type. From the shoulders downward the shape of the new lekythos is exactly that of the skyphos,[14] a vase which makes its appearance just about this date. The trick of hand acquired in making the new form comes out also in the lekythos. It may further be noted that from this time on the lip of the lekythos is invariably flat and tends to grow wider.

Fig. 2.

There are two well-marked varieties of skyphos, shewn in Fig. 3, *a*, *b*.[15] The first is of unknown derivation; the second has a prototype in Late Geometric.[16] A few skyphoi of type *a* have the line and band decoration of the lekythos, but almost immediately a new motive appears, the bands being replaced by rays radiating from the foot of the vase. This ornament becomes at once normal on the skyphos and frequent on the lekythos. It is in one sense not entirely new, for as a shoulder ornament radiating from the neck



a *b*

Fig. 3.

it occurs occasionally on lekythoi of the earliest type; moreover the dog-tooth ornament of Geometric sometimes takes up a position near the foot of the vase with something of the same effect.[17] But the position absolutely at the foot is a novelty and serves to some extent as a date-mark. Along with the skyphos three new vase-forms make their appearance for the first time in Syracusan tombs, viz. the flat-bottomed oinochoe, generally called lekythos

[12] *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 473.

[13] *Ephem.* 1910, Pl. IV. It will be noted that there is also a nearly spherical variety of the stirrup-vase.

[14] I am indebted to Professor Myres for this observation.

[15] *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 474; *Mon. Ant. Linc.* xvii. Fig. 141.

[16] *A.J.A.* 1905, Pl. XIV. cf. Pallat, *l.c.* Fig. 15. The use of black glaze is also a feature of Late Geometric.

[17] *E.g.* on a vase published *B.C.H.* 1896, p. 275.

a ventre conico in Italian publications. (Fig. 4),[18] a large clumsy jug, also flat-bottomed and of somewhat fluctuating shape (Fig. 5),[19] and the cylindrical pyxis (Fig. 6).[20] All three frequently have the new ray ornament round the foot, though properly it belongs to forms which contract towards the base.

Fig. 4.

The pyxis is a new shape in clay, but in other materials it goes back to Aegean times, and can be seen in the hands of the lady of the new Tiryns fresco. The skyphos is undoubtedly a metallic form, having actually been found in metal in Italian tombs. The sharp contours of the oinochoe also suggest a metallic origin; early instances however tend to have the body rounded rather than truly conical. It is possible that a common origin for the oinochoe and the jug may be found in such an intermediate form as that of a vase from the Heraion[21] with linear decoration of an early type.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

These new forms exhibit occasionally geometric traits which are lacking on the lekythos; the oinochoe sometimes has a hatched meander on the neck,

[18] *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 132, Fig. 10.

[19] *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 468.

[20] *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 478.

[21] *Arg. Her.* ii. p. 128, Fig. 56; cf. Fig. 98. In the museum at Eleusis there is a Geometric oinochoe (No. 697) which comes midway between these two. For various forms of the proto-Corinthian jug, see *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 477; 1895, p. 153. The shape occurs in another fabric, which however there is no reason to connect with proto-Corinthian, viz., rough jugs which often have a stamped design. They have been found at Gela (*Mon. Ant. Linc.* xvii, Fig. 185), Megara Hyblaea, Menidi, Eleusis, Aegina, the Heraion, in Boeotia and in Thera. They have no slip, which dissociates them from proto-Corinthian, and as they are found at Gela and Megara Hyblaea, and not at Syracuse, they are probably of later date than the linear fabric. They generally have the body slightly rounded, as have also a few of the early proto-Corinthian examples: e.g. that of *Arg. Her.* ii. p. 159, Fig. 53, and Gabrici, *l.c.*, Fig. 10.

while the skyphos normally has on the rim a panel framed by vertical lines, and not infrequently the 'butterfly' motive. A new feature appears in the form of a chequer, or, more strictly, an alternating dot or bar design (see Fig. 5), which is common on the jug, pyxis, and lekythos; intruding into the system of fine lines which is still the basis of the decoration it forms the first step towards a zone of figures. The dot rosette and dot star, though the former goes back to the Dipylon style, make their first appearance in proto-Corinthian about this time accompanied by the pothook;[22] and other forms of rosette occur, though less commonly.

In the case of the lekythos these ornaments are at first confined to the shoulder, leaving the linear decoration intact, but soon begin to form a zone round the body; processions of running dogs in silhouette also appear, sometimes on the shoulder, sometimes on the body of the vase.[23] Incision too shews itself occasionally and tentatively, at first in the shoulder ornament of lekythoi still of the linear class. Two such lekythoi found at Syracuse, unfortunately without recorded tomb provenance, have on the shoulder the one a row of birds, the other the pothook and a characteristic proto-Corinthian ornament, the palmette on a looped or curved stalk,[24] in both cases with incision. The rest of the design consists of lines and bands. Occasionally the running dogs have an incised line or two. A very primitive instance of the practice is afforded by a lekythos from the Argive Heraion[25] of a distinctly early type, with small lip, broad shoulders, and bands, not rays, round the foot. Two large birds with a considerable amount of incising are introduced on the shoulder and intrude clumsily on the fine lines of the body. A fairly free use of purple or crimson paint is characteristic of this period: it is especially common on lekythoi in the form of lines applied over black-bands, often in combination with the alternate dot ornament.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

In spite of the generally stereotyped and monotonous appearance of the fabric, it is plain that the period is one of fresh contacts and much innovation. The true development of the style can be traced on some remarkable vases found at Cuma, the Argive Heraion, and a few other sites.

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[22] See *Nat. Sc.* 1893, p. 451, for an early instance of the two latter.

[23] For typical lekythoi see *Nat. Sc.* 1893, p. 142, Fig. 21; *Mon. Ant. Linc.* xvii. Figs. 115, 146.

[24] For this motive see *Nat. Sc.* 1895, p. 145, Fig. 26.

[25] *Arg. Her.* II. p. 127, Fig. 53.

Beginning with the lekythos, we may note those reproduced in Figs. 7–13, of which the first three come from Cuma, the fourth from Syracuse, and the remainder from the Argive Heraion. Their heavy forms and small lips shew that they belong to an early stage in the period with which we are dealing, but the decoration is novel. The fine lines have been reduced or abolished, and the tendency to give great prominence to one zone, filling it with a few large, well-spaced motives, suggests the influence of painting on a greater scale. The feeding deer of Figs. 7[26] and 10 may be compared with the feeding horse of the jug with griffin-head in the British Museum,[27] and also with the walking horse of a large Syracusan vase (Figs. 15 and 16).[28] In Figs. 7 and 8 the zone of rays slowly finding its way to the bottom deserves attention, and also on the latter the ornament both Mycenaean and Geometric of circles with a central dot joined by tangents. The bird-heads of Fig. 8[29] are obviously derived from the pothook, itself a derivation from the Mycenaean lily-like flowers with stamens. The motive recurs on a Syracusan lekythos, in silhouette and with incision, having lost all resemblance to the original.[30] The dot-filling of the heads is a proto-Corinthian feature.[31]

The guilloche of Fig. 9[32] (also found on the griffin jug) is one of the earliest examples of a motive which in a more elaborate form becomes regular

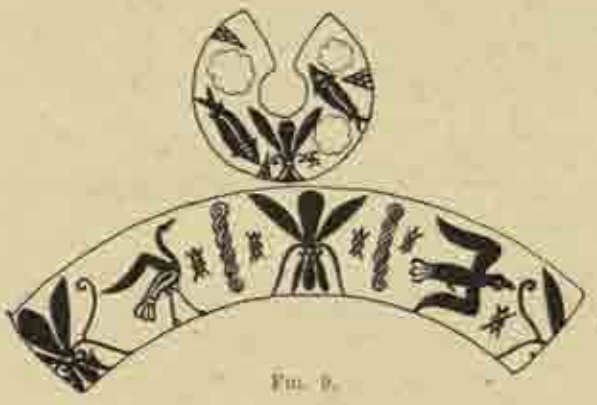

Fig. 9.

on the handle of the lekythos at a later date; and the palmettes with straying tendrils are the prototype of the lotus and palmette wreath characteristic of the same class. Their affinity is obvious with the design of the oinochoe, also from Cuma, reproduced in Fig. 14,[33] where the lower pair of tendrils have been bent down into a heart shape, and hardly less so with the ornament which appears in conjunction with both horse and sphinx on the large Syracusan vase already alluded to. As in the shoulder

[26] Gabrici, *Cumae*, Fig. 13.

[27] *Mon. d. I.* ix. Pl. 5, 1.

[28] *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 155, Figs. 86 and 87.

[29] Gabrici, *l.c.*, Fig. 16.

[30] It is also noted on an early lekythos from Thera. *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, p. 196, fig. 41. Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, iii. Fig. 554, for a "Phoenician" silver bowl having a palmette design with volutes terminating in birds'-heads.

[31] Cf. *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 476 (terra-cotta protome) and the lion and deer of the griffin jug.

[32] Gabrici, *l.c.*, Fig. 14.

[33] Gabrici, *l.c.*, Fig. 8 *a* and *b*.

ornament of Fig. 9, the lower palmette here appears in the form of a solid triangle, with which the triangles with volutes of the griffin jug may be compared. A fragment from the Heraion preserves atrophied palmettes attached to the volutes.[34] Several pyxides of large size from the Heraion shew interesting varieties of this motive, the tendril sometimes developing at the expense of the palmette, a tendency also seen in proto-Attic work.[35] One example shews the triangle with volutes and drops of the fragment just quoted in process of formation.[36]

The Syracusan lekythos of Fig. 10,[37] found with two linear examples of early type, belongs both by shape and subject to this class. The peculiar

Fig. 10.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

form of the rays, which in this instance also have not quite reached the bottom of the vase, deserves attention. Unable to adapt the long ray which he desired to the strongly curved surface of the vase, the artist has drawn a row of short triangles and given them height by adding a vertical line at the apex.

On the Hermion lekythos of Fig. 11[38] we may note the vertical band of lozenges and half-lozenges, a motive common to proto-Corinthian and proto-Attic, and also the concentric circles of the main zone. This latter motive, which suggests Cypriote influence, is rare; it finds an echo, however, in the wheel of Fig. 12,[39] and recurs in silhouette on a Syracusan lekythos already referred to for the bird-head ornament on the shoulder.[40] The female head in outline is found at a later date on proto-Corinthian spherical aryballoi, generally on the handle. Most interesting of all perhaps is the variety of the palmette and tendril ornament, with the tendrils taking somewhat the form of an inverted lyre.[41]

The lekythos of Fig. 13[42] is of special interest and importance. The shape is still somewhat squat and heavy, but the rays have found their

[34] *Arg. Her.* ii. Pl. lix. 1.

[35] Compare *Arg. Her.* ii. p. 138, Fig. 69 *b* with the proto-Attic vase of the New York Museum, figured in the *Bulletin* for April, 1912, and also published in this number of the *J.H.S.*

[36] *Arg. Her.* ii. p. 139, Fig. 69 *d, e, f.*

[37] *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 137 (Fig. 14).

[38] *Arg. Her.* ii. p. 146, Fig. 14, Fig. 86, Pl. lxvi. 11.

[39] *Arg. Her.*, ii. p. 146, Fig. 87.

[40] In this form it is found in purple and white on spherical aryballoi, probably Corinthian, of a later date.

[41] Not shown in the accompanying illustration. It is reproduced *Arg. Her.*, ii. Pl. lxvi. 11.

[42] *Arg. Her.* ii. p. 147, Fig. 88.

proper place round the base and are now of the true shape. On the shoulder we have another variety of the palmette and tendril motive, symmetrical in form, in which the tendril has developed at the expense of the palmette; this is a real approach to the lotus and palmette wreath of the fully developed lekythos. The hare also becomes a favourite motive, being substituted for one of the dogs in the conventional procession. The main design, consisting of a line of rudely drawn quadrupeds with incised detail, contains the real beginnings of the b.-f. style.[42] The animals include two lions, a bull, and a curious creature with head full face and incised spots, which looks like the prototype of the Corinthian panther. The careful drawing of the paws of these felines should be noted as typically proto-Corinthian; a later instance may be seen on the skyphoi published by Pallat, *loc. cit.* Pl. VIII.

FIG. 13.

To judge by its heavy shape, the remarkable lekythos published *J.H.S.* xi. p. 179 should not be much later than the group just discussed. Its ultimate derivation from the art of the Cypriote-Phoenician metal bowls is noted by Sir C. Smith; now that we have other indications of occasional Cypriote relations, we may perhaps venture to regard it as copied immediately, though not very intelligently, from some such original. Direct imitation of metal work would account for so extensive a use of incision at an early date.

A close parallel to the lekythos of Fig. 13 is afforded by a slightly more primitive pyxis from Sparta found in the recent excavations on the Orthia site and reproduced in Fig. 17. Here again we have a row of quadrupeds executed with a considerable degree of barbarous vigour. Two confronted dogs are represented in the crouching attitude characteristic of the later style, and the treatment of the enormous paws of the one to the right, though much ruder, foreshadows that already noted on the lekythos. The curious ornament behind the dog to the left seems to be ultimately derived

[42] Earliest in type at least of the whole series with figure decoration is the curious lekythos in the Ashmolean Museum published *J.H.S.* 1904, p. 295. The style is purely Geometric, and finds a parallel in that of a fragment of a skyphos at Eleusis (*Ephem.* 1898, Pl. v. 3.). Both presumably represent the local Geometric style which proto-Corinthian superseded.

from the palmette and tendril of Figs. 9, 14, 15, and 16. In the last case we have seen the tendency of the lower palmette to solidify into a pyramid surmounted by a swelling representing the volutes. Here the upper

FIG. 14.

palmette has disappeared, and is replaced by the upper pair of tendrils looped together and terminating in a rough ornament reminiscent of a palmette, the whole somewhat resembling the shoulder ornament of Fig. 13.

FIG. 15.

The same original seems to lurk in the pyramid with two swellings of the new proto-Attic vase in New York and also in the object surmounted by birds on the Herakles lekythos in Boston.[1] The cross-hatched triangles

[1] *A.J.A.* 1909, Pl. VI.

with a hook at the apex are of interest as a rare form of a motive derived from the Mycenaean flower with stamens. It occurs already in Mycenaean art,[47] sometimes with a dot inside the hook. There are of course many

FIG. 16.

collateral forms, of which the ordinary Rhodian variety and the pot-hook are the commonest. A pyxis lid from the Artemision at Ephesus affords a third

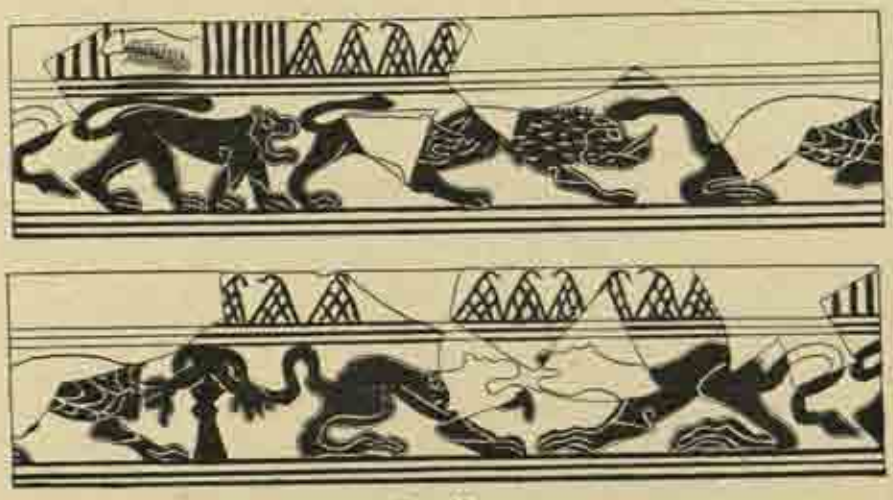

FIG. 17.

example of these rude beginnings: here we have again lions and dogs, with the interesting addition of two sphinxes guarding an object which perhaps represents a cuirass.[48]

[47] *Vasen der Aerop.* Pl. VIII, 234.

[48] In the British Museum: figured in *Excavations at Ephesus*, p. 230, Fig. 57.

Such experiments in design as we have been considering are of course rare; they are moreover somewhat restricted in distribution. In the West the diffusion of ordinary types is extended, for to the sites quoted for the wide-bodied lekythos we may add the Forum, Praeneste (Bernardini Tomb), Caere (Regulini-Galassi Tomb), Falerii, Vulci, Narce, Vetulonia (Tomba del Duce and Tumulo della Pietrera), and doubtless others as well; the volume of material too has greatly increased, but it consists almost entirely of lekythoi and skyphoi of the most uniformly monotonous design. The technique however is generally of the utmost perfection, notably in the case of the skyphos, the lustre and durability of whose glaze are the more remarkable from the fact that the surface of the finest lekythoi is so frequently ruined. Its design seldom varies from the scheme of Fig. 3; but occasionally a zone of alternate dots or rosettes interrupts the fine lines or a zone of running dogs takes their place. Now and again double rays or rays and pothooks are substituted for single rays round the base, a variation which in the case of the lekythos occurs only in conjunction with the b.-f. style and is therefore a mark of some degree of lateness. This vase is rather more frequent in Italy than the lekythos, and its popularity is farther illustrated by the frequency with which it is imitated in the fine bucchero with punctured fan ornament; unless indeed these specimens are copied directly from metal examples, which in a few instances have survived. The lekythos is imitated, though much less frequently, in the same ware: it has exactly the shape of the proto-Corinthian 'ray' lekythos, never of the wide-bodied type, and sometimes has incised rays round the foot.

A slightly later form of skyphos preserves the rays round the foot and the geometric decoration of the rim, but substitutes for the fine lines a broad zone of black glaze, which often has applied lines of red or white.[47] Closely associated with it is a kylix[48] with similar decoration. Both forms slightly outlast true linear ware in Sicilian graves.

The remaining vase-forms of the linear period have a much restricted range of distribution. The pyxis is very rare in Italy, the flat-bottomed jug seems to be peculiar to Syracuse; the flat-bottomed oinochoe is frequent at Syracuse and at Cumae, but apparently does not occur farther north in Italy. Like the skyphos, it has a strong preference for purely linear decoration[49] and often employs on the neck a hatched maeander, a Geometric survival not common in proto-Corinthian.

The close of the linear period is marked by the appearance of three of the proto-Corinthian forms we have been examining—the lekythos, and the flat-bottomed oinochoe and jug—in a new fabric, whose characteristic is the employment of polychrome decoration and incision on a dark ground. The lekythos is slightly larger than the linear type, and much more tapering; it has a wreath of hanging leaves on the shoulder and upright leaves—not

[47] *Mon. Ant.* xvii. Fig. 76, the vase to the left.

[48] *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 476.

[49] See Gabrici, *l.c.* Fig. 10, *Arg. Her.* ii, p. 130, Fig. 59, for specimens with more varied designs.

rays—round the foot; the body is decorated either with scales incised on a black glaze ground and picked out with red, or with black bands and applied red lines. The oinochoe and jug, together with the olpe *a rotelle* [99] which appears at this point, are at first completely covered with black glaze and have some amount of incised ornament, generally scales or bars, picked out with red and white or yellow paint; soon they develop zones of animals executed in silhouette with incision on a cream background. Contemporaneously with these, or very nearly so, appears the bombylios or pear-shaped alabastron, which very much resembles an inverted 'scale' lekythos; it has a wreath of hanging leaves round the neck and upright leaves round the base, and on the body black bands with applied red lines or a zone of alternate dot often very roughly executed: scales and incision are rare. The olpe and alabastron are forms derived from skin vessels, which none of the true proto-Corinthian forms are. The alabastron, it is true, has a superficial resemblance to the 'Phoenician' alabastron of glass and to its alabaster original; but this is more apparent than real. The clay vase is far baggier in shape, and whereas the glass and alabaster forms have two projections some way down the body generally pierced with string-holes, the other has one such projection immediately under the lip. If ultimately derived from the glass type, it has been under strong influence from a leather form.

These new forms are generally regarded as the first post-Geometric products of Corinth, and though positive evidence is lacking, probabilities are in favour of this view. Several facts at least appear incompatible with a proto-Corinthian origin. Except the lekythos, which soon drops out, all these forms persist in Corinthian ware, ultimately appearing in the style characterised by a crowded back-ground of degenerate rosettes. The ware occurs indeed in Sicily and Italy practically wherever linear proto-Corinthian is found, but it is abundant on a number of sites (*e.g.* Gela, Megara Hyblaea, and Vulci) to which linear ware penetrated not at all or in very small quantity, and on which unmistakable Corinthian ware overlaps and succeeds it to the practical exclusion of every other fabric. The presumption is that it is not a variety of proto-Corinthian, but an alien ware which supplants it; even so Attic ousts Corinthian and pushes its outposts beyond the Corinthian range. The shape of the lekythos, though akin to the proto-Corinthian type, is at first distinct from it, being influenced apparently by the alabastron just as the proto-Corinthian lekythos was influenced by the skyphos; the final form however of the proto-Corinthian lekythos in the ensuing period approximates to the scale type, no doubt by imitation, but still differs by its smaller size and wider lip. The leaves on foot and shoulder are not proto-Corinthian, but are normal on certainly Corinthian alabastra and spherical aryballoi. Again, the use of black glaze for the whole or the greater part of the surface combined with polychrome decoration and incision is generally admitted to be a direct imitation of inlaid metal work. Proto-Corinthian had

[99] *Nat. Sc.*, 1895, p. 124, Fig. 5.

already for some time been using, especially on the lekythos, applied red paint and incision, but tentatively, and without shewing any signs of adopting a definitely metallic technique. Even on the later lekythoi incision is rarely and sparingly used in the ground ornament and is absent from the lotus and palmette wreath and often from important parts of the design, whereas in Corinthian, as in this black glaze fabric, incision is firmly established from the first.

These Corinthian forms exercised a certain influence on proto-Corinthian. The form of the lekythos, as has been said, is modified; the alabastron is not infrequently imitated.[51] The olpe *a rotelle* occurs with figure decoration, zones of animals with a sparse ground ornament of rosettes, in unmistakably proto-Corinthian style,[52] while other examples are as unmistakably Corinthian. This form is found principally in Italy; there are one or two strays in Sicily, and the British Museum possesses a pair from Kameiros, one definitely Corinthian, and two from the tomb of Menecrates in Corfù.

It remains to deal with two groups of vases found principally in Sicily and Italy. The first consists of a number of large amphorae, mostly in a very fragmentary condition, which were found in the Syracusan necropolis and seem generally to have served as ossuaries. The published specimens and fragments will be found as follows: (1) *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 477; (2) 1895, p. 135, Fig. 12; (3) p. 137, Fig. 13; (4) p. 159, Fig. 45; (5) p. 161, Fig. 47; (6) p. 172, Fig. 68; (7) p. 176, Fig. 75; (8) p. 181, Fig. 81; (9) pp. 185, 186, Figs. 86, 87, and Figs. 15, 16 *supra*.

Generally speaking, these ossuaries were found without other material; in one or two instances, however, linear proto-Corinthian was present, and the decoration of the ossuaries themselves is for the most part of this character. The presence in two cases (2 and 9) of rays round the foot marks these examples as belonging to the later phase of the linear period, as does also the sphinx of No. 9.[53] The crescent ornament of No. 7, which recurs on the rim of No. 9, appears to arise from the 'butterfly' drawn on a strongly-curved surface and then halved, as can be seen on the rim of No. 9. On the handle of No. 3 we may note the motive resembling a loop of string with crossed ends; this occurs on the handle of a flat-bottomed oinochoe from the Aphrodite temple of Aegina. In this case the loop encloses a dot-star. An interesting feature of several of these vases is the way in which the top of the handles is joined to the rim by a strip of clay; as Professor Orsi points out, the vase appears to be the prototype of the Corinthian amphora *a colonnette*, though this form does not appear till about a century later, and there is at present no means of bridging the chronological gap. The large vase of similar shape, published *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 454, should doubtless be

[51] For complete examples see *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 171, Fig. 147, and Kam, *Stivas Hellenikas*, The Heraion yielded a good many fragments.

[52] *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 139, Fig. 8.

[53] The head ornament of the sphinx is worth noting, combining as it does the long curl of Mycenaean and Rhodian sphinxes with the tripartite palmette and tendril form characteristic of Cyrenaic (= Laconian) art. This latter form is found on late proto-Corinthian in Aegina (unpublished); earlier the sphinx has as a rule no ornament in proto-Corinthian.

included in this group, the palmette and tendril and the dot-star being proto-Corinthian motives. The general resemblance of the type to the krater of Aristonothos has been noted by Professor Orsi.

The second group consists of a series of oinochoai with trefoil mouth, found chiefly at Cuma and in Sicily; the oldest specimen however now in the Berlin Museum,[34] is of Grecian provenance. It has a rope handle; on the rim is a continuous spiral (also found on a pyxis from Thera and on the rim of a spherical aryballos from the Heraion),[35] and on the neck a hatched maeander, as we have seen it on the neck of the flat-bottomed oinochoe; on the shoulder is a ship, for which we may compare a fragment from Eleusis referred to *supra*, note 43; round the body are fine lines. The derivation of this oinochoe from the old Geometric fabric is made very evident by the existence of an intermediate stage represented by a Boeotian vase also in Berlin and published in the *Anzeiger* for 1895, p. 33, Fig. 2. The remaining members of this group (apart from fragments) are four in number: two are from Cuma,[36] one from Syracuse,[37] and one from Megara Hyblaea.[38] On all four linear ornament of the ordinary proto-Corinthian type appears on the neck; the unpublished example from Cuma has in addition a heron, a somewhat rare motive which recurs on this fabric.[39] It may be noted that the so-called Achelous of the Syracusan vase has the crouching attitude characteristic of the style, and that the treatment of the hind paw resembles that already observed. Parallels to the palmette and tendril design of the published example from Cuma have been adduced. The oinochoe from Megara Hyblaea is obviously the latest of the group, but probably affords the earliest instance of the Centauromachy, which is also found on two lekythoi.[40]

This is perhaps the most convenient place to note a few vases of exceptional form, found chiefly in Thera, and all characterised by linear decoration of an early type. The favourite form is a jar, cylindrical or round-bodied, with a conical lid. Examples are figured *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, *der Arch. Friedhof* Beil. xxxiv. 2–5, xxxv. 1–3; and *Arch. Anz.* 1888, p. 248; *Thera* ii. p. 190, Fig. 382.

It is plain that we have far overshot the limits of the linear period in the strict sense; but the fact is that only in its very earliest days is proto-Corinthian art thus limited in its motives. Throughout the period we have been considering the monotonous linear ware is predominant and has a wide area of distribution; but from a very early date we have found (*a*)

[34] *Anzeiger* 1888, p. 248.

[35] *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, *der Arch. Friedhof*, Beil. xxxvi. 2. *Arg. Her.* ii. p. 185, Fig. 101.

[36] Gabrici, *l.c.* Fig. 3, *a* and *b*, and Fig. 14 *supra* for one of these.

[37] *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 167, Fig. 57.

[38] *Mon. Ant. Lincei* i. col. 810.

[39] *Mon. Ant. Lincei* xvii., Fig. 98. *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, pp. 278 and 293, Figs. 11 and 17; 1903, *der Arch. Friedhof*, Beil. xxxvi. 2.

[40] Professor Gabrici publishes (*Cumae*, Fig. 4) yet another oinochoe from Cuma, which he regards as proto-Corinthian. Like the Berlin specimen it has a rope handle; the clay however is pink, that of the others pale, and certain peculiarities, especially the treatment of the mane and paws of the lion, seem rather proto-Attic than Proto-Corinthian. The lion of the proto-Attic vase in New York has the mane similarly treated; so also however the lion of the possibly proto-Corinthian sherd published *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, p. 309, Fig. 31, *d*.

intrusive motives, notably the tendril and palmette in various forms and a simple type of guilloche; (*b*) the influence of a metallic style, shewn in the use of incision and of red and white paint applied over black; (*c*) the beginnings of a true b.-f. style, in which the subjects are limited to animals, with, in two instances, the sphinx. The beginning and end of this period are defined with unusual chronological exactness, thanks to the fact that Sicily furnishes two fixed points, the foundation of Syracuse and that of Gela. In the earliest graves of Syracuse we find the wide-bodied lekythos already scanty, whereas at Cumæ and various Greek and Aegaean sites (Aegina, Sparta Thera) it is tolerably abundant. The rise of the fabric will therefore fall at least some years before 734, and, incidentally, Cumæ should, as Prof. Gabrici claims, be older than Syracuse, though not necessarily by more than a decade or so. At Syracuse the earliest graves are followed by a considerable series containing proto-Corinthian only; then come others in which are found side by side with it objects of 'Egyptian' porcelain, scale lekythoi, flat-bottomed oinochoai in black glaze, and alabastra; after which linear ware ceases. Turning to Gela, we find that in the earliest tombs linear ware is on the point of disappearing altogether. The wide-bodied lekythos is entirely lacking; those of early types are few.[81] The flat-bottomed jug and oinochoe are entirely lacking in their linear forms,[82] but fairly common in black glaze; the linear skyphos is rare, the later type with black glaze and (often) applied red and white is commoner, but not abundant. From all but the very beginning the imported ware of Gela is almost exclusively Corinthian: only a very few fine lekythoi carry on the proto-Corinthian series. This gives a date shortly after 689 for the appearance of Corinthian and the consequent rapid disappearance of proto-Corinthian ware in Sicily.[83]

In graves so poor as those of Dorian cemeteries generally are, stress must not be laid on the absence of Corinthian ware unless the total quantity of other pottery is considerable. The proto-Corinthian lekythos often constitutes the sole furniture and it has, for reasons to be discussed later, conservative tendencies which render it in the absence of confirmatory evidence valueless as a criterion of date. Two instances are sufficient to prove this. The fine specimen from Gela, reproduced in Fig. 116 of the publication, was found along with the archaic ray and chequer example of Fig. 115, and an unpublished master-piece of Tarentum, closely akin to the Macmillan vase, with three companions, one in the advanced b.-f. style, one with a single animal zone of early type and one with the primitive running dogs. The wide-bodied type however seems never to be found with any but early material, and the immediately succeeding high-shouldered form which precedes the introduction of the ray, only occasionally.[84] In the case of a

[81] *Mon. Ant. Lincei*, xvii. Figs. 93, 146, 200, the last possibly a local imitation.

[82] The long neck of a vessel with decoration partly linear, partly b.-f. published *Mon. Ant. Lincei*, xvii. Fig. 199, is proto-Corinthian, and apparently belongs to a flat-bottomed oinochoe; but, as the decoration shews, the period of pure linear is over.

[83] The material from Megara Hyblaea is exactly parallel to that from Gela, indicating that the final establishment of this colony is contemporary with the foundation of Gela.

[84] Tombs LXXXV and CLVIII at Syracuse afford exceptionally late instances.

somewhat wealthy tomb such as LXXXV of the Syracusan necropolis the absence of Corinthian would of itself incline one to assign a date before the free importation of this ware (*i.e.* little if at all below 680), for the Corinthian fabric, once it has gained its footing, becomes rapidly predominant. This conclusion is supported by the nature of the material found in the tomb. The porcelain articles, which form an important part of its contents, are characteristic at Syracuse of tombs falling just at the transition from proto-Corinthian to Corinthian,[95a] and so are the small lekythoi of grey bucchero, which are proto-Corinthian in form and probably also in origin.[95] If we had not the early material of Cuma and the Heraion before us, we might hesitate to assign to so early a date the lekythos of Fig. 18,[97] also found in this tomb; but we have seen how far back lie the origins of the guilloche, the palmette wreath, and the b.-f. style.

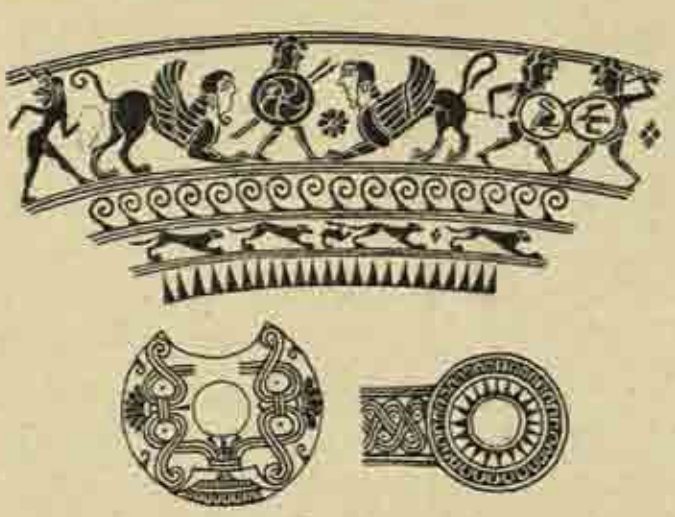

Fig. 18.

If we may trust the evidence of Sicily as fixing the disappearance of the linear style (except for the lekythos) at about 680 B.C., we obtain a somewhat more definite date than has hitherto been proposed for the great group of Italian tombs which comprises the Regulini-Galassi at Caere, the Bernardini at Praeneste, the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia, and the great cremation tomb at Cuma. These tombs are shewn by the contents to be at least roughly contemporary, and are admitted to be of a date not later than 650 B.C.[98] Their rich and varied furniture does not for the most part allow of more than approximate dating; apart from proto-Corinthian pottery the most precise chronological indications are furnished on the one hand by the presence of paste amulets and other products of the Saitic art of the eighth

[95a] *E.g.* CVIII. and CLVIII.
[95] They occur also at the Heraion.
[97] *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 471.
[98] For the chronology see Karo, *Bull. Pal. It.* xxiv. and especially xxx.

and seventh centuries, and on the other by the fact that the Regulini-Galassi and del Duce tombs contained Etruscan inscriptions on pottery, the Bernardini a Latin inscription of an exceedingly early type on a gold fibula. This renders any date above 700 B.C. improbable.[69] Except the Cuman, all these tombs contained proto-Corinthian pottery, though not of the earliest type, for both the wide-bodied lekythos and the immediately succeeding form are lacking. From the Bernardini come fragments of a linear skyphos,[70] while a recent re-exploration of the Regulini-Galassi[71] has produced some four or five skyphoi of the same type and of particularly fine workmanship. The lekythos does not appear in the Regulini-Galassi tomb itself, but from the contemporary[72] graves grouped around it two or three specimens have been recovered; they have the relatively slender form and broad lip of the ray type, though the decoration consists of bands and fine lines or bands only. Linear skyphoi were found in the Tomba del Duce at Vetulonia, and lekythoi with running dogs in the somewhat later Tumulo della Pietrera. The Regulini-Galassi also contained some of the fine bucchero with punctured fan pattern which is characteristic of the period and which borrows from proto-Corinthian some of its forms, notably the skyphos and ray lekythos; both bucchero forms generally have rays incised round the foot. Skyphoi of this sort were found in the Regulini-Galassi, shewing that the Greek fabric must have been known for some time. There were also four fragments, probably of an olpe *a rotelle*, one with a sphinx in the proto-Corinthian style in the fabric which combines black glaze with zones of animals on a cream background and which we have already found at Syracuse. Finally, the tomb yielded a 'bird bowl' of a class found on various Greek, Italian, and Sicilian sites;[73] it occurs at Vetulonia in the Tomba del Duce, at Vulci in conjunction with early Corinthian, at Naxos, at Syracuse, and at Gela, unfortunately not in datable contexts; its presence however at the last-named site puts it some little way down in the seventh century. This agrees with its surroundings in the archaic necropolis of Thera, where it occurs, not in the tombs, but in the 'Schutt,' which contained a good deal of Corinthian ware.[74]

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[69] The earlier Tomba del Guerriero at Corneto has already an imitation of a skyphos (not in bucchero), derived however from type b of Fig. 8, which is probably the older. See Montelius' *Civ. Prim. en Italie*, Série B. Pl. 290, 12.

[70] Very probably a good deal of pottery was overlooked at the time, as happened in the case of the Regulini-Galassi.

[71] Pinza, *Röm. Mitt.* 1907, pp. 35 ff.

[72] They contained fine punctured bucchero and *impasto locale* of the same type as that from the Regulini-Galassi.

[73] For the type see *Mon. Ant. Linc.* xvii. Fig. 186; Gsell, *Fouilles de Vulci*, p. 424.

[74] Dragendorff, *Thera* ii. p. 195. There is some ground for attributing the fabric to Rhodes: see *Ath. Mitt.* 1903, p. 168. The small group which occurs at Naucratis, sometimes with dedication to Apollo, is of a different though allied fabric, and therefore yields no evidence for the date of the foundation of the town. The bird bowl was found at Sparta, where the period of foreign importation ends by 650 at latest; one fairly complete instance is of a somewhat rough and perhaps early type (see *Ath. Mitt.* l.c.); two minute fragments belong to a finer specimen, similar to that from the Regulini-Galassi tomb. It has also been found in Aegina (*Ath. Mitt.* 1897, p. 272) and Rhodes, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, A 290, Pl. XI.

These Italian tombs contained no Corinthian pottery.[70] Those excavated by Gsell at Vulci, on the other hand yielded exceedingly little proto-Corinthian, and that all of the linear type; as at Gela and Megara Hyblaea the prevailing ware is Corinthian, and as in Sicily the earliest specimens are of the black glaze ware, unaccompanied by examples of the b.-f. style; that is to say, Corinthian ware reaches Italy little if at all later than it does Sicily. The evidence therefore suggests a date not lower than 675 for the latest of the Regulini-Galassi group of tombs. It must not be overlooked that in these graves the pottery is much the least valuable, and therefore probably the latest part of the equipment. Bronze caldrons, ivory caskets, gold necklaces, and fibulae might well be treasured for years before being consigned to the tomb; the small bottle of unguent and the clay cup which held the drink of the dead man were more probably procured for the occasion.

It has already been stated that in Italy and Sicily the ware is widely diffused, and appears almost wholly with a stereotyped linear decoration. The close of the period is marked, not only by the triumph of the b.-f. style, but by a sudden shrinkage in the area of distribution. Just as the style is attaining perfection, the trade in Italy comes practically to an end, and in Sicily is enormously diminished; at Delphi however and in Aegina it is as abundant as ever, and at the Heraion still considerable. It probably originated in the export of some fine unguent, as the small size and the shape of one of the most widely distributed vase forms suggest. The flat lip of the lekythos, the earliest of proto-Corinthian products, is unsuited for pouring, and is designed for turning over on the palm of the hand to allow a sticky liquid to trickle out. Both the cubic content of the vase and the perforation of the lip are larger in the earlier forms, and diminish perhaps as the demand for the commodity increases. We may note too that Corinth competes with the proto-Corinthian trade and ultimately conquers it with vases of the same general type, the lekythos, alabastron, and spherical aryballos, all flat-lipped forms. The foreign demand for the article, whatever it was, produced a stereotyped receptacle, serving as a sort of trade-mark or guarantee of the contents; hence the conservatism of the lekythos and the survival of primitive types side by side with the more advanced. In the wake of the lekythos followed the skyphos, which could not be used as a bottle, and must have been exported on its own merits, probably as a cheap substitute for the metal original of the form. In Greece, to judge from the immense numbers found on certain temple sites, the use of the skyphos was largely ritual. The other forms of linear proto-Corinthian, though they reach Cumae, do not penetrate farther north into Italy. The peculiar position of this city, the first Greek outpost in a foreign region, is enough to account for the presence there of so many unusual and experimental forms of proto-Corinthian art.[71]

[70] Pinza reckons as Corinthian the four fragments of the olpe type from the Regulini-Galassi tomb, and mentions another with the human figure, found by himself, but subsequently lost, which may have been of the same fabric. It is of course contemporary with the beginnings of Corinthian, and imitative of it.

[71] Two rare vase forms have been found there (1) a ring vase, rectangular or partly rectangular in section, standing upright on a small foot,

It is not necessary to assume that the metropolis of Cuma was the home of the fabric, unless we are prepared to suppose that ancient manufactures were never carried except in ships belonging to the country in which they were produced. The question of the origin of proto-Corinthian hardly appears ripe for settlement while so much important material lies unpublished in the museum of Aegina. Many considerations support Loeschcke's view that Sicyon was the centre of manufacture: it is at least certain that the place must have had easy access to the Corinthian Gulf. Once there, the products could radiate to all the mainland sites on which they are found, notably to Delphi, where from the earliest days it is abundant, and up the land route to Chalcis from the bay of Crisa, diffusing itself through Boeotia on the way. It is much more frequent along this than along the Isthmus route to Eubosa: there is a good deal at Eleusis, it is true, but little from the Acropolis or other Attic sites. From the Gulf it was carried westward, at first no doubt in Chalcidian ships which waited at the Crisa end of the land route from their city; and so it reached Cuma. From Cuma, as Prof. Gabrici points out, there is very little radiation to Italian sites; and when the city has a manufacture of her own, chiefly of large oinochoai, she finds a market in Corneto and passes over Latium altogether.

In the case of proto-Corinthian ware this discontinuity of distribution is less complete. The Bernardini tomb, as already noted, yielded fragments. The total amount from the Forum and the Esquiline (two lekythoi from the former, and from the latter four lekythoi, one of the wide-bodied type, six skyphoi, three kylikes with rays, and a fragment with figure decoration)[17] is not inconsiderable, even in comparison with Corneto. This circumstance no doubt illustrates merely the greater ease with which small pieces of pottery travel, and the fact remains that, apart from Greek settlements like Tarentum and Cuma, proto-Corinthian never gets a real footing in Italy as Corinthian does later. One cause of this is probably to be sought in the development of the carrying trade of Syracuse. It has been shewn by Helbig that in the sixth and fifth centuries Syracuse acted as intermediary in the trade of Athens with Etruria, and that till 415 B.C. the two states can never have been in direct contact.[18] It is possible that early in the seventh century the Sicilian city was already assuming the position of middleman between Greece and the West, and that she made use of it to check proto-Corinthian and encourage Corinthian commerce in the West. Hence the rapid disappearance of proto-Corinthian in Italy; hence too the fact that in the b.-f. period it is found even in Sicily only in the form of

which has also been found at the Heraion (*Arg. Her.* ii. Fig. 53, p. 143), in Aegina and Rhodes. Examples in a different and unknown—possibly Cretan—fabric have been found in Thera (Dragendorff, p. 814, Figs. 501 and 505, cf. 499 f. (2) a flat-bottomed alabastron with bent neck: a very rude example of the form, which is possibly of Cypriote origin (see Gabrici, *l.c.* p. 48) is figured Dragendorff, *Thera*, ii. p. 19, Fig. 18.

[17] *Mon. Ant. Line.* xv. Pl. xvii. 9; see also Fig. 89.

[18] *Academica Lincei*, 1889, p. 79. Even this late contact has recently been questioned: see E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Alt.* p. 519 and Casari's criticism, *C. Q.* April, 1911.

lekythoi. Corinth could do nothing so good as these exquisite little vases, and so Syracuse continued to admit them to her own market; so too stray specimens found their way to other Sicilian and even to Italian sites. East of the straits of Messina Syracuse could exercise no such excluding influence, and it is not without significance that Tarentum has yielded two fine specimens of the later proto-Corinthian style, a spherical aryballos with the 'lotus-cross' ornament executed in delicate outline and a lekythos worthy to be classed with the Macmillan vase.[78]

Even in Greece the lekythos is far more abundant than any other form. The Heraion has other shapes, but unfortunately in a very fragmentary condition. Magnificent skyphoi with b.-f. decoration come from Rhodes and Aegina[80] and from the latter site an interesting oinochoe with a subject derived from the story of Odysseus and the ram.[81]

Though it has marked affinities with the Syracusan vase of Fig. 15 and with the griffin oinochoe of the British Museum, it is perhaps not quite certain that this last example belongs to the fabric: it represents at any rate a distinct line of development, and suggests the influence of wall-painting, which, according to tradition, flourished first at either Corinth or Sicyon. Pending the publication of the material from the Aphrodite temple of Aegina, the lekythos remains the chief evidence for the development of the b.-f. style. Having obtained for the Syracusan lekythos with the monomachia of Fig. 18 a date in the neighbourhood of 680, we may attempt to arrange in a roughly chronological series some of the more important examples, beginning with a group closely akin to the Syracusan specimen but somewhat less advanced.

Fig. 19

Fig. 20.

(1) Fig. 19. Lekythos published *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 472, found in same tomb with that of Fig. 18. Conservative type.

[78] Tarentum has also furnished a number of proto-Corinthian amphorískoi, of the shape familiar in the Corinthian fabric. The sparing decoration consists of one or two lines and a narrow band of alternate dot on the shoulder, the rest of the vase having merely a cream slip. Little of the most archaic part of the cemetery has survived.

[80] *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, Pl. VIII.

[81] *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, Pl. IX.

(2) Fig. 20. Lekythos published *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 479, found with a black alabastron. New elements: lion, and variety of zones, all being different. The pot-hooks on the shoulder are old-fashioned.

(3) Fig. 21. Lekythos published *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 190, Fig. 93. Note on shoulder guilloche of two strands with rudimentary palmette filling, the first example of a continuous ornament in this position; also the Mycenaean form of the guilloche below the figure zone.

FIG. 21.

FIG. 22.

FIG. 23.

(4) Fig. 22. Lekythos published *Not. Sc.* 1893, p. 458. Form very tapering, resembling inverted alabastron; on shoulder wreath of leaves. This vase is closely akin to the following:—

(5) Fig. 23. Alabastron published *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 171, Fig. 67. The leaf-wreath (fairly frequent just at this moment and subsequently dropped: cf. *Fouilles de Delphes*, vol. v. pp. 152, 155), and the alabastron form are probably both due to Corinthian influence. (5) was found outside a sarcophagus in company with a scale lekythos; the tomb to which (4) belonged had been rifled in antiquity, but the surrounding earth yielded along with a mass of proto-Corinthian material pyxides with scale decoration. It may be noted that on both vases the zones are divided by single lines instead of the usual groups of three.

(6) In a vase in the British Museum (A 1053) we have another example of the not very common alabastron. New features in this case are (*a*) the griffin, (*b*) the developed form of the palmette wreath. On this and the lekythos of Fig. 18 we have for the first time the lotus flower in unmistakable form and the scheme, henceforth predominant, of a lotus flower with or without opposed palmette alternating with palmettes, single or opposed. On (6) we have also the earliest instance of the tendril not returning on itself, but drawn through the petals of the second flower and running on to join the third.[82]

[82] Cf. Boehlau, *Aus Ion. u. It. Nekr.* Figs. 59 and 60.

This group of finely executed vases with zones of animals and occasional monsters has been much increased since Couve compiled his useful list of the b.-f. lekythoi then known.[83] Very much rarer at this stage are representations of the human figure. Two examples in the geometric style have already been quoted, but in the b.-f. we have so far only the warriors of the "monomachia" lekythos of Fig. 18. The Boston lekythos[84] on which a warrior confronts a lion from whose back rises a human head is closely akin to the Syracusan vase in its simple composition and delicate drawing. The pot-hooks on the lip are more advanced than those of the "monomachia" lekythos, for they have developed into a continuous wave design; and the double spiral with triangular side-filling is new. The winged demon and the full-face panther, here translated into the crouching attitude, are not common in proto-Corinthian. The shoulder ornament is peculiar, affording an instance apparently unique of the palmette enclosed by the tendril. The lotus flowers are not connected with the tendril, but merely fill the spaces between the palmettes.

The lekythos from Thebes[85] reproduced in Fig. 24 marks a new departure in that it affords the first example of a definitely mythological subject, the rape of Helen by Theseus and Peirithoos in the presence of the Dioskouroi. The vase is less advanced in execution than the 'monomachia' lekythos, the figure of Helen in particular being exceedingly primitive; but other features suggest that it is just about contemporary with it. The guilloche of three strands with dots in the interstices is common to both, and the exceptional shoulder

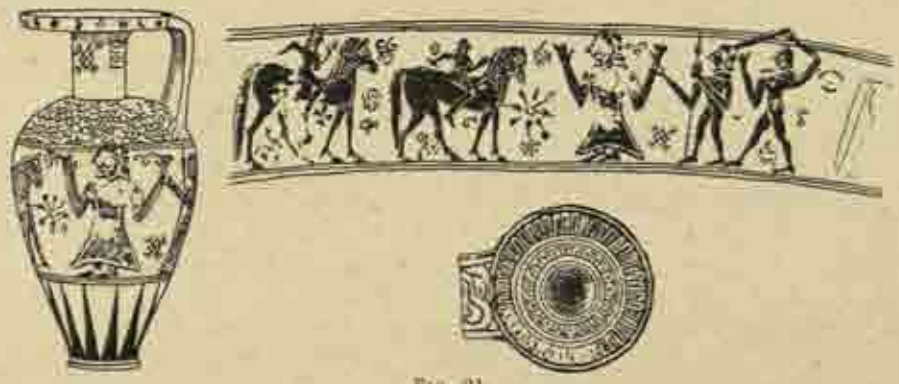


FIG. 21

ornament of the Helen lekythos, scales painted in outline alternately red and black, indicates the influence of the scale lekythos. A new feature is the profusion of varied ground ornament. Most of the forms are new, several are

[83] *Rev. Arch.* 1903. Especially at Delphi excavation has added to their number (*Fouilles de Delphes*, v. pp. 151, 152, 155); there are two from Megara Hyblaea, unpublished, one from Gela (*Mon. Ant. Line.* xvii. Fig. 241), one, fragmentary, from Sparta, two in the Florence Museum, and one, unnoticed by Couve, at Corneto.

[84] *A.J.A.* 1900, Pl. V.

[85] *Rev. Arch.* 1898, p. 213; also J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, Figs. 95 and 96.

vague and undecided. We may also note on the neck the swastika, not hitherto found. Akin to the Helen vase but more advanced is the Herakles lekythos from Corinth in the Boston museum.[86] It has in common with the earlier example a mythological subject, and a copious use of ground ornament of unusual forms, several of which, including the swastika and the double spiral with side-filling, are found on both vases. The animal zone in place of the palmette wreath on the shoulder is a mark of relative earliness; on the other hand the guilloche with four strands is new, and the pot-hooks on the lip have developed into the wave ornament. The composition is the most advanced we have yet seen, and the drawing, though clumsy, vivacious. The sword carried by Iolaus is of the kind sometimes called the kopis, which is not infrequent on Attic vases of the fifth century.[87]

A lekythos in the Berlin museum[88] whose subject is also a centauromachy shews on comparison with the Boston vase a development which only just

Fig. 25.

stops short of the full perfection of the proto-Corinthian style. The drawing is on a smaller scale, and the ground ornament, though profuse, is reduced to two forms. The guilloche with four strands is again present, and on the shoulder we have a peculiarly complex form of palmette wreath which does not recur on later work. As on the alabastron in the British Museum (A 1053), the tendril is drawn through the petals of the lotus flower. The secondary zone of vertical zigzags is an archaic feature, which on later work is replaced by the hare and dogs or other animals. This vase appears to be distinctly later than that of Fig. 18. Fig. 25 represents a Syracusan lekythos,[89] the latest in point of style from that cemetery, which is at about the same stage of development, though inferior in execution. It agrees in many details with a similar vase in the British Museum[90] (A 1052),

[86] *A.J.A.* 1900, Pl. VI.

[87] Other instances of these early attempts to deal with the human form will be found inadequately figured but fully described as follows: *Arch. Anz.* 1894, p. 33, lekythos from Rhodes, execution very rough; *Arch. Anz.* 1895, pp. 33 and 34, Figs. 4 and 5, much more advanced.

[88] *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, Pl. X. 1.

[89] *Not. Sc.* 1895, p. 156, Figs. 43, 44.

[90] *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, Pl. X. 2.

and appears to be by the same hand. The division of the surface is identical —wreath on the shoulder, main zone a hunting scene, second, dogs and hare round the foot double rays—and so is the type of the human figure with disproportionately long legs. The detail of the throwing loop attached to the spear is repeated, and also—more important and interesting—the rippling of the shaft intended to represent the quivering of the weapon as it passes through the air. It will be observed that in both cases only the spear in flight is so represented. In Hellenic art it would be difficult to parallel such an effort to visualise motion; but the rippled stalks of flowers waving in the wind on the Aegaean pottery of Melos[91] and the twanging string of a bow just released on a Cypriote vase[92] are represented in the same manner. The shoulder wreath of the example in the British Museum is peculiar in consisting entirely of lotus flowers, the palmettes having degenerated into mere knobs, and in the arrangement of the tendrils which, uniting the alternate flowers, take the form of a 'Bogenfries.' This lekythos is from Nola; in the Santangelo collection in the Naples museum there is a lekythos of similar type from the same site, at present unpublished. Here the main subject is a lion in combat with three men; in the same zone a unique motive is found, two goat-like animals, rampant, confronted in the old Mycenaean scheme over a vague vegetable form. This vase is remarkable for entirely eschewing incision: in one or two places minute reserved lines are used. To this stage also belongs a lekythos from Gela,[93] the design of which is happily preserved to some extent by incised outlines, though the surface is much ruined. The decoration of the lip is simpler than that of the Herakles lekythos at Boston, and the pot-hook ornament remains a series of distinct hooks, though the bases touch; while the shoulder ornament of opposed lotus flowers and palmettes is not a true wreath, for the tendrils do not unite the separate elements. But the subject—a battle—is new and characteristic of the succeeding group of vases, of which the Macmillan lekythos is typical. The composition is in one sense very simple, for the combatants are arranged in four separate pairs, each alternate pair contending over a corpse. Within the groups however the complication of crossing lines is considerable, and on the whole this is the most ambitious piece of drawing we have had. A second zone contains various animals and a griffin.

Distinctly later in style is a third lekythos in the Boston museum on which is represented Bellerophon attacking the Chimera.[94] Here for the first time since the 'monomachia' lekythos we find three zones containing respectively the mythological subject, the dogs and hare, and a conventional design, the guilloche. It is significant that this last zone, which was originally displaced from the shoulder to make room for the wreath and on the 'monomachia' lekythos came between the other two, has now sunk to the bottom preparatory to disappearing altogether. The hare-hunt,

[91] *Phylakopi*, Pl. XXIII. 7.
[92] Perrot et Chipiez, *Cypre*, Fig. 522.
[93] *Mon. Ant. Lincei*, xvii. Fig. 116.
[94] *A.J.A.* 1900, Pl. IV.

sometimes with the human figure introduced, is after this the lowest zone; normally a secondary figure zone comes between it and that of the main design. The wave ornament on the lip has introduced a new feature: the spaces between the hooks are filled by triangles, and a false impression of a returning spiral design is produced. There is much varied ground ornament, but the swastika and the double spiral with side-filling have dropped out; the small lizard in the field is new. The sphinxes guarding what was originally the sacred tree of Assyrian art are paralleled by the griffins of A 1053 in the British Museum and by the birds of a lekythos already referred to.[95] The tree itself is readily derived from such forms of the palmette and tendril as are found on a pyxis from the Heraion.[96]

If we were right in dating the 'monomachia' lekythos at about 680, we may regard these evidently more advanced vases as falling about 670 or 665.

Four lekythoi remain, which form a group by themselves; they are the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the fabric and with the Chigi vase represent its latest development. They are:

(1) The Macmillan lekythos, Brit. Mus., published *J.H.S.* xi. p. 167.
Zones: (*a*) Battle scene.
(*b*) Horse race.
(*c*) Dogs, hare, net conventionally represented, hunter.

(2) Lekythos, Berlin Mus., published *Jahrb.* 1906, p. 116.
Zones: (*a*) Battle scene.
(*b*) Race of quadrigae.
(*c*) Sphinxes, bulls, lion, boar.
(*d*) Dogs and hare.

(3) Lekythos in the museum of Tarentum, unpublished.
Zones: (*a*) Horse race, judges and tripod, sphinx.
(*b*) Lions, deer, bull, griffin, eagle.
(*c*) Running dogs.

(4) Lekythos in the Louvre, published Pottier, *Mélanges Perrot*, p. 269.
Zones: (*a*) Battle scene.
(*b*) Dogs, hare, and net.

Features common to this group are the preference for military and athletic subjects generally involving a large number of figures, the practice of incising the entire outline of the objects represented and the absence of ground ornament from the figure zones. The dog and hare zone of (4) contains two forms of ground ornament (pot-hook and grouped rhomboids) and there is a single lizard in the field of the main zone, but these are the only exceptions. Further, all these vases have instead of the flat lip of the earlier series some plastic motive (lion's-head, female head or heads); in the case of the Berlin lekythos even the handle is replaced by a crouching lion.

[95] *J.H.S.* xi. p. 179. [96] *Arg. Her.* ii. p. 139, Fig. 60d.

The Chigi vase, a magnificent olpe *a rotelle* found at Veii, though rather later than this group, is closely connected with it. The body is divided into four zones:

(*a*) Battle scene.
(*b*) Dogs, hare, wild goats, deer, in white silhouette upon black.
(*c*) Horsemen, quadriga, double sphinx with one head, lion hunt, Judgment of Paris.
(*d*) Dogs, hare, hunters, bushes representing landscape.

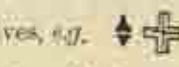
A definite mark of later date is the new arrangement of the hair in ringlets some of which hang in front of the shoulders. Hitherto we have had only the coiffure called by the Germans 'Etagelocken,' *i.e.* a solid mass of hair hanging down the back and divided by transverse ridges. Another rare and probably late feature is the use of white on a black background, a method employed for lotus and palmette motives in various positions on the rim, neck, and shoulder as well as in the first dog and hare zone. This technique occurs in conjunction with b.-f. on a sherd from the Heraion,[97] and in the limited form of applied lines on skyphoi and kylikes of the second phase of the linear period. The double sphinx with single head is also new. The battle zone has no ground ornament, the first dog zone only two large dot stars; in the remaining two zones it is present, sparse, but varied in form. The use of outline, which is employed for the head of the sphinx and for the dogs of the lowest zone, is on the whole an archaic trait.

The Chigi vase is a sort of museum in which is preserved a record of every phase through which the proto-Corinthian style has passed. The study of the lekythoi has enabled us to arrange a rough sequence of types of decoration as follows: (1) animals only or animals and monsters, the human figure appearing in late examples, such as the 'monomachia' lekythos; (2) mythological, heroic, and genre scenes, beginning before the end of (1) with the Helen lekythos and continuing later; (3) military scenes and games, beginning in (2) (warrior vase of Gela) and continuing later. Every one of these types appears on the Chigi vase, as well as groups of fine lines dividing the zones and early forms of ground ornament. We have seen something of the 'hiérarchie des genres' in the ordering of the zones on the later lekythoi, but no one of them equals the Chigi vase in completeness.

This conservative tendency contributed largely to the magnificent development of proto-Corinthian art. No style could better illustrate the robust individuality which enabled the infant art of Greece, encountering the full tide of Oriental influences, to emerge from it unspoiled and unspent. Foreign influence is frequent and various, though it is seldom possible to indicate its precise source. Before the end of the eighth century we have the palmette and tendril, and not much later incision and red paint; but each innovation is accepted experimentally and tried in a variety of positions and combinations before it finds an assured footing. Once admitted how-

[97] *Arg. Her.* ii. Pl. LXIV. 2 a, *b*.

ever it is not abandoned till its every possibility has been exhausted. Already on the pyxis of Fig. 17 and the kindred lekythos four animals highly characteristic of the style appear in forms which are a distinct though barbarous foreshadowing of those which they are ultimately to assume. There is nothing comparable to this in Early Corinthian, which receives its beasts and monsters full-grown from foreign sources and reproduces them in one unchanging formula. The gradual elaboration of the procession of running dogs, a broken-down motive of lost meaning inherited from some older art,[98] into the exquisite hunting scene of the Chigi vase is eminently characteristic of proto-Corinthian methods.

Corinthian influence seems to be unimportant, little being borrowed save a few vase forms which never become common: not so Ionian, if the term may be stretched to include the products of what are commonly called Rhodian and Melian art. The guilloche and palmette and spiral motives are found in Rhodian, and also the crouching griffin, in Melian or Delian the crouching full-face panther,[99] the same animal not crouching on Milesian ware from Naukratis, and on Klazomenian sarcophagi. Most forms of proto-Corinthian ground ornament are also found in Rhodian, *e.g.* the dot rosette and dot star, swastika, double spiral with or without side-filling, and the cross with foliated ends or with dots or triangles between the arms. Some forms of cross and rhomboid seem to be proto-Corinthian adaptations from Rhodian motives, *e.g.*  and perhaps the favourite pot-hook, which is closely allied to the Rhodian bordered triangle with a hook at the apex. Most of these forms are common to the Melian style.[100] The proto-Corinthian style shows a curious fluctuation in the use of ground ornament. From lekythoi with dog zone only ground-ornament is generally absent; on those with other animals there are generally dot or star rosettes, often rather sparse, sometimes crowded, and occasionally a few other forms, as on the specimen figured *Arch. Anz.* 1888, p. 247. Next comes a group on which ground-ornament is profuse and generally varied, some Rhodian forms appearing for the first time; they are the Helen, Boston Herakles,

[98] Perhaps, as Prof. Myres suggests to me, from some such Late Mycenaean motive as the running bulls and lions on the edge of a cauldron from Cyprus, partially reproduced Perrot et Chipiez iii. Fig. 355. Dogs pursuing a hare occur on a late Geometric vase (*Arch. Zeit.* 1885, Pl. VIII. 1, 9), but there is no need to regard the motive as taken by proto-Corinthian from a Geometric source: rather the converse may be true.

[99] *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 49, Fig. 1. It will be noted that the figure does not represent an actual vase, but elements combined from a series of fragments.

[100] A good many forms of Proto-Corinthian ornament are also to be found on Boeotian amphorae: *cf.* the long series found at Thera and published by Dragendorff. The resemblances however are most notable in a vase of unknown fabric reproduced in Figs. 419 and 420. The groups of numerous lozenges are common to the griffin jug of the British Museum and the Odysseus alabastron from Aegina: in Rhodian and proto-Corinthian the number so grouped is generally four. The vertical band of lozenges and half-lozenges occurs both in proto-Corinthian and proto-Attic (Burgon lekes). The relation of proto-Corinthian to proto-Attic, which is close, is certainly to some extent that of a teacher; but there may also be independent borrowings from common or related sources.

Berlin Herakles, and Bellerophon lekythoi, falling, as it appeared, between 685 and 665 B.C. Strictly contemporary with them is a series with no ground ornament or one or two of the commonest forms sparingly employed: such are the 'monomachia' lekythos, the third specimen in the Boston museum, and those with hunting scenes; these again are followed by the Macmillan group, from which ground-ornament is practically excluded. Finally comes the Chigi vase on which a fair variety of the forms reappear. This phenomenon can only be explained by the contemporaneous imitation of different models; it remains to be seen whether there is any evidence by which to determine what these were. Whether Rhodian ware is Milesian or not, there can be little doubt that the textile style which it represents had its chief centre in Miletus. At a later date, in the age of the tyrants, we have definite information of relations between Corinth and Miletus, which may well have begun soon enough to make Milesian products familiar in the region of the Gulf in the early days of the proto-Corinthian fabric. Ionia also furnishes precedents for a style which prefers a clean back-ground, early in type, though actual examples mostly belong to the sixth century. From the Klazomenian vases of Daphne ground ornament is altogether absent; on Samian vases, if it is present at all, it occurs only in the form of sparse dot rosettes. In this case the special relations of Chalkis, Corinth, and Samos, uncertain in date, but probably early, may have brought a different set of Ionian products into the Gulf; they would tend, while they lasted, to the exclusion of Milesian goods.

The influence of the textile style, though strong for a short time and associated with the most progressive work of the period, soon succumbs, and is indeed alien to the spirit of the b.-f. style, of which sharp definition is the leading characteristic. Incision, as we have seen, is more and more extensively employed, till finally it is used for the entire outline; but in Rhodian and Melian it is not used at all, or at most appears as an occasional intruder. Proto-Corinthian very rarely dispenses with incision in figure drawing, and seldom admits it into ground ornament; in the palmette wreath of the lekythoi, whose early history we have traced in products of the linear period, it never finds a place.[109] It is absent also from the sacred tree, a variety of the same motive, on the alabastron of the British Museum (A 1053), where the griffins with their vigorous incising might be copied direct from an Olympian bronze. In this the style seems to preserve a true memory of the separate origin of its various elements.

H. L. Lorimer.

[109] It is very sparingly employed in the palmette and tendril design of the oinochoe of Fig. 14.

THE MASTER OF THE BOSTON PAN-KRATER.[1]

[PLATES VI.–IX.]

Two years ago Hauser published a remarkable bell-krater then in private possession and now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (FRH. Pl. 115). On the one side we see a picture of Artemis shooting Actaeon, on the other a young shepherd is hotly pursued by a goat-headed Pan, while a small god-stick, or phallic herm, views the scene from a neighbouring eminence. The drawing is a marvel of elaborate elegance, the subjects uncommon, the forms and attitudes strangely and finely stylized. Who is the author of this fascinating work? In the text which accompanies the plate Hauser mentioned and reproduced a small pelike in Vienna, which he saw was closely related to the Boston krater, though he did not feel certain it was by the same artist: on the front of this vase, a man squats on a rock fishing with a rod and a youth with a basket stands beside him; on the reverse, a second youth carrying two baskets on a pole across his shoulder is speeding past a phallic herm (*ibid.* 2 pp. 293 and 295). In the opinion of the present writer, krater and pelike are undoubtedly by one master; and forty other vases are to be attributed to the same ingenious hand. A list of these vases will first be given, arranged according to shape; and a description of the master's style will follow. Cunning composition; rapid motion; quick deft draughtsmanship; strong and peculiar stylization; a deliberate archaism, retaining old forms, but refining, refreshing, and galvanizing them; nothing noble or majestic, but grace, humour, vivacity, originality, and dramatic force: these are the qualities which mark the Boston krater, and which characterize the anonymous artist who, for the sake of convenience, may be called 'the master of the Boston Pan-vase,' or, more briefly, 'the Pan-master.'

I. Bell-Kraters.

Shape of both the same; v. FRH. Pl. 115. Holds instead of handles. The simple form of mouth is common to all bell kraters with holds. Foot double curve. Above each picture, egg and dot; below each, band of pattern.

[1] I owe my thanks to Mr. A. H. Smith, Dr. Blinkenberg, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Dr. Koster, and Mr. L. D. Caskie for allowing me to publish vases in London, Copenhagen, Oxford, Berlin, and Boston; and to Mr. E. P. Warren for letting me use Mr. Gearing's drawing of the Boston lekythos.

1. Boston. Furtw.-Reichhold-Hauser, Pl. 115

A. Death of Aktaion. *B.* Pan pursuing shepherd past herm.

v. FRH. 2, p. 289. (Hauser): *Boston Museum Report*, 1910.

2. Palermo. Politi, *Cinque vasi di premio*, Pl. 3. Hartwig, *Meist.* p. 471

A. Dionysos and Maenad. *B.* Two komasts and a dog.

Wrongly called an 'anfora a colonnette' by Hartwig. For the fluting figure cf. Stephani, *Compte-rendu*, 1881, p. 67.

II. Column-Kraters.

(a) Pictures framed. The usual frame and decoration, except in No. 4, which is uncommonly large for a column-krater and has unusual patterns on the rim: instead of the familiar straight ivy-wreath or black beasts, there is a lf. palmette pattern on *A.* and a wavy black ivy-wreath on *B.* The drawing on the reverse of 3 and 5 is careless and hasty, and on the back of 4 not much more attractive. The best piece is the Syracuse krater, though the effect of the beautiful drawing is somewhat marred by the poorness of the black varnish.

3. Naples.

A. Sacrifice to Herm. *B.* Komos.

A. 1. Man, in himation, standing r., holding cup and stick: 2. youth, himation tied round waist, moving r. regardant to altar, r. leg frontal, in l. hand sacrificial basket: 3. bearded Herm, frontal: 4. youth r. regardant, himation as 2, holding spit with meat in fire of altar: on right, a spit, and, in the field, a bucrane. *B.* 5. Woman fluting r.: 6. man moving l. with stick and kotyle: 7. man moving r. regardant with stick. From Cumae.

4. Bologna 229. Zannoni, *Scavi della Certosa*, Pl. 143.

A. Departure of warriors with chariot. *B.* Men and youths.

From the Certosa.

5. British Museum E 473. Fig. 1.

A. Kaineus and the Centaurs. *B.* Centaur and Lapith.

6. Ruvo, coll. Jatta. (*A*) *Röm. Mitt.* 23, pp. 332 and 338.

A. Arming. *B* Nike, youth, and old man.

7. Syracuse.

A. Komos. *B.* Komos.

A. 1. Youth moving l. regardant with stick: 2. youth moving r. fluting: 3. youth moving l. with oinochoe and cup. *B.* 4. Youth moving l. with kotyle: 5. youth moving l. regardant with stick: 6. youth moving l. with stick. From S. Anastasia, near Randazzo.

It seems likely to me that the column-krater in the Caputi collection at Ruvo figured by Jatta, *Vasi Caputi*, Pl. 6, is also by the Pan-master, but as I have not been able to see the original I prefer not to include it in my list.

(5). Figures unframed.
9 charming drawing, 8 good, 10 very poor.

8. Munich 2379 (777).

A. Thracian woman running. *B.* Thracian woman running.

9. Berlin.

A. Youth at herm. *B.* Naked woman running with large phallos.

The subject of *B* is also found on a severe rf. pelike in Syracuse, on a severe column-krater fragment in Athens, from the Akropolis, and on the somewhat later vase now in the Petit Palais at Paris mentioned by Heydemann, *Pariser Antiken*, p. 88, coll. Piot, No. 1.

Fig. 1.—Column-Krater in the British Museum (E 473).

10. British Museum E 471.

A. Man at herm. *B.* Youth.

'From Apulia!'

III. **Stamnos.**

11. Leipzig (fragments). *Jahrbuch* 11, pp. 190–8.

A. Herakles and Busiris. *B.* Negroes.

IV. **Hydriai.**

Mouth and foot of 13 lost. The rest: mouth has detached lip and egg-and-dot pattern (14, 15), or egg (12). Foot: 12 and 14, double-curved: 15, simple black disc. Patterns: 12, 13, 14, a band and maeander in 3's with cross-squares below the picture: 15, cf. palmettes above and below the picture.

(*a*) The picture on the shoulder.

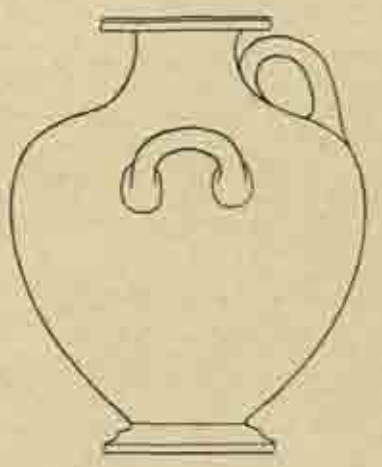


FIG. 2 (No. 12).

12. British Museum E 181. Pl. VI and Fig. 2.
Perseus and Medusa.

From Capua.

(*b*) The picture on the body.

13. Naples 1340 (3139). *Mus. Borb.* 5, Pl. 35, 3.
Boreas and Oreithyia.

14. Naples (Santang. 205).
Eos and Kephalos.

15. Naples (Santang. 192). Gerhard, *A.V.* Pl. 78.
Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.

V. **Psykter.**

16. Munich 2417 (745). FR. Pl. 16 and 1, p. 77: *Mon.* 1, Pl. 20.
Marpessa.

From Girgenti. Attributed to Douris by Furtwängler (*ibid.* 1, p. 76). I take it to be one of the earlier works of our master, and not one of his most pleasing. It stands particularly close to the Nolan amphorae numbered 26 to 28 in my list.

VI. **Amphora of Panathenaic shape.**

Mouth ordinary; upper edge reserved. Foot black disc, with cushion. Under each picture, key.

17. Florence 3982.

A. Apollo pursuing *B.* Herakles with tripod.

A. Apollo striding l., cloak, boots, quiver, in l. hand bow and two arrows (all red), r. extended. *B.* Herakles, bearded, lionskin, sword, striding l. regardant, l. leg extended frontal, r. hand raised with club, with l. holding tripod.

Probably an early work of our master; it resembles in many ways the Louvre Kronos-amphora (FRH. Pl. 113) and the B.M. calyx-krater E. 45 (*Mon.* 2. Pll. 25-6) (see Hauser, FRH. 2, p. 281).

VII. **Pelikai.**

(*a*) A group of four small pelikai. 20 and 21 are fragments.

Ordinary handles. Foot black disc (18, 19), in 20 and 21, lost. Inner side of the lip reserved. Patterns: above, egg with black centre (all); below each picture, reserved line (missing with whole lower part of the vase on 20 and 21). At each handle, rf. palmette, enclosed, petals downwards, the lower end of the enclosing line sharpened (18 and 19); this part of the vase is missing in 20 and 21.

18. Vienna, K.K. Museum 335. *Arch. Ep. Mitt. Oest.* 3, 3, p. 25 = FRH. 2, p. 293.

A. Fishermen. *B.* Fisher running past herm.

19. Louvre G 547.

A. Women at vessel. *B.* Man and woman.

A. 1. Woman standing r., bending a little, chiton, holding with both hands something wrapped in a cloth; on the ground to the right of her, a vessel shaped like a large kotyle without handles; 2. Woman r., bending, saccos, chiton, and himation tied round waist, her right hand extended down over the vessel holding a rectangular object. *B.* 3. Man leaning on stick r., r. hand extended from elbow, himation; 4. Woman standing l., chiton and himation.

'Women washing clothes' (Pottier, *Cat.* 3, p. 1124); making a **xxxxxx**?

20. Louvre G 477. (fragment)

A. Old man catching pig.

Old man, wrinkles, long hair and beard, chiton, bending r. grasps bolting pig by hind-leg: behind left hand, a phallos-stick.

For the phallos-stick (lower end here broken) cf. rf. kotyle in Thebes, *B.S.A.* 14, Pl. 14 and rf. kantharos in Brussels, Bibl. royale, Froehner, *Vases du prince Napoléon*, Pl. 5.

21. Berlin (fragment). Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*, p. 9, Fig. 10.

A. Bird-headed monster. *B.* Bird-headed monster.

Wrongly called an omodoos by Jacobsthal. For the interpretation, Jacobsthal, *ibid.* pp. 8–10, and addenda, p. 89.

(*b*) Small. Pictures framed. Foot reserved disc.

22. British Museum E 357.

A. Two women with krotala. *B.* Women with krotala.

(c) Medium size. Foot black disc. Above pictures, nothing; below each, a band of pattern. At handle, rf. palmette, enclosed, petals upwards, enclosing line rounded.

23. Oxford 282. Gardner, *Ashmolean Vases*, Pl. 10 and p. 23.

A. Youth carrying table and conch. *B.* Man.

From Gela.

(d) Large. Patterns: above, flower-pattern; below, all round, maeander with chequer-squares. At handle, double rf. palmette.

24. Athens 1175. (*A*) Dumont-Chaplain, *cér. de la Grèce propre*, Pl. 18: Collignon-Couve, *cat.* Pl. 41.

A. Herakles and Busiris. *B.* Negroes.

From Boeotia. The lower pattern wrongly drawn in Dumont-Chaplain, and wrongly described in Collignon-Couve.

VIII. **Neck-Amphora with Triple Handles.**

Shape as Nolan amphorae (black disc foot, simple mouth), but larger, and neck shorter, and upper side of mouth reserved not black, and pictures framed.

25. Naples. Phot. (*B*) Sommer 11096.

A. Flute-duet. *B.* Hermes and two women.

IX. **Nolan Amphorae.**

Triple handles. Neck, except in 29, rather shorter than is usual in Nolan amphorae. 27 and 30 have the same rf. palmette at each handle, the petals downwards, the centre consisting of a black semicircle with a black dot; the rest have no palmette at the handles. 26–29, a band of pattern below each picture: 30, the band of pattern all round the vase.

26. Copenhagen 4978. (*A*) Fig. 3.

A. Hermes. *B.* Woman running.

B. Woman running r., with both hands lifting chiton from legs.
From Sicily.

27. Schwerin 1295.

A. Poseidon. *B.* Youth.

A. Poseidon striding r., r. leg frontal, r. hand raised with trident, on l. hand the rock Nisyros. *B.* Youth standing l., himation, r. hand on stick. Acquired from Barone in Naples.

28. Schwerin 1304.

A. Nereid. *B.* Old man.

A. Woman striding r. regardant, r. leg frontal, chiton, sakkos, and stephane, r. hand raised touching diadem, in l. fish. *B.* Old man striding r. regardant, r. hand on hip, in l. stick, himation. Acquired from Barone in Naples.

29. Palermo. (*A*) *A.Z.* 1871, Pl. 45. 1.

A. Nike flying with sacrificial tray. *B.* Youth.

B. Youth striding r. regardant, r. hand raised, in l. stick.

Fig. 3.—Nolan Amphora in Copenhagen (No. 26).

30. Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.

A. Youth fluting and youth listening. *B.* Youth running.

A. 1. Youth seated on chair r., fluting, himation from waist: 2. Youth leaning on stick l., in r. flutes, himation. *B.* 3. Youth moving quickly r. regardant, himation, in l. stick, r. extended. Presented to the College by Mr. E. P. Warren in 1912.

X. Lekythoi.

(*a*) Archaic foot in two degrees. Handle ridged.

Shoulder egg-and-dot and five rf. palmettes, the petals all ribbed. Above and below the picture, bands of meander with saltire-squares all round the vase.

Extremely careful and minute drawing.

Fig. 4.—Lekythos in Boston (No. 35).

31. Oxford 312. Gardner, *Ashmolean Vases*, Pl. 25, 2.

From Gela.

(*b*) Ordinary reserved disc foot; with groove near the upper edge, except 36.

Shoulder: 32, egg and 3 rf. palmettes; 33 and 36, egg-and-dot and 3 rf. palmettes; 34 and 35, egg-and-dot, rest of shoulder black. 32, 33, and 36, bands of pattern both above and below the picture; 34 and 35, below the picture only.

32. British Museum, E 579. Pl. VII.

Apollo and Artemis.

From Gela.

It is entertaining to compare this picture with the same subject on a lekythos in Oxford, drawn somewhat later by the Master of the Villa Giulia krater (*J.H.S.* 25, Pl. II. 1) (see my article in *Röm. Mitt.* 27, p. 289, No. 23). On the Oxford lekythos, sober, tall, almost solemn shapes; on ours, charming restless children like figures in Dresden china.

Fig. 5.—Lekythos in Boston.

33. Syracuse.

Young hunter with dog.

Standing l., in r. two spears; short chiton, cloak, large petasos, boots.

34. Lewes, Mr. E. P. Warren.

Young hunter with dog.

Striding r. regardant, l. leg frontal, in r. diagonal spear, held with two fingers in loop, in l. horizontal spear; short chiton, chlamys, large petasos, boots.

35. Boston. Figs. 4 and 5.

Eros flying with fawn.

36. Brussels, bibliothèque royale. *Gaz. Arch.* 4, Pl. 25. 1.

Woman with woolbasket and mirror.

A tiny lekythos from Greece in the Louvre, with the picture of a Thracian woman running, is perhaps by our master.

XI. Oinochoai.

(a) Unique shape (Pl. VIII.). The detachment of the lower part of the neck is regular on Attic bf. oinochoai and on their earlier models, but in rf. work it only occurs here and on a very early oinochoe in the Cabinet des Médailles (458).

37. British Museum E 512. Pl. VIII. and Fig. 6.

Boreas and Oreithyia.

From Vulci.

(b) Smaller. Trefoil mouth, narrow foot. Egg and-dot above, meander with squares below. Poor.

38. Munich, Glyptothek.

Woman at altar.

On l., altar, καλός written on the base. Woman, chiton, standing l., r. hand extended with oinochoe.

XII. **Cup.**

Detached lip inside only. Stout foot with cushion at base.

39. Oxford. Pl. IX.

A and *B*, Sacrificial scenes.

From Chiusi, presented by Mr. E. P. Warren in 1912.

Miss Jane Harrison tells me that she intends to offer an interpretation of the subject.

The second youth on (*a*) holds flowers (?) (as in the kotyle) in his right hand; the third youth on (*b*) holds an oinochoe.

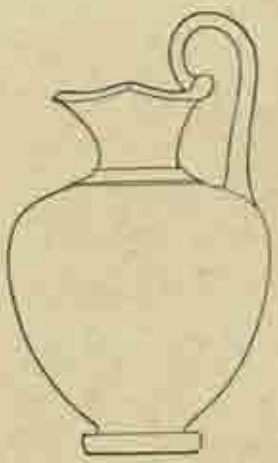


Fig. 6 (See No. 37).

XIII. **Kotyle.** Fig. 8.

40. Berlin 2593.

A. Youth with lyre. *B*. Youth.

XIV. **Kantharos.**

41. Athens (fragment). *Jahrbuch* 14, p. 104.

Sacrifice.

From Menidi.

Style of the Pan-Master.

The frontal collar-bones: see Fig. 7. Two long lines sometimes with two curves, sometimes with a single, slope inwards without touching either each other or the median breast-line; below the inner end of each line is a small arc of a circle, which seldom touches the upper line. This collar-bone is seen on Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7, 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, 27, 29, 30, 35, 39, 40. The profile collar-bone has a corresponding shape. The nearer collar-bone of the fourth figure on (*b*) of 39, with the lower part turned inwards, is paralleled by the farther collar-bone of a figure on 7.

The female breast is large, not very prominent, but deep.

The junction of the lower breast-lines: usually, but not always, as in Fig. 7. Varying renderings are sometimes found together on the same vase (*e.g.* 39). The additional black straight line seen in Fig. 7 is usually absent, but occurs again on 23, and in a profile figure on 4; cf. also 17.

The nipples: tiny brown circles in one figure only on 2 (Fig. 7), brown dots on 39 and once on 3. Elsewhere, always the black open ring, or little arc, seen on the Boston krater (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 17, 24, 30).

Notice the detached black lines above the arm-pits on Fig. 7;—above the r. arm-pit, a straight line; above the left, an arc convex to the arm-pit. The straight line is also found on 1, 18, 28, and 30; the curved line on 3 and 7.

The lower side of the serratus magnus is indicated by a black line on 2 (Fig. 7), and once on 1 and 24; a brown line occurs on 39.

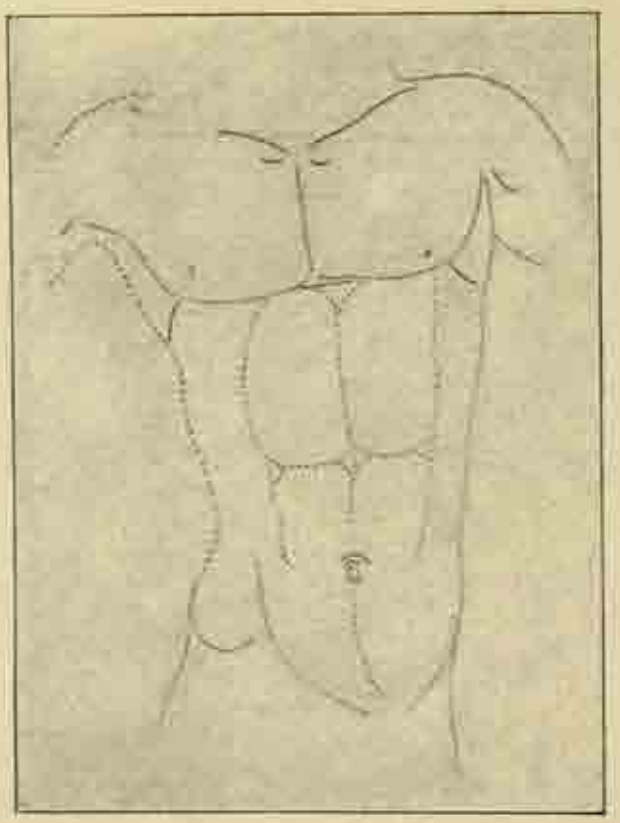


Fig. 7.—Detail from No. 2.

Observe the brown trunk-markings on Fig. 7: contrary to the more usual custom, the depression between the uppermost and middle sections of the rectus abdominis is not indicated; the trunk between the lower edge of the breast and the navel is consequently divided not into three, as is normal, but into two. This is the master's invariable practice (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 17, 24, 30, 39).

The navel. There are four examples. The navel is composed of a

number of black arcs on 1, 2, and 24; it is a brown arc in the very rough figure on the reverse of 5.

The navel-pubes line is brown on 2, 5, and 24, black on 1.

The profile hip. See the figure of Pan on the Boston krater: the same hip on 16: the same, without the brown line, on 7, 9, 23, and 35.

The back. The spine is rendered by two parallel black lines on 5 and 16; by a single black line on the smaller vase 30.

The arm. Notice on the illustrations of 1 and 12 the brown line which begins near the elbow and runs down, crossing the arm, to the wrist (1, 2, 12, 16, 34). Notice again on the same vases 1 and 12, and further on 36, the short curved brown line starting at the bend of the elbow inside the arm and stopping before it is well on its way. Compare, too, the markings of the upper arm on 1 and 12 with the markings on 39.

Some favourite types of hand must be mentioned. Let us first look at the open frontal right hand of Aktaion on the Boston krater; the fingers and thumb are thin and sharp, the outline bends in a little at the base of the fingers. Just such a hand, with the two black inner lines, may be seen on 8 and 36, and, with the inner lines in brown, on 2. Without the inner lines, or with only one of them, the hand occurs on 8, 12, 13, 17, 24, 25, 29, 30, 37, 39. The examples on 29 and 30 have the thumb-line brown instead of black.

The right hand of Pan on the Boston-krater is also a common hand in our master's work: with the black line near the base of the fingers, it occurs on 1, 19, and 20, without the black line on 14 (as also 16 and 31). The short black line at the wrist occurs on 14 as well as on 1, and is frequent in other types of hand (*e.g.* the l. hand of Artemis on 1).

Look now at Pan's left hand: the same indication of the thumb between the index and middle fingers reappears on 5. Notice, again, the little black arc at the wrist; the same arc is seen on Artemis' wrist, and, further, on Nos. 3, 7, 27, and 30.

For the left hand of Aktaion, cf. the hand of Medusa on 12. It is a variation of the common type seen on 38 and elsewhere.

The left arm of Hermes on 16 deserves remark: bent at the elbow and covered by the chlamys as far as the wrist, leaving the closed fist, pointing downwards, bare. The same motive is repeated on 23, 26, 28, and 34.

For the hands of the seventh figure on 16, cf. 26 and 28.

The leg. Let us turn again to the picture of Pan and the shepherd on the Boston krater. On the near leg of the shepherd, and on Pan's far leg, we see a brown line starting above the knee and proceeding some way down the leg, at first concave to the knee-cap, then parallel to the edge of the shin-bone. The same line is found on 2, 12, and 18 for the near leg, and on 12, 17, and 25 for the far leg. The other two legs in the picture have a shorter line which does not go beyond the knee-cap: this line is also common and is used both on near and on far legs.

The frontal knee is small and usually accompanied by one or more curved black strokes either on the knee-cap or above it.

The profile feet are usually sinewy and graceful. The toes of the near foot are rendered by a series of simple curved lines; except in the great toe, the separate joints are seldom suggested. The painter lavishes these little arcs with a prodigal hand, so that most feet have as many as six or seven toes. The ankle is erratic and often varies from figure to figure in the same vase. A trick not peculiar to our master, but especially frequent in his work, is to make the single ankle-line concave instead of convex to the heel: so in one or more figures on each of 2, 4, 13, 16, 23, 24, 25, 27, 35, 39, 40. The master nearly always uses pure or almost pure profile feet in places where we should expect three-quarter feet from a painter of his period.

Frontal feet flat on the ground are to be seen on ten vases: on 26 and 34 the foot is booted, the front of the boot being foreshortened in the same way on both. The frontal foot on 27, and the two frontal feet on 28 are extremely alike; the black ankle-lines, the toes, and the transverse line between ankles and toes are just the same in both: the toes are rendered by black semi-circles or semi-ellipses with smaller black arcs inside them; like them are the toes on 3 and in the seventh figure on 16, while the toes of the fifth figure on the latter vase, like those on 6 and 40, have no internal arcs; on 32 the great toe alone is furnished with an internal arc.

The extended frontal foot occurs thrice; the rendering on 16 and 31 is the same; only the toes remain on 17, for the upper part of the foot is lost; the spaces between the toes are the same as on 16 and 31, and the nails are marked by black semi-circles as in the only three-quarter extended foot, Artemis's on the Boston krater.

The head. The skull is quite round, the chin round and large, the features small, the nose somewhat short and flat, the expression alert and pleasing. The eye has the form seen, for example, on 1 in Artemis. The upper lid is never indicated, the lashes once only, in Herakles on the early piece 17; the eyeball is a black dot; the dot-and-circle eyeball occurs on 1 (two eyes out of four) and on 34. The ear is round, short, conventional, and composed of black arcs in various positions. The neck is thick, and the space between ear and nape large. The great sinew of the neck is usually rendered by a single brown line; less frequently by two. The nostril is usually a single black line convex to the lower edge of the nose (*e.g.* Artemis on 1). Sometimes, however, the orifice is not marked, while the outside of the wall is (*e.g.* the herm on 1); and sometimes both lines appear, as in Aktaion on 1, on 33, and in one figure on 3. The noses of grown men incline to be aquiline. The fossette at the corner of the mouth is shown on 1, 15, 17, and 34.

The outer contour of the hair is nearly always smooth. Short hair is cut almost straight to the ear: a good example of the drawing in No. 2. Longer hair is very often parted in the middle, so as to leave the forehead bare (see especially 1, 9, 13, 32).

The hair of males is usually short. A neat krobylos is worn four times; by a herm on 3, by Apollo on 17, by Poseidon on 27, and once on 16. Other fashions are also found.

Hair in women: long hair with the ends done up in a little bag on the shoulder, occurs six times (1, 13, 26, 32, 37, 38); notice the line of the back hair against the neck, and the large space between the ear and the back of the head. For the lock of hair tucked behind the circlet in Artemis on 1, and Eos on the Boston krater *coll. Tyszkiewicz*, Pl. 17, and Aphrodite on the Berlin cup 2536 (Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke* Pll. 33–5). Saccoi are worn six times. In 15 and 25, the hair is raised at the back and confined by a band of stuff. The krobylos is found on three vases (16, 4, and 37). Notice the remarkable stephanai on 16; one of them is covered with a wash of yellow, and both have little reserved rings along the upper edge: a yellow stephane, with such rings, is worn over a saccos, by the sea-nymph on 28. I do not recall any other example of a yellow stephane on vases, and only one of the little reserved rings, namely, on the Louvre stamnos G 370 (*Mon.* 6–7, Pl. 58, 2: Hera). These are the chief ways of wearing the hair.

Yellow hair is found on 8 (Thracian woman), 11 (niggers), 16 (Artemis), 20 (old man); and yellow hair with darker dots on 3 (herm). Except in 20, the hair of old men is reserved, white not being used (28, 37, and herms on 1 and 18).

At the neck, the chiton is bounded by one or two engrailed lines, or by two, three, or four simple lines; by a single simple line only once each on 15 and 25 (thick chitons), and once on the small vase 19.

The long sleeve is full: it is bounded in various ways, but the commonest is a single engrailed line (as on 36, and in Athena on 12). The short sleeve, or arm-hole, is often very wide (*e.g.* in Boreas on 37, or Perseus on 12). For the drawing of Medusa's left sleeve on 12, compare 6, 11, 21, and 32.

The lower edge of the chiton, whether the chiton is short or long, is usually bounded by a black engrailed line, or rather a series of small arcs, with a greater or less tendency to mount into the archaic 'ladder' motive: the chiton of Hermes on the Copenhagen vase (Fig. 3) will show what I mean. The engrailed brown line once used on 37 recurs on 5 and once on 19. The longer curves seen on 32 are found in chitons on 15, 19, 22, and 38.

A full, even, and fairly low colpos is frequently worn. It is usually bounded by a black engrailed line as in Artemis on 1: so on 1, 12, 22, 29, 31, and 37. A dress like that of the third figure on the Munich psykter is worn by the sea-nymph on 28.

For the gently-waving brown lines on the chiton of Artemis in the Aktaion-scene, cf. 15, 25, 29, 37, and 32 (sleeve of Artemis).

It is a common practice with our master to belt or confine the chiton in such a way that it lies tight over the belly, and puffs out at the sides (4, 8 (twice), 11, 12 (twice), 24, 37).

The folds of cloak or himation are full of swing, with ample curves: see the himatia on the Oxford cup (Pl. IX).

Such a small detail as the perone on the Copenhagen vase is worth attention: it consists of a circle with an incomplete circle inside it; the same form is found on 34, and is characteristic of our master's partiality

for the arc or broken ring. The perone on 14 has a more normal shape, a circle enclosing a cross.

Fawn-skins are thrice worn, by the maenad on 2, and by Artemis on 1 and 16, the legs in all three skins being tied round the wearer's neck. Artemis very seldom gets a fawn-skin from the Attic vase-painters, although in song and in sculpture the wild goddess is often so dressed.

Boots have ordinary shapes sometimes; but the elegant boot seen on 26 is characteristic; cf. 13, 16, 17, and the winged boots on 12 and 37. The petasos on 33 and 34 is uncommonly large and fine; but on 12 and 26, taking wings, it gets a more vivid life, and becomes a kind of beautiful bird. Quivers are always thin.

FIG. 8.—KOTYLE IN BERLIN (2293) (See No. 40).

Rocks on rf. vases are frequently covered with a yellow and brown wash: but nobody except the Pan-master stylized the markings on rocks. It was noticed by Hauser that the rock-markings on the Boston krater were the same as those on the Vienna pelike: these markings are characteristic of the Pan-master; there are six rocks in his works and they are all marked in the same way (1, 5, 18, 27, 37, 39). On no other vases do we find such rocks.

It is not my present purpose to give a complete account of the patterns used by the Pan-master. He uses a number of patterns; but the commonest

is a stopt maeander varied by cross-squares. The maeanders are most frequently grouped in 2's (12 times), less often in 3's (5 times), and never merely alternate with the cross-squares. The Dorian cross-square is sometimes used, but the saltire-square and the black saltire-square are much more common. Among his other patterns, we must not omit to mention the stopt key grouped in 2's with stopt maeanders in 2's which is found on B of 26, though not on A: for the same *sporadic* use of the stopt key appears on 34; the pattern below the picture on 34 is a stopt maeander in 2's with three saltire-squares and one black saltire-square touching the lower boundary only; but one of the maeander pairs is replaced by a pair of stopt keys.

Inscriptions are very rare. There are five meaningless letters on the field of 29; and καλος is written on a shield in 6, and on an altar in 38.

J. D. Beazley.

A NEW EARLY ATTIC VASE.

[PLATES X.–XII.]

I.

AT a time when the history of Greek vase-painting is only gradually being reconstructed as one discovery after another supplies the necessary clues, it is difficult to assign to the various classes of pottery names which will be permanently satisfactory. This difficulty is the excuse for the many misleading terms which have crept into our study of Greek vases. Names assigned purely provisionally soon became generally accepted, and when once part of the common nomenclature, it becomes a matter of convenience that they should be retained. In many cases this retention is necessary; otherwise, in the present uncertainty of the origin of so many of the early styles, we should continually be changing names according as one theory or another appeared more plausible. In other cases, however, where our knowledge rests on firmer foundations, and where a term has become a confusing anomaly, it is time that we should revise our loose use of language. Such a case is that of the 'Proto-Attic' vases. These vases, connecting as they do the Attic Dipylon with the Attic black-figured style, show the continuity of Athenian ceramic art. To call a vase 'Proto-Attic' when it is posterior to another Attic fabric is therefore a contradiction in terms. The German 'Frühattisch' contains no such anomaly, and there seems no reason why we should not adopt the equivalent term of *Early Attic*, which likewise brings before our mind the fact that these vases are the direct forerunners of the Attic black-figured and red-figured styles, without precluding the possibility of a past history. The adoption of this term has a further advantage, that of enabling us to correlate more clearly than we have done heretofore the different groups of Attic vases which belong together—both chronologically, inasmuch as they are posterior to the Dipylon and anterior to the black-figured ware, and stylistically, in that they exemplify the influence of Ionic art on Athenian ceramics. For at present a certain confusion has been caused by the tendency to make separate classes out of mere sub-divisions, which is inevitable when so many separate names are employed without one term to embrace them all. Nor is it advisable to adopt the term Early Attic for the larger division and retain the name 'Proto-Attic' to refer to the vases at present so called. For the 'Proto-Attic' vases are not a distinct

group like the 'Vourva' or 'Tyrrhenian' amphorae, but they represent a long line of development, the earliest being closely associated with the late Dipylon, the latest with the black-figured style. So that the 'Proto-Attic' vases and the Phaleron vases (the only real difference between these two being one of shape and size) not only belong to but are identical with the main class, while the Vourva or Tyrrhenian vases may be called sub-divisions of that class.[1]

II.

The Metropolitan Museum in New York has just acquired a splendid example of this class of Early Attic vases, which will rank as one of the best specimens known[2] (Pls. X.–XII.). The vase is said to have come from Smyrna, but there can hardly be a doubt that it is purely Attic. What position it occupies in the series of Early Attic vases will be discussed after a description of it has been given.

Like the majority of vases of this class our new vase is of the amphora shape and of large dimensions,—height 3 ft. 6¼ in. (1·085 m.), diameter of mouth 1 ft. 3½ ins. (40 cm.).[3] Its monumental size and the fact that it was evidently intended to be viewed principally from one side suggest that it was placed on the outside of a tomb, like the large Dipylon vases.[4] Its base, however, is neither hollow nor perforated, so that it could not have been used for the reception of drink-offerings, which were meant to flow through into the tomb.[5] In shape it resembles the Dipylon type of amphora,[6] with wide cylindrical neck, bulging body, small foot, rounded lip, and angular handles. The vase was bought in fragments and has been put together by M. André in Paris. The missing portions have been filled out with plaster, and in a few cases where they were parts of a plain surface of solid paint and there could, therefore, be no question as to the design, these have been covered with modern paint.[7]

[1] Cf. list of Early Attic vases given at the end of this article.

[2] This vase has already been briefly described by me in the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum, April, 1913, pp. 68 ff.; cf. also Haur, *Centimes de Ancient Art*, No. 213A.

[3] As Sir Cecil H. Smith has already pointed out (*J.H.S.* 1902, p. 31, note 2), it is noteworthy that the vases of this class are all much of the same height.

[4] Cf. Poulsen, *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen*, pp. 18 f.; also Schadow, *Eine attische Grabhekathos*, pp. 10 ff.

[5] See Sir Cecil H. Smith, *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 30, note 1.

[6] See e.g. the two examples in the Metropolitan Museum, illustrated in the Museum *Bulletin*, February, 1911, p. 38, Figs. 6 and 7.

[7] After the vase had been put together and photographed five additional small fragments turned up, none of which, however, is of any importance. They have not yet reached the Museum, but Mr. Edward Robinson, who has seen them in Europe, has sent me the following description of them:—

1. Fits into the guilloche above the head of the figure in the chariot, and includes guilloche, 3 lines above it, and forepart of the animal's head, with a bit of zigzag to right.

2. Probably part of the piece where the hind legs of the Centaur join the body.

3. Small bit of the horizontal lines above the base.

4. About 9 cm. long, all black, and possibly part of the body of the horses drawing the chariot.

5. Includes slight bits of two ornaments, one like that around the base, but not that. Does not seem to attach to anything and may be part of the woman's dress.

The scheme of decoration is as follows: The artist intended his vase to be seen chiefly from the front, so that the main representations are confined to that side. Here the space is divided into several main panels, as suggested by the shape of the vase and according to the practice observed also by the Dipylon artists—the neck, the shoulder, and the upper portion of the body. The rest of the space, as well as the back of the vase, is occupied by ornamental bands of varying widths.

On the neck panel, which is almost square, being bounded on each side by a handle, is a group of a lion attacking a spotted deer (Fig. 1). The lion is standing on his hind legs with one fore leg round his victim's back. His aspect is rendered especially fierce by having his head depicted in full

Fig. 1.—Neck-panel: Lion attacking a Spotted Deer.

front with large open mouth showing the tongue and both rows of teeth. The deer is looking back in a frightened attitude as if taken unawares by the sudden attack.

On the shoulder are two grazing animals (Fig. 2a). They are probably meant to represent horses, for they have hoofs, manes, and long tails, and the type of the head, though perhaps not immediately suggestive of a horse to us, is similar to that on Dipylon vases.[8]

The chief representation is reserved for the body of the vase where a larger space was available, not only in height but in length, for the handles no longer formed a natural boundary and the scene could be continued below

[8] Cf. *e.g.* Wide, 'Geometrische Vasen aus Griechenland,' in *Jahrbuch*, 1899, p. 94, Fig. 57. For a closely parallel representation showing the same long, hanging manes and thin necks indicated by one line, cf. the grazing animals on the vase-cover in the British Museum, A 470.

them. The subject chosen is the story of Herakles and the Centaur Nessos (Pl. X.–XII., and fig. 2b). As usual in archaic art, the version followed is not that adopted by Sophokles (*Trach.* 555 ff.), according to which Herakles kills Nessos with bow and arrow while still in the water; but apparently an earlier one[9] which makes the attack take place on land after the river has been forded, when the natural weapon would of course be the sword. In our scene Herakles,[10] grasping the Centaur by the hair with his right hand and wielding the sword[11] in his left, is about to exact punishment from him for the attempted offence against his wife Deianeira. Nessos, in a half kneeling attitude, is imploring mercy with both arms extended. Herakles has long hair and a beard, but no moustache;[12] he wears a short chiton and

Fig. 2.—(*a*) Panel on Shoulder: Two Grazing Horses.
(*b*) Representation on Body: Herakles and the Centaur Nessos.

N.B.—These 'photoplanes' were made by Mr. A. H. de St. M. D'Hervilly of the Metropolitan Museum staff. They were obtained by piecing together a number of continuous photographs.

shoes and has a sheath and shield, with rosette pattern, hanging by his side. Nessos is nude and has long hair, a long beard, but also no moustache. He

[9] Cf. On the question of pre-Sophoklean traditions regarding this legend see Quilling in Roscher's *Lexikon*, under 'Nessos,' p. 282.

[10] It is noteworthy that in this picture Herakles is on the (spectator's) right while Nessos is on the left. This arrangement is rare; for another example cf. Bair, *Centaurs in Ancient Art*, No. 54.

[11] It is interesting to note that the sword is not of the straight two-edged type, but the one-edged weapon known as μάχαιρα. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, under Machaera, p. 1460.

[12] The absence of a moustache is common throughout early Attic and Ionic vase-painting.

is depicted with human ears, fore legs, and fore feet, being conceived apparently as a human being with an equine body attached.[13] The latter is of the long slender type found in early Ionian art. He is unarmed, but the large branch which seems to be growing from his back, but is doubtless to be considered behind it, is not a mere background ornament, but reminiscent of the fact that the usual weapon of the Centaur is a branch.[14] The significance of the large-eyed owl above the Centaur is uncertain. It may be simply an ornament,[15] or it may stand as an emblem of Athena, suggesting the presence of the goddess who stood by her favourite hero in so many of his exploits.[16] Behind Herakles is represented a four-horse chariot in which, as far as can be made out with the bad state of preservation at this point, a woman is seated. She is facing the contest, with the upper part of her body turned sidewise, her left arm lowered, and her right extended backward to hold the whip and reins. She has long hair and wears a long garment with ornamental patterns of chequers and maeanders. On the isokephalic principle, though she is seated her head is on the same level as Herakles'. The presence of the wife Deianeira, the object of the dispute, is of course what we should expect in a contest of Herakles and Nessos, and in fact it is only rarely that she is left out of the scene.[17] The manner of the representation, however, is unusual. On early black-figured vases she is either still on Nessos' back or in his arms, or she is standing on one side awaiting the issue of the contest, or she is fleeing from the Centaur.[18] But the introduction of a four-horse chariot—which must belong to the scene, for Deianeira is sitting in it—is remarkable.[19] Indeed we are set wondering how the chariot and the horses were ferried over the river, if Nessos had to carry Deianeira and Herakles himself swam across. But evidently the artist did not expect us to be so literal. He wanted an effective composition for the large space at his command, and having chosen the contest of Herakles and Nessos for his theme, he found that the three actors in this drama were insufficient for his purpose, even though one of them had a long horse's body. A simple expedient was the introduction of a chariot, the representation of which we know belonged to the repertoire of the Early Attic artist.[20] Moreover Deianeira as a charioteer is not an inappropriate conception, for we

[13] That this type of Centaur was not, as has been thought hitherto, earlier than the type with equine fore legs, but that both were used by the Greeks from the beginning, has been definitely proved by Baur, *Centaurs in Ancient Art*, p. 135.

[14] For similar instances where the branch is not held by the Centaur, but clearly to be regarded as his weapon, cf. Baur, *Centaurs in Ancient Art*, p. 84.

[15] Cf. owls on handles of Nessos vase (*Antike Denkmäler*, i. p. 46). Cf. also other examples of flying birds in field of this scene given by Baur, *Centaurs in Ancient Art*, p. 24.

[16] For instances where the owl seems to stand for the incarnation of Athena see the recent article by E. M. Douglas, *J.H.S.* xxxii. 1912, pp. 174 ff.

[17] E.g. on the 'Nessos vase,' *Antike Denkmäler*, i. Pl. 57.

[18] Cf. Roscher's *Lexikon*, under 'Herakles,' 2194 f. and Baur, *Centaurs in Ancient Art*, p. 138; also *Arvisa Hermeneia*, Pl. 87 and pp. 182 f.

[19] It occurs in only one other known representation of this scene, cf. Baur, *Centaurs in Ancient Art*, No. 222.

[20] Cf. *J.H.S.* 1902, Pl. IV.; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897, Pls. 5, 6.

know from a passage in Apollodorus (i. 8. 1) that Deianeira in her youth learned the art of driving chariots and using arms.[31] The chariot is of the type prevalent in Western Greece, with curved open sides,[32] high arched front, and four-spoked wheels. The chariot pole is indicated by a simple thick line, but the pole-stay is ornamented with hatched lines. The artist's naïve conception of perspective in representing the four horses' heads on top of each other, which makes them appear as one horse with four heads, is already familiar from contemporary Melian vases.[33] Beyond the chariot is represented a man running at full speed with outstretched arms. He is much smaller than the rest of the figures and has apparently nothing to do with the action of the scene, so that he is best interpreted as a spectator.

It should be noted that while on the principal figures the ear is carefully indicated, it is left out on the 'spectator.' This omission must be a survival of the Dipylon style in which it is never represented. Deianeira's[34] ear is different in shape from that of Nessos, the latter being, as can be seen in spite of the break at this point, more like that on the Aegina fragment.[35] Deianeira's ear is also unlike those on the Kynosarges fragment[36] or on more advanced vases such as the Nessos amphora. This diversity of drawing is natural when we remember that the artist was trying his hand in a new direction. The hair is depicted in all cases as a plain flat mass lying close to the skull and falling in long tresses on the back; the same rendering will be observed on the Kynosarges fragments, where, moreover, the hair is represented as tied at the nape of the neck with a band.[37]

III.

The backgrounds of these designs are filled with ornaments of varied character. A study of these and of the decorative bands used on this vase is of great interest in showing the mixed repertoire at the command of the Early Attic artist due to the various influences which worked upon him.

Chief among the ornaments we notice groups of zigzag lines, a direct heritage of the Dipylon style, the decorative quality of which evidently appealed to the Early Attic painter, for we find it used with the same profuseness on other vases of this period.[38] From the same source are derived the long-legged water-birds introduced in the field at various places,

[31] ἀέτα (Δηιάνειρα) δ' ἤνιόχει καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἤσκει.

[32] The curve is single, not double, as in the Kynosarges fragments, *J.H.S.* 1902, Pl. 3, and the Pulszky amphora, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, Pl. 6.

[33] Cf. Conze, *Melische Thongefässe*, Pl. IV. Many points of similarity between Early Attic and Melian vases are shown by a comparison of the scene on our vase and that on the Melian amphora, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1894, Pls. 12, 13.

[34] The ear of Herakles does not appear, owing to a break at this point.

[35] Cf. Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vas.* Pl. 54. 1.

[36] Cf. *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 88.

[37] Cf. *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 88.

[38] Cf. *Jahrbuch*, 1887, Pls. 3, 4; *J.H.S.* 1902, Pls. 2, 3; *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, Pl. 10; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, Pl. 5; *B.C.H.* 1898, p. 285, Fig. 3.

the simplified maeander at the bottom of Deianeira's dress, and the rays on Herakles' tunic and behind the Centaur.[29]

Other patterns, though used in the geometrical period, have a longer history, being derived from Mykenaean[30] prototypes. Such are the chequers on Deianeira's dress,[31] the small semi-circles with solid centres introduced as ground ornaments,[32] the rows of quirks[33] and of dots on the foot and the lip of the vase, and the horizontal bands which encircle the vase at various intervals.

Another set of ornaments is directly derived from the Mykenaean style without passing through the medium of the geometric vases. Conspicuous among these is the beautiful floral pattern which occupies the neck panel on the back of the vase (Fig. 3) and which is full of the freedom of Mykenaean decorative art. The rosettes used as background ornaments also bear much greater similarity to the Mykenaean types than to the conventionalized variety with four- or eight-pointed leaves on the Dipylon vases. The three-leaved ornament is strongly reminiscent of a similar Mykenaean motive,[34] as is also the double spiral pattern enclosed within a wavy line.[35] It should be noted that some of these floral ornaments have dotted surfaces, which again recall a Mykenaean practice.[36] The spiral hook, one of the favourite ornaments on Early Attic vases and present also on our vase, clearly goes back to a Mykenaean motive.[37] Among the continuous bands a Mykenaean origin must be claimed for the plait ornament[38] which separates the shoulder from the body panel and also occurs on the handles; and, of course, for the spiral patterns[39] which are introduced in various forms on and below the shoulder of the obverse side, and below the body panel, in which case the band is continued behind so as to encircle the vase. The double-loop design

[29] For the derivation of the rays on Orientalizing vases from those which occur on Dipylon vases, see Poulsen, *Die Dipylonkräter u. die Dipylonvasen*, p. 82.

[30] The term Mykenaean is here used loosely for the civilization which preceded the geometric. As a matter of fact many of the ornaments here called Mykenaean go back to the pre-Mykenaean or Minoan period.

[31] Cf. Furt. u. Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, xxxix. 341; *B.S.A.* vi. p. 103, Fig. 31.

[32] Cf. Furt. u. Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. 32. 309 for Mykenaean use and Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1898, Pl. 4, 8 for geometric use. This ornament is doubtless the forerunner of the later tongue-pattern.

[33] Cf. *Mon. Ant.* vi. Pl. 9 and a geometrical jug in the Metropolitan Museum, illustrated in the *Museum Bulletin*, May, 1912, p. 85, Fig. 5. For its use on Protokorinthian (Linear Argive) pottery, see e.g. *Argive Heraeum*, p. 187, Fig. 69a.

[34] Cf. Furt. u. Loeschcke, Pl. 36, 292, 295; *B.S.A.* ix. p. 120, Fig. 75.

[35] Cf. *B.S.A.* vi. p. 103, Fig. 31 (wavy line enclosing dots), and Furt. u. Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. 18, 131 (continuous double spirals). For the use of this ornament on another Early Attic vase, see *Jahrbuch*, 1887, Pl. 4.

[36] Cf. e.g. the dotted surfaces of garments and chariots on the Mykenaean vases from Cyprus (*Cesnola Atlas*, ii. Pls. 100, 101). For other instances of this feature on Early Attic vases, see *Jahrbuch*, 1887, Pls. 3, 4. Compare also the dotted leaves on a contemporary Melian bowl (*J.H.S.* 1902 p. 71, Fig. 2).

[37] Cf. Furt. u. Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. VI. 22, 23, Pl. XXXV. 350. For its use on Protokorinthian, or Linear Argive, pottery, cf. e.g. *Argive Heraeum*, pp. 126, 130, etc.

[38] Cf. Furt. u. Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. 24, 188.

[39] Spirals are found occasionally on late geometric vases (cf. e.g. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, Pl. 10), but essentially they do not belong to the geometric repertoire, their place being taken by tangent circles.

at the bottom of the back side occurs with slight variations on other Early Attic contemporary vases.[40] Though obviously suggested by Mykenaean curvilinear ornaments,[41] it does not, to my knowledge, actually occur in Mykenaean art in this form.[42] The band of single loops filled with solid colour, also on the back side, was clearly suggested by the Mykenaean wavy

Fig. 3.—Back of Vase.

line and the conventionalized tendrils of the Mykenaean octopus,[43] for we need only fill up the upright loops of such a wavy line with solid colour

[40] Cf. list given by Boehlau, *Ath. Mit.* x. *Ö. Nekropolen*, p. 110.

[41] Such as Furt. u. Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. 34, 346, and *Mon. Ant.* xiv. p. 496, Fig. 93.

[42] I have not been able to find it on any of the references given by Couve in *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 29, note 5. For its occurrence, however, on Protokorinthian (Lâmar Argive) pottery, see *Argive Heraeum*, pp. 138, 139.

[43] Cf. e.g. Furt. u. Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. 14, 88.

to get the same effect.[44] The curious ornament at the bottom of the front side is perhaps best explained as a further variation of this loop pattern. Here the loops are not only filled with solid colour, but represented as tied, and accordingly contracted in two places, the bands being indicated with engraved lines. The possibility suggests itself that the shape was inspired by the large Polledrara tripods with bowls, which are not dissimilar in general outline. But the ornament as such has, so far as I know, no parallels. The 'palmette' pattern above the spectator is probably derived from Oriental art. For though the lily design of Mykenaean art[45] is not unlike it in general character, it never occurs there in the strictly stylized form of the ornament on our vase. Oriental art on the other hand offers close parallels,[46] so that we must regard this design as probably an Eastern importation.

To pass from an analysis of the ornamental patterns to the figured illustrations. The group of the lion devouring the deer certainly goes back to older prototypes. Animal contests are frequent representations both in Eastern art and on Mykenaean gems,[47] and it is difficult to assert from which of these sources the artist of our vase received his suggestion. The treatment is, however, his own. The scene is full of spirit, the deer being especially lifelike both in attitude and rendering. The grazing animals on the shoulder are clearly survivals of the Dipylon vases, where grazing deer and horses often appear in long processions. The lack of definite characterization is also typical of that style.

When we come to the representation of Herakles and the Centaur Nessos we are clearly on different ground. The artist is following no antecedents but is breaking ground in a new direction—that of mythological scenes. We have here—and this lends a peculiar importance to this vase—one of the earliest attempts of the Athenian potter to represent a pictorial scene, not for its decorative effect as the Dipylon artist had done, nor in a more or less conventionalized form as contemporary Oriental artists were doing, but with a newly awakened sense of making the picture itself real and living. It is this element of sincerity which lends not only interest to the scene, but gives it real artistic merit. For in spite of the many obvious crudenesses the picture is full of a force and vitality which make the old story live again. The determined attack of Herakles and the beseeching attitude of the Centaur are convincingly rendered, while the quiet figure in the chariot forms an effective contrast. Besides, it is not only for what we actually see represented that this picture is valuable, but for the promise of the future which it contains. For in the light of subsequent history we know that when the technique became perfected it was this same desire to

[44] A wavy line thus filled with white colour occurs on the painted archaic tile lent by V. Everit Macy, in the Metropolitan Museum.

[45] Cf. Furt. u. Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. V. 28.

[46] Cf. e.g. *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. 18, and also Victor Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, III. Pl. 46, Nos. 1 and 3.

[47] On this subject cf. Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vaphio*, pp. 29 f., who also calls attention to the long subsequent history of this subject.

represent human beings simply and directly which resulted in the splendid products of the Athenian black-figured and red-figured styles.

Summing up the results of our analysis we find that the influences at work on the Early Attic artists were threefold: Dipylon, Mykenaean, and Oriental. The strength of the Dipylon tradition is recognizable in the shape of the vase, the arrangement of the decorations in a number of horizontal friezes, the extensive use of background ornaments, and in some of the background ornaments themselves. Mykenaean influence is responsible for other motives, some having been derived through the medium of geometric art, others introduced from a different source. From Oriental art is borrowed at least one ornament, and perhaps the scene of the lion and the deer.

The influence of Dipylon art is of course natural and requires no explanation. The revival of Mykenaean motives and the introduction of Oriental conceptions, found not only on Early Attic vases but in all Hellenic pottery of this period, are usually attributed to the reaction of Ionic art on that of the mother country; and this is indeed the only plausible explanation. For while Mykenaean ornament forms were geometrized beyond recognition in Western Hellas, Ionia seems to have preserved more closely the spirit of that art, thus acting, so to speak, as a repository from which future generations could draw their inspiration. Moreover, Ionia, from its close proximity to the Orient, would be the natural intermediary between those countries and the rest of the Hellenic world. The means by which this influence was made to act, whether through the medium of Ionic metal and textile manufactures or through ceramic products, is an interesting problem. J. H. Hopkinson in discussing this question (*J.H.S.* 1907, pp. 62 f.) points out that, to judge from the material obtained by excavations in Ionia, Ionic pottery during the seventh century appears to have been very insignificant, and would therefore hardly have been exported to the islands and Greece proper, where there were long established and flourishing factories. He therefore holds that the influence which Ionia exercised during this period must be entirely due to her metal and textile manufactures, especially as the vases which most clearly show this influence appear to reflect a metallic or textile origin. There is no doubt that present evidence is in favour of this theory; for though no textile fabrics have been preserved, monuments such as the ivory pail from Chiusi[48] clearly show that the wealth of ornament forms, by which Ionic influence principally showed itself on Western ceramic wares, was to be found also on non-ceramic products of Eastern Greece. However, we must not forget that Ionia has not as yet been properly excavated and that our theories may be upset at any time by new finds.

But though the external influences which acted on the Early Athenian artists were undoubtedly strong, our vase teaches us very clearly that Athenian art at this period was not merely eclectic; for stronger than any

[48] Cf. *Monumenti dell' Inst.* x. Pl. 38 A. For the derivation of this pail from Eastern Greece, cf. Boehlau, *Aus ion. u. it. Nekropolen*, p. 118.

influences of past and foreign arts was, as we have seen, a new-born and highly individual artistic sense, which was stimulated perhaps by outside influences, but is unmistakable in its vigorous originality.

IV.

To proceed to a technical consideration of the vase. The clay is of warm, reddish yellow colour, is fairly well levigated, and has a finely polished surface. The design was first all drawn in outline in reddish brown paint, whereupon some of the surfaces were filled in solid with the same colour, others covered with a creamy white wash, and the rest apparently left in the colour of the clay. The brown parts can be recognized without difficulty from the illustrations; the white parts are not so easily distinguished even on the original, since the colour has in many cases disappeared. To judge from extant remains the following surfaces were painted white: of Herakles, the left arm and hand, the legs, the sword-blade and the rosette on the shield; the dress and foot[30] of Deianeira: the light band of the plait pattern, and the ground of the lion's mane. It is possible that other portions, for instance the face of Herakles, were similarly treated and that the colour has since worn away. As many as four methods of inner marking are employed: on the light background details are painted in the brown colour; on the dark background they are mostly incised, except in two cases, (1) the deer, where the spots and also the lion's fore leg placed on the deer's back are outlined in white, and (2) the Centaur, where the line separating the equine from the human body is reserved in the colour of the clay.

This extraordinary mixture of techniques is characteristic of the period. It was a time when artists broke away from old traditions and made new experiments in every direction, with the result that almost all the techniques employed by Greek vase-painters at various times are found on this one vase. If we may trace the technical development of the Early Attic artist from the vases now in our possession, it appears to have been somewhat as follows: First the Dipylon style was strictly adhered to, that is the figures were drawn almost entirely in silhouette on a reddish yellow clay, with spaces reserved or left unpainted only for the indication of the eye or ornamental patterns.[31] The next step was to reserve not only the eye but the whole face,[32] and this experiment having evidently proved satisfactory, the number of reserved surfaces was used increasingly for other parts.[33] At the same time other

[30] It is not certain whether the foot below her dress is meant to belong to her or to Herakles; there being a break at this point we cannot tell whether it originally had a shoe like that on Herakles' foot.

[31] Cf. the human figures and lions on the Analatos hydria, *Jahrbuch*, 1887, Pls. 3, 4.

[32] Cf. the Centaurs and lions on the krater from Thebes, *Jahrbuch*, 1887, Pl. 4; the human figures and lions on the krater in Munich, *Jahrbuch*, 1907, Pl. 1; the lions on the Dürgon Lebes in the British Museum, Kayet et Collignon, *Cer. Grecque*, Fig. 25.

[33] Cf. Hymettos amphora, *Jahrbuch*, 1887, Pl. 5; amphora from Pikrodaphni, *B.C.H.* 1893, Pl. 2, 3; fragment from Aegina, *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, Pl. 8; fragment from Athens, *Ath. Mitt.* 1895, Pl. 5, 2; fragment from Aegina, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 54, 1; fragments from Kynosarges, *J.H.S.* 1902, Pls. 2, 3.

innovations were introduced. Besides the brown colour used for the design, first a yellowish white[53] and then a purple colour[54] were added; and, above all, engraved lines were used for the indication of details—at first sparingly, later, as the artist became apparently surer of the success of this experiment, with more and more profusion.[55] Occasionally the use of engraved lines was varied by painting details in white on the dark background,[56] or, at least in the one instance mentioned on our vase, by reserving lines in the colour of the clay.[57] So far the instinct for experimentation had been so strong that the artists had no time to systematize the new discoveries they had made. Thus, the reserved surfaces, the whites and the purple accessory colours, and the engraved lines were used where the artist thought they would be most effective without adhering to any fixed rule. In time this changed and the style became more uniform. Outline drawing or reserved spaces were more and more abandoned, the figures being drawn in silhouette in black paint, often with purple and rarely with white accessories, and with details incised.[58] Moreover a colouring matter is added to the clay to make it appear more reddish. In other words the technique now approximates the regular Attic black-figured technique, the chief difference being that the use of purple has not yet been relegated to minor details but is often used for faces,[59] and that the distinction between the male and the female flesh has not yet obtained.[60] But apart from technical processes there is still one great difference between Early Attic vases of this period and the black-figured technique proper, and that is the continued use of background ornaments for filling empty spaces.

[53] Cf. Burgon lebes, Rayet et Collignon, *Cér. Grecque*, Fig. 25; *Jahrbuch*, 1887, Pl. 5, where the colour has, however, a more reddish hue ('gelbrothlich'); fragment from Aegina, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 54, 1; fragments from Kynosarges, *J.H.S.* 1902, Pls. 2, 3; fragment from Aegina, *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, Pl. 8; and fragments from the Akropolis, B. Graef, *Die unter Vasen*, v. *der Akr. zu Athen*, Nos. 364 ff.

[54] Cf. fragments from Kynosarges, *J.H.S.* 1902, Pls. 2, 3; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 54, 1.

[55] Cf. fragment from Athens, *Ath. Mitt.* 1895, Pl. 3, 2; Akropolis fragments (B. Graef, *op. cit.* Nos. 345, 348, 361, etc.); fragments from Kynosarges, *J.H.S.* 1902, Pls. 2, 3. Pernice, *Ath. Mitt.* 1895, p. 122, points out that on a Dipylon fragment the eye of one of the rowers is indicated by an incised line; *Ath. Mitt.* 1892, p. 293, Fig. 6). That is certainly the earliest instance of this technique and would lend support to the theory that its invention is Attic and not Corinthian.

[56] Cf. the manelike on the necks and hind-legs of the lions on the Burgon lebes, Rayet et Collignon, *Cér. Grecque*, Fig. 25; the details on the horse's wing on a fragment from Kynosarges, *J.H.S.* 1902, Pl. 3; and on several of the Akropolis fragments (B. Graef, *op. cit.* Nos. 347, 367, 379, etc.). The use of white inner markings is perhaps due to Ionian influence, at least it appears on Ionian vases of the sixth century and on sarcophagi from Clazomenae. It is of course of Mykenaean origin.

[57] As far as I know this is the only example of this use of the reserved line on this class of vases; though in the rosette leaves with solid centres the reserved 'surface' is sometimes so narrow that it might almost be called a reserved 'line.'

[58] Cf. bowl from Aegina, *Arch. Ztg.* 1883, Pls. 9, 10; amphora from the Peiraeus, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, Pls. 5, 6; fragment from Aegina, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 54, 2; Nessos amphora, *Ant. Denk.* i. Pl. 57; amphora from near Athens, *B.C.H.* 1898, p. 225; amphora from Athens, *B.C.H.* 1898, p. 283; fragments from the Akropolis, B. Graef, *op. cit.* Nos. 385 ff.

[59] Cf. bowl from Aegina, *Arch. Ztg.* 1883, Pls. 9, 10; amphora in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, Pl. 6; fragment, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 54, 2; Nessos amphora, *Ant. Denk.* i. Pl. 57; amphora, *B.C.H.* 1898, p. 283.

[60] On this question see Sir Cecil H. Smith, *J.H.S.* 1902, pp. 45 f.

This last survival of the old traditions was not abandoned until we come to the various classes of vases which may be regarded as immediately preceding the real black-figured style, namely the amphorae with heads of horses,[61] the Attic vases with animal friezes, commonly called 'Vourva' vases,[62] and the so-called Tyrrhenian amphorae.[63]

After this survey it will not be difficult to assign to our vase its proper place. It belongs to the class of vases which stand between those still showing strong Dipylon influence and those approximating the black-figured technique—when the artist was trying to free himself more and more from the old school and had not yet worked out any permanent scheme of his own. This highly interesting period has hitherto been illustrated only by fragments,[64] so that the addition of a fairly well preserved vase like our new amphora is of great importance in establishing the various features observed on these fragments as real characteristics of the period.[65]

To venture on exact dating of Early Attic vases in the present stage of our knowledge, would indeed be hazardous. All we can attempt to do is to make a general calculation. Our two landmarks are at the end of the Dipylon style, which may be roughly fixed at about 700 B.C., and the François vase, which belongs probably to the second quarter of the sixth century. Working backward from the François vase we may assume that the first half of the sixth century was taken up by vases such as the later 'Vourva' vases,[66] the Tyrrhenian amphorae,[67] and the amphorae with the horse's heads.[68] The Nessos amphora and its associates must then be placed in the second half of the seventh century, the class to which our amphora belongs in the first half of that century, and the earlier group at the beginning of the seventh and at the end of the eighth century.

In conclusion it may be useful to give a list of Early Attic vases up to date. This may be considered roughly chronological, not necessarily as regards dating but at least in stages of development, for we must make allowances for the conservative element that will always be found even in progressive times. Thus, while the more ambitious potters were reaching out in new directions, some of their colleagues would be sure to keep to the older methods, or perhaps adopt some innovations and reject others.[69] The

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[61] On this class see R. Hackl, 'Zwei frühattische Gefässe der Münchner Vasensammlung,' in *Jahrbuch*, 1907, pp. 82 ff. It should be noted that on the amphora in Munich there published, the artist has gone back to the older technique of reserved surfaces.

[62] For the most recent treatment of these, see *Jahrbuch*, 1903, pp. 124 ff.

[63] Cf. Thiersch, *Tyrrhenische Amphoren*.

[64] Fragment from Athens, *Ath. Mitt.* 1898, Pl. 3, 2; fragment from Aegina, Beumdorf, *Vasenbilder*, Pl. 54, 1; fragments from Kynosarges, *J.H.S.* 1902, Pls. 2, 3; Akropolis fragments (R. Graef, *op. cit.* Nos. 261 ff.).

[65] *E.g.* in *J.H.S.* 1902, p. 34, note 1. Sir Cecil H. Smith points out that the hand of the figure in the cat is painted black, while the hand is in outline, and ascribes this to an accident. That this was not accidental but was commonly done during this period is seen from similar instances on our vase.

[66] Cf. Nilsson, *Jahrbuch*, 1903, p. 144.

[67] Cf. Thiersch, *Tyrrhenische Amphoren*, p. 136.

[68] Cf. Hackl, *Jahrbuch*, 1907, pp. 83 ff.

[69] That not all new methods were adopted simultaneously by all potters is shown clearly by a comparison of two fragments, one from the

following list is based chiefly on that given by Hackl in *Jahrbuch*, 1907, p. 98, to which, however, several additions have been made. It will be noticed that it differs with respect to sequence in several instances from that given by Walters in his *History of Ancient Pottery*, i. p. 293.

	Shape.	*Provenance.*	*Present Location.*	*Publication.*
I.	Amphora	Kerameikos	Athens, 467[70]	*Ath. Mitt.* 1892, Pl. 10
	Fragment of a large vase	Athens	Athens[71]	*Ath. Mitt.* 1895, Pl. 3, 1
	Hydria	Analatos, Attica	Athens, 468	*Jahrb.* 1887, Pls. 3, 4
	Lebes	Thebes	Athens, 464	*Jahrb.* 1887, Pl. 4
	Krater	Athens	Munich	*Jahrb.* 1907, Pl. 1
	Lebes	Athens	British Museum, A 555	Rayet et Collignon, *Cér. Gr.* Fig. 25
	Amphora	Hymettos	Berlin, 58	*Jahrb.* 1887, Pl. 5
	Amphora	Pikrodaphni, Attica	Athens, 469	*B.C.H.* 1898, Pls. 2, 3
	Fragments of various vases	Akropolis, Athens	Athens	B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen v. d. Akr. zu Ath.* Nos. 344 ff.

Smaller, so-called Phaleron vases, constituting a mixed class :—

II.	Fragment of a Lebes	Athens	Athens[72]	*Ath. Mitt.* 1895, Pl. 3, 2
	Fragmentary Jug	Aegina	Athens, 10934	*Ath. Mitt.* 1897, Pl. 3
	Fragment of a large Amphora	Aegina	Athens, 650	Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenb.* Pl. 54, 1
	Amphora	Athens?	Metropolitan Museum, New York	*J.H.S.* 1912, Pls. X.–XII.
	Fragments of a large Amphora	Kynosarges	Athens, British School[73]	*J.H.S.* 1902, Pls. II.-IV.
	Fragments of various vases	Akropolis, Athens	Athens	B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen v. d. Akr. zu Ath.* Nos. 384 ff.
III.	Lebes	Aegina	Berlin, 1682	*Arch. Ztg.* 1882, Pls. 9, 10
	Amphora	Perinthus	Athens, 651	Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, Pls. 5, 6
	Fragment	Phaleron	Present location unknown[73]	Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenb.* Pl. 54, 2
	Amphora	Kerameikos	Athens, 657	*Ant. Denkm.* i. Pl. 57 and p. 46
	Amphora	Near Athens	British Museum, A 1851	*B.C.H.* 1898, p. 285, Fig. 5
	Amphora	Attica	Athens, 652	*B.C.H.* 1898, p. 283, Fig. 4
	Fragments of various vases	Akropolis, Athens	Athens	B. Graef, *Die antiken Vasen v. d. Akr. zu Ath.* Nos. 385 ff.

Akropolis (B. Graef, *op. cit.* No. 345), which is still very much in the Dipylon style, but shows extensive use of the engraved line, and one from Aegina (*B.C.H.* 1897, Pl. 8), where reserved surfaces and white as a surface colour are employed, but not yet any engraving.

[70] The numbers refer to the respective catalogues of the collections, *i.e.* Collignon et Couve, Catalogue de Vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes; Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum, Vol. I. (in preparation); A. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium, Berlin.

[71] M. V. Stais informs me that this fragment is in the National Museum of Athens, but not placed on exhibition.

[72] M. V. Stais informs me that these fragments are shortly to be moved to the National Museum of Athens.

[73] So M. V. Stais informs me. When Benndorf described it, it formed part of a private collection.

IV
- Attic vases of archaic style, but without ground ornaments, e.g. Athens, Colligon et Couve, Cat. Nos. 652, 656, 658–660.
- Amphorae with single representations of horse's or human heads (*Jahrbuch*, 1907, p. 88 ff. and Athens, Colligon et Couve, Cat. Nos. 661–663).
- Attic Vases with animal friezes, so-called 'Vourva' vases (*Ath. Mitt.* 1890, pp. 318 ff. and *Jahrbuch*, 1903, pp. 124 ff.)
- So-called Tyrrhenian Amphorae (Thiersch, *Tyrrhenische Amphoren*).

GISELA M. A. RICHTER.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE (1911–1912).

During the past year no sensational discoveries have been made by the spade in the Greek area except at Sardes. Excavations in progress have been continued, old excavations re-studied, and a number of smaller sites explored. Symptomatic of the prominence forced upon ceramics by the interest shown latterly in prehistoric archaeology is the tendency to apply the same methods to the historic period and especially to recognise more fully the value of tomb-groups as chronological data. The disturbed state of the Aegean has been responsible for the postponement of the British School's excavation at Datcha, which is unfortunately in the area immediately affected.

In Athens and Attica the Greek Archaeological Society has been busy. The restoration of the Propylaea continues, as does the excavation of the Pnyx, without however adding materially to the results of last year. Graves of various dates have been opened at various points of the city and at New Phaleron seventy archaic burials, mostly of children, have been excavated. The pottery found in them includes Phaleron, Corinthian, and Protocorinthian ware. At Anávysos, near Thorikos, Kastriotes and Philadelpheus have found tombs with pottery ranging from 'Geometric' to 'Black-figure': rude hand-made pots with incised decoration are associated with the former. At Sunium Stais has investigated the building rubbish of the old Athena temple, finding among it a number of archaic offerings, including scarabs, a lead figure of Apollo, and a marble idol of the island type.

In the Peloponnese the chief excavations have been at Elis and Argos. The excavation of Elis (Palaeopolis), begun in 1910 by the Austrian School, has given chiefly negative results for the Greek period. The standing ruins are of Roman brick. Of these three have been investigated: two proved to be portions of baths, the other a family mausoleum. Graves of Greek, Roman, and Christian date have been opened: one of the latter is closed with a slab bearing an interesting inscription with an early curse-formula. It is significant of the utter spoliation of the place that this was the only whole inscription found.[1]

At Argos Dr. Vollgraff continued the exploration of the *agora* (begun 1906) and uncovered the foundation of a prostyle temple 100 m. in length with the base of the cultus statue still *in situ*. In adjacent Byzantine walls

[1] From the *Vorläufiger Bericht*, kindly sent me in proof by Dr. Kell and Dr. von Premerstein.

were found fragments of statuary, twenty inscriptions (four of the fifth century), and over 200 entablature-blocks from various buildings of the *agora*. A Mycenaean cemetery was discovered at Skala in the Inachos valley.[4]

In Kynouria Rhomaios has discovered a small sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas, and the acropolis of Palaio-Katuna near Dimitzana has been identified by Oikonomos with the site of Thisoa on the evidence of two decrees engraved on bronze plates from a 'temple of the Great God.'[5]

In Boeotia the crusade initiated by Prof. Burrows against (commercial) *τυμβωρυχία* continues. Papadakis at Tanagra itself has opened 150 graves ranging from the sixth to the first century. The oldest are pits containing ashes and shafts with unburnt bones: pithoi and earthen sarcophagi are also used in the sixth century. Later graves are constructed of large tiles, stone slabs, and earthen pipes. The finds of pottery in the earlier graves were considerable, one containing 175 aryballoi; though terracottas were numerous in graves of the sixth and fourth centuries very few fine 'Tanagra' statuettes were found.[6]

At Halae Miss Goldman and Miss Walker, of the American School, have opened about 200 graves varying in date from the Geometric period down to Roman times, the only period not represented being that of the earliest r.-f. ware. The contents included large quantities of terracottas and vases: especially remarkable are plates (found with a b.-f. lekythos) decorated with Boeotian geometric designs in red and black on a white ground. Most of the graves were undisturbed, so that the results are especially important for the chronology of the wares represented; it is also possible to show that certain wares hitherto considered as importations are in fact local. The evidence for the chronology and typological development of terracottas is also considerable. Outside the sphere of ceramics the finds include bronze vases and mirrors and silver and gold jewellery of fine workmanship.[7]

At Thebes the excavations of the 'Palace of Kadmos' were continued and three more rooms uncovered. In the court was discovered a Mycenaean potter's kiln, semicircular in plan and divided vertically by a built wall and horizontally by a pierced floor of baked earth.[8]

At Thespiae Keramopoullos has excavated the common grave of the soldiers who fell in 424 at Delion, a mound of irregular shape (32 m. in extreme length) surrounded by a rough wall, and originally crowned by the figure of a lion, only slightly smaller than that at Chaeronea, of which the hind-quarters survive. Most of the corpses were burnt, a few buried. Above the graves were found remains of annual offerings.[9]

In Euboea Kourouniotes continues to excavate at Eretria and Papavasiliou to explore Mycenaean tombs in the vicinity of Chalkis.[10]

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[4] Information kindly supplied by the excavator.

[5] Πρακτικά, 1911, pp. 254, 243.

[6] Πρακτικά, 1911, 132 ff.

[7] Notes kindly sent me by the excavators.

[8] Πρακτικά, 1911, 143 ff.

[9] *Ibid.* 153 ff.

[10] *Ibid.* 237 ff.

In Phokis Soteriades has resumed work at the tumulus of H. Marina (*Arch. Anz.* 1911, 126), carrying two deep trenches to the lowest levels. The undermost stratum (3.50 m.) contained painted neolithic ware, above lay a similar thick layer of 'Minyan' and *Urfirnis* sherds, and above this again Mycenaean remains.[8]

In Thessaly the Ephor Arbanitopoullos has displayed his usual activity with important results both for the prehistoric and for later periods. At Sesklo five rich geometric graves have been opened, at Dranista in Dolopia a great chamber-grave of similar date was found to contain remains of thirty-one bodies.

The temple of Athena at Gonnoi has yielded twenty-five new inscriptions as well as architectural details and small objects. Finally no fewer than 230 grave-stelae and numerous fragments, nearly all painted, have been recovered from one of the south-western towers of Pagasae. One of the paintings, representing a seated and a standing man life-size, is said by the excavator to be the finest yet discovered, and thirty have been drawn in colour for reproduction. A large sculptured funeral banquet stele employs painting for its accessories. The whole series has been used merely as building material during repairs to the town-wall carried out probably 191 B.C. The stelae themselves date from *c.* 300–250 B.C. Another tower has been found to contain similar filling and awaits excavation next year.[9]

At Halos in Phthiotis Messrs. Wace and Thompson have excavated a group of ten cist-tombs at the foot of the Acropolis, containing inhumation burials and geometric pottery resembling examples from Theotokou, Skyros etc., and the largest of ten tumuli in the immediate neighbourhood. This proved to contain sixteen burnt pyres covered with stone cairns and containing burnt human remains, geometric pottery, iron swords (one 0·91 m. long), knives and spears, and bronze fibulae, pins, etc. The occurrence of inhumations and cremations only half an hour apart, both associated with geometric pottery, raises many problems which must for the present remain unsolved.[10]

In the island area Dörpfeld continues his researches at Corfu. The temple of the Gorgon pediment has been further explored, little or no new sculpture being found,[11] and the great altar uncovered. Trials were made at various points of the ancient city, and the temple of Kardaki, in the grounds of the royal villa, which had been excavated in 1822, again uncovered. Important corrections must be made to the plan published by the Dilettanti (*Ant. of Ath. Supp.* pl. 1–5), but the remains have not suffered since the first excavation. In Cephalonia Philadelpheus and Kyparissos are excavating at the charges of M. Goekoop, who, it will be remembered, identifies the island with the Homeric Ithaca. The excavators have found hitherto a

[8] Πρακτικά, 1911, 203.

[9] From a report kindly sent me by Dr. Arbanitopoullos.

[10] From the excavators' report, kindly placed at my disposal by the School.

[11] Illustrations from photographs of the pediment found last year are published in Πρακτικά, 1911, ff. 164 ff.

large number of tombs containing vases, coins, and jewellery of Hellenistic date.[13]

In Delos the French have had an unusually successful season (1910-11). Under the Sanctuary of the Foreign Gods has been discovered an earlier Heraeum with a remarkable deposit of pottery. The finds include *large* Corinthian vases and specimens of the other 'Orientalising' Schools, Rhodian, Samian, and Naucratite, besides fine examples of Attic ware running down to the 'strong r.-f.' period. The great reservoir has been excavated and the system of sluices and channels for the distribution of its water made out. The gymnasium has been cleared and can be restored on paper from existing fragments. Excavation is now proceeding at the Theatre and Stadium. The year's yield of inscriptions is large and important.

In Samos Schede and von Gerkan continue the excavation of the Heraeum. No traces of inner supports having been found in the *cella* (which measures 54 × 23 m.), it is to be assumed that it was hypaethral. Of the building itself neither wall-blocks nor details of entablature have come to light. The columns appear to have been partly marble and partly *poros*; in one case certainly a marble capital was placed on a *poros* column. The temple was never completed, though it was in building throughout the sixth century. Seventy stone column bases of the finest archaic work, found built into the foundation, are evidently relics of the pre-Persian Heraeum. Outside the temple itself the N. and E. portions of the *peribolos* have been cleared and the great square altar of offering located. Near it was an *exedra* with a statue-base bearing the name of M. Tullius Cicero. Statue-bases inscribed to members of the Julian and Claudian imperial families evidently commemorate their generosity to the temple after the damage it sustained during the war of the pirates.[14]

In Crete Dr. Pernier at Gortyn is clearing the round building (now proved to be an Odeum restored by Trajan) into which the famous 'Law of Gortyn' inscription was built; of this latter two new blocks have been recovered. A replica of the Hera Barberini of the Vatican has also been found in the course of the excavation. Near the 'Basilica,' now proved to have been rightly so designated by the sixteenth century Italian explorers, has been discovered a Nymphaeum, including an elaborate fountain with three basins and a quantity of sculpture, dating from early Imperial times and restored according to inscription in the seventh century after Christ.

Dr. Halbherr, at Hagia Triada, has discovered a large deposit of inscribed tablets, nearly all accounts, and an interesting and well-preserved shrine of the 'Late Minoan III' period.[15]

At Vrókastro in Eastern Crete Miss E. H. Hall and Mr. R. B. Seager have excavated a section of the 'geometric' hill-town and explored several burying places; the latter were of three types, rock-cut *tholoi*, bone-

[13] Notes kindly sent me by Dr. Philadelpheus.

[14] From notes kindly sent me by Dr. Scheele, whose report is to be presented in full in the forthcoming *Archäol. Anzeiger*.

[15] From an unpublished report courteously placed at my disposal by Dr. Pernier.

chambers, and rock-shelter burials. Both cremation and inhumation were practised. The pottery found was for the most part strongly reminiscent of Minoan tradition, though a purely geometric fabric also occurred. Iron and bronze objects, including an important series of fibulae, were abundant.[16]

We turn now to Asia Minor. Very important discoveries have been made at Sardes by the American expedition. The great temple of Artemis has now been completely cleared. It was a marble octastyle pseudodipteral building, measuring 340 × 150 feet, with twenty columns on either side. Besides the two complete columns thirteen others have been found *in situ* standing to a height of 20–30 feet; the two columns of the E. porch stand on square bases intended for sculpture. The cella-walls are still in places 15–20 feet high. The architectural details are described as exquisite specimens of Ionic ornament dating probably from the fourth century. The temple is known by inscription to have been roofed and in use before 300 B.C.

A very rich harvest has been won from the excavation of upwards of 400 tombs across the river. It includes Lydian pottery (the earliest dateable class in juxtaposition with Attic b.-f. ware), terracottas, bronze mirrors, jewellery recalling the best Etruscan work, and an extremely interesting series of gems, bearing Oriental, Persian, Lydian, and Greek designs. Most important of all the finds made during the three seasons' work is a bilingual inscription in Lydian and Aramaic, the latter text dated in the tenth year of Artaxerxes. This gives the first clue to the interpretation of Lydian inscriptions.[17]

At Pergamon the past season's work has included the excavation of the terrace of Demeter, the east entrance of the Gymnasium, and the sanctuary of Hera above (N. of) the latter. The Heraeum was orientated N. and S., the temple being of the Doric order with four columns on the *façade*. For a reconstruction of the order only the capital is lacking. The inscribed architrave shews that it was dedicated by Attalos II. The material is trachyte, marble being used but sparingly: the work is surprisingly poor for the date. Portions of a fine Hellenistic mosaic are preserved on the floor of the cella, and the base of the cultus-statue, occupying the whole width of the room, remains *in situ*; from it come fragments found on the spot of a male statue (Attalos II?). Against the walls, right and left, are bases for honorary statues of Adobogiona, daughter of Deiotarus, and an anonymous priestess respectively.

In the territory of Pergamon have been excavated considerable remains of a Hellenistic villa, which proves to have been that of the tyrant Hermeias (cf. Strab. 614) the friend of Aristotle.[18]

At Didyma the lower levels of the temple precinct have been sounded and the cella partially cleared of the huge blocks which have encumbered it since the earthquake of the fifteenth century. Many of the blocks have been

[16] From notes kindly sent me by Miss Hall.

[17] *Times*, Aug. 6, and kind communication from Professor Butler.

[18] From Prof. Dörpfeld's report, to be published in the *Archäol. Anzeiger*.

replaced on the cella-walls, which have now a height of 5·40 m., and several very important details, notably the pilaster capitals of the interior, recovered. A church of the sixth century was found to have been built inside the cella so that the stair leading down from the portico formed the *σύνθρονα* of the apse. The church was removed after measuring and the stair fully cleared.

The sanctuary of Men Askaënos discovered last year near Yalowatch (Antiochia Pisidiae[18]) has been excavated by Sir W. M. Ramsay. The remains are dated by the excavator almost uniformly after the Christian era. The peribolos wall cannot safely be placed earlier than the second century, though part seems to be pre-Roman. The earliest inscription is of a freedman of Claudius, the earliest sculpture a portrait-statue (re-used) dating probably from the first century. The coins and pottery found are Roman or later. There is evidence of a Pagan revival in the reigns of Maximianus II. and Maximin, to which period most dedicatory inscriptions are to be referred, and the whole *hieron* was finally and deliberately wrecked by Christian zealots. The character of the central building (temple or altar) is still undetermined owing to its ruined state, but Ionic fragments were found near it. There is no new evidence for the interpretation of the ritual word *τέκμωρ*.[19]

It remains to express my gratitude to the many archaeologists who have permitted me access to unpublished material, particularly for advance proof-sheets of the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* and *Πρακτικά* to Dr. Karo and Dr. Leonardos respectively: the extent of my debt to Dr. Karo will be apparent to anyone who reads his much fuller report.

F. W. Hasluck.

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[18] *J.H.S.* xxvii. 111 ff. [19] *Athenaeum*, July 13, Aug. 10, Aug. 31, Sept. 7.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Agamemnon of Aeschylus. With Verse Translation, Introduction, and Notes by WALTER HEADLAM, Litt.D. Edited by A. C. PEARSON, M.A. Pp. x + 265. Cambridge, at the University Press. 6s. 6d. net.

THIS volume contains such materials for Headlam's edition of the *Agamemnon* as could be got together after his death. The notes have been collected by Mr. Pearson from Headlam's published work and from his manuscripts, the text has been constituted according to his views so far as they were known, and it is faced by a verse translation of the play. The notes leave many gaps, and it is clear that Headlam had done little to get his commentary into shape. The editor seems to us therefore to have reprinted too sparingly what Headlam had already published. For example, in l. 755 Headlam accepted a transposition proposed by Pauw, but the student who wishes to know on what grounds he did so will not be enlightened in this book nor even in the place to which he would most naturally turn—Headlam's paper on *Transposition of Words in MSS.* (*C.R.* 1902). If he chance to possess that rare pamphlet *On Editing Aeschylus*, he may stumble on the reason, and he will be rewarded with some information not indeed new to accomplished metrists but of quite sufficient importance to the ordinary student to deserve a place here. Again, Headlam's original defence of his emendation ἐπιπληξίου in l. 50 (*C.R.* 1900, p. 113) ended with a paragraph on two other probable examples of corrupted compounds. This, together with a discussion of Prof. Housman's proposed correction, has been omitted from these notes. It is true that these things are not essential to the understanding of the passage or of Headlam's view, but they are of considerable interest; and, when, as here, we are put to the inconvenience of notes at the end of the book, considerations of space (especially in so slim a volume) furnish no excuse for the omissions. We think also that Headlam's *Prolection* should have been reprinted. To that lecture we must still refer for information as to his general view of Aeschylus and of this play in particular. The preface printed in this volume, though interesting and illuminating, is insufficient as an introduction, and should have been reinforced by the *Prolection*. The preface has moreover now proved not to be by Headlam at all: it is an essay by Mr. Austin Smyth which was found among Headlam's papers and supposed to be by him. The most important suggestion it contains is a proposal to solve by a sacrifice of the time-unity the difficulties raised by Dr. Verrall. Mr. Smyth supposes an interval of some days after l. 493—a suggestion which deserves careful consideration, though we doubt if it will be generally accepted. Whether Headlam himself accepted it or not we have no means of telling.

Some of the translation in this volume has already been published, and of one passage at least we have an earlier version. On the whole the translation is unsatisfactory. The rendering of the lyrics—a task of almost superhuman difficulty—is rarely successful. In blank verse Headlam appears to have been much more at home, and his version contains noble passages; it is however clearly unfinished, and is even disfigured by unmetrical lines. 'He hath digged up Troy with mattock' (l. 530) will not pass the most careless muster.

The book, it may be gathered from these remarks, is disappointing, but all students of Aeschylus will be glad to possess it as the shadow of that edition which fate has denied to us.

El Teatro de Menandro: Noticias histórico-literarias, texto original y versión directa de los nuevos fragmentos. Por LUIS NICOLAU DE OLWER. Pp. 334. 1 plate. Barcelona: Tipografía L'Avenç. 1911 [1912].

This volume grew out of a doctoral thesis, and consists of a full and careful study of the comedy of Menander, in its origin and subsequent influence no less than in Menander's actual work, followed by the text of fourteen plays and some smaller fragments, with a very readable prose translation. The text is substantially that of Koerte with a few variations due to the adoption of conjectures rejected by that scholar or made since the appearance of his edition; these include a few of the author's own. Lefebvre's recent publication of the complete facsimile of the Kôm Ishkaw MS. and of a text revised from the original appeared too late to be utilized. The volume does not claim to make an original contribution of importance to the study of Menander, but it is a handy and useful edition of the fragments, the more to be welcomed as coming from a country not hitherto distinguished in the study of Menander or in papyrology; and the introduction shows research and critical judgment. There is too a full and very useful bibliography. The author takes a more favourable view of Menander's merits as a comic genius than many recent critics, who indeed, in their disappointment at not finding the new fragments equal to their expectations, have perhaps unduly depreciated them. The volume is admirably printed on good paper, but there are a number of misprints, particularly in the quotations from Latin writers, with whom the author does not seem so much at home as with Greek. He leaves it an open question whether the codex found at Kôm Ishkaw is to be dated in the 2nd–3rd or 4th–5th century; to a palaeographer there can hardly be a doubt that the fifth century is a more likely date than any earlier period, and 2nd–3rd is impossibly early.

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine. Par M. JEAN MASPERO. Tome premier. Pp. iv + 283 and 33 plates. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. 1911. 97 fr. 20.

This catalogue, which, as M. Maspero remarks, 'est la première collection un peu étendue de papyrus exclusivement byzantins, qui ait encore été publiés,' bids fair to be incomparably the most important documentary authority for the history of Egypt during the Byzantine period which we possess. This first volume at all events, and the first fasciculus of the second volume, which has already appeared, abound in interesting and valuable material; and they are concerned with a portion only of the Byzantine papyri at Cairo, the others being reserved for later volumes. This portion consists of the papyri found at Kôm Ishkaw, anciently Ἀφροδιτώ, κώμη Ἀφροδίτης, or Ἀφροδίτης πόλις, the unimportant village (though at one time a nome capital) to which we owe the Menander codex and a vast mass of documents of the sixth and early eighth centuries. Though these papyri were found at Aphrodito, a number of them relate to Antaeopolis and others to other places; but the great majority of those at present published have to do with Aphrodito itself. This circumstance gives them an added value, since, coming from the same place and belonging to a period of only about fifty years, they give us a more complete and representative view of the life of at least one district than would be the case if they were a miscellaneous collection drawn from many localities. The picture which they enable us to form is one of great interest. It has indeed for long been customary to regard the whole of this period as one of inferior interest and importance. That it was a time of decadence is true. It has not the affinities to the old Hellenic life which give such fascination to the Ptolemaic, nor the administrative and juristic importance of the Roman period; but it has none the less an interest of its own, which consists perhaps mainly in the fact that in it we see the gradual transformation of the ancient into the mediaeval world. This growing mediaeval character comes out strongly in

several of these papyri. Thus in No. 67096 we find a monk founding a ξενοδοχεῖον in connexion with a monastery for the reception of travelling monks, and from that document and 67064 we learn that Apollos, a πρωτοκωμήτης, and the father of Dioscorus, the poet-advocate, became towards the end of his life a monk in a convent founded by himself. Again, in 67089 *recto* we hear complaints of the *bucellarii*, mercenary soldiers in the employ of private persons, and of τῶν οἰκείων ἀναγκῶν . . . αὐξουσῶν μᾶλλον ἢ μειουσῶν τὴν κακίαν τοῦ καιροῦ, a significant side-light, as the editor remarks, on the quite feudal character of society at that period. The inordinate wordiness characteristic of Byzantinism comes out in many of the documents; the petitions especially are in this respect typical of the period, and in 67092 we have a perfect triumph of 'Babuism.' On the other hand the older Hellenism still survives in the compositions of the Dioscorus referred to above. An advocate and son of a large landowner and πρωτοκωμήτης of Aphrodito, he was evidently a man of some education, had visited Byzantium and Pentapolis, and fancied himself a poet of no mean order. He was in the habit of scribbling drafts of his numerous poetical compositions (all or almost all of which are of the begging variety) on the backs of legal deeds or on odd pieces of papyrus, and fortunately many of his poems have survived among the Aphrodito papyri, most of them at Cairo, but others in the British Museum, at Berlin, and in private hands. 'Fortunately' must not be taken as implying any merit in the poems: their value arises not from their goodness but from their badness; from the picture they give us of Egyptian Hellenism in its last expiring gleams. They are of interest too from their many faults of metre, which indicate an age of transition. A poet accustomed to pronounce by accent is here seen struggling with quantitative measure and frequently coming to grief over it. He seems to have had ambitions in prose as well as in verse; for if not, as appears not impossible, the author of the florid petitions referred to, he certainly wrote the curious document on 67097 *verso* (D), an advertisement by an indignant father of the disinheritance of his daughter. Was he too the author (M. Maspero does not indicate the hand as his) of 67089 *recto* (B)? The editor describes this as the draft of a petition; but its literary style, quite unlike that of the petitions, and its avoidance, for the most part, of hiatus suggest that it is rather a complimentary speech. Among other documents of general interest may be mentioned No. 67092, the first step in legal proceedings in a case of breach of promise of marriage. It will be seen from what has been said that these papyri of the despised Byzantine period are well worth study. M. Maspero is to be warmly congratulated on the completion of the first volume and on the skill which he has shown as an editor.

Das Motiv der Mantik im Antiken Drama. Von Rudolf Stahlin. Pp. 230. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1912. M. 7.20.

The work was inspired by Albrecht Dieterich's wish that a thorough investigation should be made of the dream and oracle motives in ancient drama. The writer studies the extant plays in order, including Aristophanes' comedies, the tragedies of Seneca, and the work of the Latin comic poets, and obtains results which are the more striking because the modern reader is apt to pass lightly over descriptions which mean much less to him than they meant to the audiences and to the authors of antiquity. Already in the Persians of Aeschylus, both dream and omen are fully developed instruments of the dramatist's technique; in Prometheus, the Seven, and the Oresteia oracles are the mainspring of the action, and dreams are constantly employed as secondary motives. Stahlin, by careful analysis, shows that most of those variations in the use of dream and oracle which are found in the later dramatists are either present in Aeschylus or suggested by his work. Sophocles and Euripides use divination each in his characteristic way: Sophocles refines and complicates the Aeschylean methods, and extracts fresh tragic effects from peculiar modifications: he is the first, for example, to make the prophecy arrive *just too late* to influence the hero's action. Euripides, unlike his predecessors,

hardly *believes in* divination; but he uses it freely as a convenient tool, to found his intrigues, to round off his plot, to express his political views, to explain the actions of his characters when he lacks or does not care to seek a more complete justification. In comedy these motives play a less considerable part, but still a part; and in the Senecan drama they are adopted with the rest of the consecrated tragic paraphernalia and exaggerated to produce grandiose theatrical effect. Stachlin's book is clear, judicious, and full of fine criticism: there is hardly an ancient play but receives fresh light, and the results are of great value to the study of the Greek drama as a historical whole.

Arte e Artifizio nel Dramma Greco. Da Francesco Guglielmino. Pp. 299. Catania: Francesco Battiato, 1912. L. 4.

The writer, in his own words, tries to penetrate into the workshop of the Greek tragedians. He shows the poet constrained by the conventions of the Attic stage and by the popular character of the performance, and surmounting the difficulties put in his way by various expedients and with varying skill. It was a good idea, to put together a general account of the influence exerted on the Greek tragedians by the conditions under which they worked; for a good deal of the most fruitful recent work on the drama has been done from this point of view. Much of the matter in Guglielmino's work is naturally familiar to students; he describes his work, modestly, as a compilation, but it contains some fresh and original observations and embodies the results of several studies, especially Italian, which are not widely known. The book is divided into two parts: in the first, the writer shows the effects produced by the continuous presence of the chorus, by the limited number of actors, by the necessity of acquainting the audience with the data of the myth, etc. In the second, he treats the methods of exciting the sympathy, interest, or passions of the public—τὰ κωμικὰ τοῦ θεάτρου. In the first part the writer is sometimes led to exaggerate the *ἀνάδεσις*, and he is especially severe on Euripides, whose Hippolytos and Medea receive unjust strictures. In the second, his discussions on the characters of Ajax, and of Oedipus at Colonus, seem to rest on a mistaken notion of the artist's character drawing. The brightest chapter is that which deals with the limited number of the actors. The book is worth reading, and the promised continuation, which will deal with the *deus ex machina* and a great many other subjects, will be awaited with interest.

The Loeb Classical Library. Euripides. With an English translation by A. S. Way. In four volumes. Vol. I. **The Apostolic Fathers.** Translation by Kirsopp Lake. In two volumes. Vol. I. **Philostratus. The Life of Apollonius of Tyana.** Translation by F. C. Conybeare, M.A. In two volumes. Vol. I. **St. Augustine's Confessions.** Translation by William Watts (1631). In two volumes. Vol. I. **Terence.** Translation by John Sargeaunt. In two volumes. Vol. I. London: Heinemann, 1912. 5s. per vol.

The reviewer of the first volumes of a new series may fairly be expected to say a few words about the general plan which is being pursued in it. Mr. James Loeb and his editors, Mr. T. E. Page and Mr. W. H. D. Rouse, have undertaken the courageous task of supplying English readers with up-to-date texts and translations of all that is best in Roman and Greek literature from the time of Homer to the fall of Constantinople. Many of the translations will be new, but old translations, when good, will not be disdained. This general plan deserves generous praise. The conception is a fine one, and, that there is room for such a work, few lovers of the Classics will deny. If, as we may fairly hope from the first samples, the execution answers the design, the public will owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Loeb and his fellow-workers.

For the particular volumes a few words must suffice. Dr. Way's translation of Euripides is already known and valued, and he has now submitted it to a careful revision. The blank verse is dignified and faithful to the original. In the choruses, Dr. Way has drawn his inspiration largely from Swinburne, and, even if at times he falls into the characteristic fault of his master, excessive wealth of words, he often attains to singular happiness and beauty of expression.

Mr. Kirsopp Lake presents us with a translation of the Apostolic Fathers into simple and idiomatic English, well suited to the style of the original. His choice of the second person plural instead of the second person singular is no doubt deliberate, and is probably designed to avoid challenging comparison too directly with our Versions of the New Testament. Whether it is in itself a gain is, perhaps, somewhat doubtful.

Mr. Conybeare gives us a clear and easy rendering of the curious and fascinating life of the great pagan wonder-worker, Apollonius of Tyana. His style is lucid and attractive, but, at times, we think, he might have allowed himself a little more freedom in recasting the Greek in English form. And αὐτοσάρκης need not mean 'autocrat.'

Mr. Sargeaunt's rendering of Terence deserves high praise for its excellence in colloquial dialogue. Perfection can scarcely be asked for, when comic verse has to be rendered into prose; but Mr. Sargeaunt has shown great skill in attaining an easy and idiomatic style and in retaining many neat verbal points of the Latin comedian.

Lastly, as a sample of the old translations, we have William Watt's vigorous and confident translation of the Confessions of St. Augustine. These old translators attained an independence which we find it hard to equal, and we may congratulate ourselves that the editors have resolved to call upon them, whenever possible, to interpret the classics for us.

In conclusion it should be added that each volume is provided with an introduction, which puts before the reader in simple and attractive form such facts about the original author as are necessary for the proper appreciation of his work.

The Heroic Age. By H. Munro Chadwick. Maps. Pp. xi+474. Cambridge: University Press, 1912. 12s. net.

This book, part of the Cambridge Archaeological and Ethnological Series, is an interesting attempt to make the Early Heroic literatures of the North European and the Greek areas throw mutual light on the causes and conditions of the ages which produced them, widely divided as these are in time. Since the North European Heroic Age falls well within historic days, and many of its heroes can be identified, it naturally throws much more light on the Greek Heroic Age than the latter can be expected to throw upon it. In spite of the differences in time, civilization, and geographical conditions, Mr. Chadwick finds certain common features pointing to common causes, and in chief, he regards both the ages and the literature which they produced as the result of periods of racial unrest and movement, during which comparatively uncivilized peoples broke loose from old family and tribal ties, and swooping down on rich civilized areas, found themselves free to indulge individualistic tendencies. He explains the extraordinary hold which these Early Heroic poems have always had and still have upon the imagination of settled civilized folk, by the natural individualistic barbarism which lurks in us all. The situations depicted are such as, being impossible in ordered society, are nevertheless covertly desired by those whose desires and passions are safely fettered. If it were objected that similar periods, *e.g.* that of the Greek conquest of Asia or that of the Latin conquest of the Near East, have not produced Heroic literature with an equal appeal, he would reply, we suppose, that the conditions were not the same. In the latter cases there was no such freedom from restraint, and not such cultural difference between the attacking and attacked societies. Mr. Chadwick has taken great pains to bring his archaeology up to the latest date (*e.g.* he takes account of the recent

discoveries at Tiryns), and, though he has little new to say about Early Greece, Hellenic scholars will profit considerably by what he has to tell them of Early Germany and Scandinavia.

Ibiza Arqueológica. Por Arturo Pérez-Cabrera. Pp. 56. Barcelona: Thomas. 1911.

Don Arturo Pérez-Cabrera describes his little book as 'estos modestos articulos, dedicados á describir superficialmente, para que sean conocidos del público, los muchos tesoros, de épocas distintas, que se encuentran en las antiguas islas *Pithyusæ*, especialmente del periodo anterromano.' It is a very readable and interesting account of the antiquities of the Balearic isle of Ibiza and its neighbouring islets from the earliest times to the sixteenth century, with special reference to the 'Phoenician' necropoles of Ebuso and Portus Magnus, and the site at Puig d'en Valls. The photographic illustrations are good and well produced, those of the Phoenician and Greek scarabs found being especially good. One may doubt whether the author does not ascribe rather more to the Phoenicians than is really their due. This is notably so in the case of a terra-cotta mask from Ebuso (Fig. 4), described as 'careta de cerámica verdosa, de arte fenicio.' There is nothing Phoenician about this interesting object, which is emphatically Greek, and is exactly paralleled by similar grotesque masks found during the recent excavations at Sparta of the British School at Athens. We demur, too, to Señor Pérez-Cabrera's derivation of the Phoenician from Punt: this idea never had the slightest probability to support it, and the word φοῖνιξ is purely Greek. Otherwise we have no fault to find with this excellent little book.

H. H.

The Formation of the Alphabet. By Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie. London: Macmillan, 1912.

Prof. Petrie's idea of the derivation of the Alphabet from various linear signaries which, he claims, were in use in the Mediterranean basin from the earliest times, is well known. In this little work he sums up the evidence and comes to the conclusion that the selection of the signs to form the Alphabet was made in North Syria. The Syrian origin of the alphabet was, as he says, maintained by Isaac Taylor. Taylor was probably right, whether Prof. Petrie's 'signary' theory be correct or not. Certainly the Phoenicians, who never invented anything, cannot have invented the alphabet, though that they passed it on to the Greeks is obvious. The derivation from Egyptian hieratic is exploded: Sir Arthur Evans's idea of Cretan origin now holds the field. Whether this theory can be combined with Prof. Petrie's remains to be seen. We think that Prof. Petrie tries to prove too much. He brings in the Runes, for example: but again Taylor's idea of an origin for the Runes in a Greek alphabet of the North Euxine coast is amply sufficient. We need not go back to a Mediterranean 'signary' for them. And why bring in Egyptian workmen's marks of the Roman period as well as of the XIXth dynasty? It is impossible to make distinguishing marks of any kind without some resemblance to some form of early Greek or Italian alphabetic script. And we cannot see any reason compelling us to derive the Alphabet from the arbitrary marks of Egyptian potters and fellahin, notwithstanding their resemblance to the Syrian-Greek alphabetic signs. A simplification of the Cretan hieroglyphs on the North Syrian coast-land, and the handing of this to the later Greeks by the Phoenicians, seems more probable.

H. H.

Themis. A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion. By JANE ELLEN HARRISON. Pp. xxxii+559. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1912. 15s.

Miss Harrison has tried in 'Themis' to apply to the phenomena of Greek religion certain conclusions of modern sociology. Her central idea is 'the general principle that social structure and the collective conscience which utters itself in social structure underlie all religion.' She holds that most of the ritual and many of the ideas of Greek religion can be shewn to have arisen in a totemistic matrilinear society, whose thoughts and feelings were collective rather than individual: personal gods developed gradually in connexion with magical ritual performed on occasions of purely social importance. She lays most stress on two types of primitive ritual, tribal initiation, and ceremonies connected with the return of spring; and she holds that these two types are closely akin.

Taking as her text the Palaikastro Hymn, she finds the source of the myth and ritual of the Kouretes in initiation ceremonies. The god, the μέγιστος Κοῦρος of the Hymn, is 'but a reflection or impersonation of the body of the Kouretes,' who are themselves ultimately 'the initiated young men of a matrilinear group.' But though derived from initiation ceremonies, the ritual mirrored in the Hymn is in essence a spring *dromenon*, and the μέγιστος Κοῦρος is a form of the 'Eniautos-Daimon,' a being who is the chief subject of the book. This 'Eniautos-Daimon' is virtually identical with the familiar 'Vegetation Spirit,' re-christened for the sake of greater elasticity. From the spring *dromenon* come the Great Games, and also the Dithyramb and Tragedy: the Eniautos-Daimon lies behind all heroes and most gods. 'Mysteries' are mainly initiation ceremonies narrowed and modified by the disappearance of the social structure which gave them birth.

Especially interesting is the suggestion, elaborated in the second chapter, that the second birth of Dionysos reflects a custom of mimic second birth of boys from their father, marking the definite passage from childhood to adolescence. Miss Harrison admits that she can offer no strict parallel from savage tribes for such a form of initiation ceremony; but she seems to overlook a far more serious difficulty. The Dionysiac cult is essentially a woman's cult—to Miss Harrison essentially matriarchal. On this point she lays the greatest stress. She speaks of 'the great service of the Mothers on Mount Cithaeron,' of 'the religion of the Bacchants as Nurses, Mothers of all that is,' of 'their great service of Aphrodite.' She writes (p. 39) 'the Maenads are the mothers and therefore the nurses of the holy child; only a decadent civilization separates the figures of mother and nurse. As nurses they rear the holy child till the armed full-grown men take him away to their new Child-Rearing (παιδοτροφία).' This is intelligible and perhaps plausible, though the Greeks tell us little of 'armed full-grown men' in connexion with Dionysos (Miss Harrison's bold fusion of the Zeus-Dionysos birth-stories is scarcely convincing); but even if, with Clement, we grant Dionysos a troop of armed Kouretes (instead of the Satyrs whom Strabo expressly names as their Dionysiac equivalent), and let them tear him from his numerous mothers to make 'a man-thing' of him, is it conceivable that his subsequent New Birth from a 'male womb,' however spiritualized, should arouse the wildest enthusiasm in the women who lose him, and should become the central dogma of their faith? That this doctrine holds that position in the Maenads' faith Miss Harrison repeatedly affirms. 'In the hour of supreme peril' they invoke 'their most holy Rite of the New Birth.' It is 'the cardinal doctrine of the *Bacchae*.'

Miss Harrison's savage parallels suggest a different attitude; and her own language in the immediate context (p. 37) is significant. 'The child, whether concealed or acknowledged, might remain with its mother for a time. She will practise on it her mother-rites. She will, perhaps, like the Spartan mother, wash her baby with wine to strengthen it. She will certainly bathe or sprinkle it with holy water and pass it through the fire. She may wean it from her own breast and feed it with honey and alien milk, but, sooner or later, the day of separation is at hand. The Kouretes of the tribe will come and will take him away, will hide him for weeks or months in the bush, will clothe

him in strange clothes, teach him strange dances and strange lore, and bring him back all changed, with a new soul, the soul of his tribe, his mother's child no more, trained it may be henceforth to scorn or spit at her. He belongs from henceforth to his father and to the Man's House.'

'Themis' contains much interesting discussion of totemism, and of such conceptions as *mana* and *taboo*, and countless details of Greek practice and legend are fitted into the central scheme; but it is impossible in a short notice even to indicate the range of the book. Miss Harrison deals with a vast mass of material, much of which is inevitably unsatisfactory. Like all comprehensive attempts to reconstruct Greek religion, 'Themis' is full of bold conjectures and perilous inferences; and it is hardly unfair to suggest that the ultimate stability of the structure depends almost wholly on the soundness of the chief generalizations of modern sociology. If these are sound, a great deal of 'Themis' is probably sound too; but any serious modification of them must shake it, and any fundamental change of view might bring most of it to the ground. At the same time, the book, like all Miss Harrison's work, is full of brilliant strokes of synthesis, whose permanent value is certain; and the larger scheme, right or wrong, must always remain a masterpiece of imaginative construction, and one of the most important contributions ever made to the study of Greek religion.

In 'Themis' the Northern element is much less prominent than it was in the 'Prolegomena'; indeed Miss Harrison does not now seem to regard any of the Olympians as essentially 'Northerners' except Zeus. She lays great stress on moon and sun worships, and finds elements of moon and sun, and other 'Ouranian' features, in most of the Greek goddesses and gods. To phallic symbolism she seems to attach excessive importance.

Two chapters are not from Miss Harrison's pen, though essential parts of her scheme. Mr. Cornford deals with the origin of the Olympic Games, Prof. Murray with Tragedy. Both step on thorny ground, and both have to face obvious difficulties. Mr. Cornford, in particular, has to show how a spring fertility ceremony developed into an athletic festival held every fourth midsummer. His contentions are ingenious and forcible, and should lead to some interesting fencing with the champions of older views.

In these chapters, and throughout the book, there is much dissent from Professor Ridgeway; and it seems unlikely that the worship of the dead gets its due at Miss Harrison's hands. Her analysis of the Hero obliterates the dead individual, and leaves the relations between generalized 'ancestor' and abstract 'Enauton-Daimon' a strange tangle, at least to those who find it hard to think totemistically.

In the introduction and the closing chapter Miss Harrison applies her conclusions with admirable frankness and eloquence to some of the wider problems of philosophy and religion.

The Thunder-Weapon in Religion and Folklore. By CHR. BLINKENBERG, Ph.D. Pp. xii + 122 with 36 illustrations and a map. Cambridge: University Press, 1911. 5s.

In this interesting little book Dr. Blinkenberg has collected a large number of superstitions concerning the so-called 'thunder-stones,' which are in the main ancient stone implements, though certain fossils and pebbles of peculiar shape are included in the category. The association of such objects with thunder and lightning is extraordinarily wide spread in the old world, and the book contains a survey of the distribution of the belief, and summarises the distinguishing features which it displays in the various areas where it is found. As far as Europe is concerned this survey has been very carefully carried out, and the section on Scandinavia will be a *locus classicus* for some time to come; but the rest of the world has not been so fully treated. This fact can hardly be said to constitute a serious fault, for instances of the superstition existing outside Europe are

cited chiefly as accessories, but the attention of the author may be called to the works of Col. Ellis on West Africa, and two important articles in *Man* 1903-102,and 1908-54 respectively. The first of the two last by Mr. Balfour of Oxford describes a stone axe from Benin mounted as an amulet, and modern miniature imitations made for amuletic purposes; while the second is the translation of an account given by a Mohammedan Malay of the *batu lintar* of the Malay Peninsula, from which it appears that here the phenomenon of lightning is attributed to two djinn throwing stone axes at one another.

The main contention of the author is that the belief is very old, dating from the stone age, when men compared the action of the lightning-stroke to that of an axe wielded by mortal hands, and he believes that this explanation is of universal application. Against him stands the theory of Andree, 'Diese Vorstellungen müssen verhältnismässig jung genannt werden, denn sie entstanden erst als die Steingeräte ausser Gebrauch warden und, gelegentlich aufgefunden, wie ein Rätsel erschienen.' This contention he dismisses in the words 'Such a view is evidently a superficial and quite untenable one.' But, in the opinion of the reviewer, Andree's view constitutes a far better explanation of the superstition, taken as a whole, than Dr. Blinkenberg's. If the belief is so closely connected with the stone age it is surely unfortunate for the author that it appears among no single people whose weapons and implements were made wholly or chiefly of stone up to modern times. Thus it is not found in Australia, Oceania, and North America, nor indeed in South America, for, as the author admits, the evidence regarding this continent is distinctly negative. On the other hand it is very prevalent in Africa, where the tribes who hold it have not the slightest conception of the real nature of the objects to which they attribute a celestial origin. Surely, under the circumstances, the legitimate conclusion is simply this, that the torrential rains which accompany a thunderstorm wash away the soil in which such early remains lie embedded, and the native of the locality, ignorant of their nature, but struck by their unusual appearance, attributes their origin to the storm which has merely revealed them. Hence the inclusion in the category of thunder-stones of objects such as belemnites, fossil echini, and pebbles of peculiar shape, which possess the same quality of *ignotum*, and are thus taken in this case, *pro magico*. Difficulties raised by his theory beset the author throughout: the thunder-weapon of Thor, the hammer Mjölnir, was, according to legend, forged by the dwarfs, and was therefore metal, and he is forced to admit that the theory which would make the original Mjolnir a stone axe 'cannot find support.' Again the classical representation of the thunderbolt he shows to be derived from the Babylonian representation of the lightning, which consists of flames. Further he attributes the *vajra* of India and the *dorje*, which has accompanied lamaistic worship wherever it has penetrated, to the same origin. It is interesting to note that he believes the double axe of Crete to have been a thunder-weapon, though it cannot be said that sufficient evidence yet exists to prove his theory beyond doubt; however his ingenious conjecture that the trident of Poseidon, in the character of Ἐνοσίχθων, is a weapon of this type would seem to be better founded, especially when it is compared with the Indian *tridula* which so constantly accompanies the *vajra* as an emblem of power. Though it has been found necessary to criticise the main contention of the book, it should be added that it possesses many excellent qualities. It is well written and the argument is often ingenious, while the collection of superstitions relative to thunder is, as far as Europe is concerned, based on a great deal of careful research. The illustrations are good and to the point.

T. A. Joyce.

The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion. By L. R. Farnell. Pp. vii+155. Williams and Norgate, 1912. 6s.

In these lectures Dr. Farnell briefly sketches the development of Greek religion in its ethical aspect. Most of his views are already familiar, but they are here presented with

admirable conciseness and lucidity. His long and accurate study of the whole range of ancient evidence makes him uniquely competent to summarize any branch of his subject, and he has used his advantages to the full. The least satisfactory chapter is perhaps the first, in which he devotes twenty or thirty pages to a discussion of the 'General features and origins of Greek religion.' Much of what he says is interesting and instructive but he is ill at ease in these dangerous waters. His instinctive caution, elsewhere invaluable, here serves chiefly to make his guesses unconvincing; it is perhaps a pity that he was not content to adopt a more negative attitude.

The later chapters deal with 'The religious bond and morality of the family,' 'Tribal and civic religion,' 'The influence of the civic system of religion upon religious thought, morality and law,' 'The expansion of Greek religion beyond the limits of the Polis' and 'Personal religion in Greece.' These chapters are full of interest, and form a valuable contribution to the history of ethics in their relations with religion.

The Universities of Ancient Greece. By JOHN W. H. WALDEN, PH.D. London: George Routledge & Sons. 1912. Pp. xiv+367. 6s.

Our interest in Greece is no longer confined to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., or to the mainland of Greece; and this work by Dr. Walden, formerly instructor in Latin in Harvard University, is a welcome illustration of our widened outlook. The Universities which he describes can hardly be said to have had any organised existence until the regeneration of Greece under Hadrian and his successors, and, Athens excepted, they flourished chiefly in the great cities of the East. At the same time the education and the life of these communities were the direct outcome of those of classical Greece, especially of Athens. Dr. Walden in his earliest chapters endeavours to show the continuity of Greek education and the connexion between the later sophists and those of the 5th century. Both aimed at imparting to their pupils the power of fluent and ready speech on any topic as a training for public life; but whereas the earlier sophists posed also as the teachers of all learning, their successors confined their attention chiefly to the art and practice of oratory based on a close study of the great writers of the past. Thus their teaching bore no little resemblance to the classical teaching of the last generation except that the place of translation was taken by free composition or essays, and that more importance was attached to the spoken than to the written word. Dr. Walden, though fully conscious of the defects of this teaching, clearly brings out its value as a training for public life in the vigorous municipalities of Asia Minor. It was a form of education peculiarly suited to the Greek genius, and it owed its vitality to the magic power which Hellenism exercised over Romans and barbarians alike. It was not till the teaching of the sophists had been forcibly suppressed by imperial edicts that the triumph of Christianity was secured in the East. We should have been glad if Dr. Walden had dealt at more length with the relations of Christianity to Greek education, and also with the influence of philosophy. The historical chapters are somewhat slight, partly owing to the fact that they were originally delivered as lectures, partly owing to the unfortunate gaps in our evidence. The most interesting and we think the most important portion of the book is the latter half, in which Dr. Walden describes life in the Greek Universities, particularly at Athens. The description of a sophist's life is drawn almost entirely from the writings of Libanius, one of the last and also one of the greatest of the sophists. These chapters are delightfully human and will well repay the perusal of anyone who is interested in education. The interests of the student are not neglected. Technical difficulties are reserved for the footnotes, where ample references are given. There is a short bibliography and a good index.

A Commentary on Herodotus. By W. W. How and J. Wells. Pp. xii+446, viii+423. Clarendon Press, 1912. 7s. 6d. per vol.

The study of Herodotus at Oxford is at present bringing forth a copious harvest. Following close upon Macan's *magnum opus* and Myres' brilliant article in 'Anthropology and the Classics,' a new commentary to the complete text, with introduction and appendices to match, has been issued by Messrs How and Wells. The two volumes of which it is composed are more restricted in scope than Macan's edition: they are intended rather to summarise established results than to ventilate new theories, and in order to reduce bulk and avoid encumbrance with philological discussions they are printed without Herodotus' text. Within the limits thus marked out their workmanship is thorough and well considered. The authors have made diligent search throughout the wide field of studies into which Herodotus entices his readers, and they have laid under contribution the best results of foreign as well as British scholarship. They have shown considerable skill in laying bare the issues in controversial passages, and have as a rule adjudicated shrewdly between rival theories. Against these merits must be set a few shortcomings. The references to the most recent literature on the subject are at times incomplete. No mention is made of Burrows' and Ure's excavations at Mycalessus (in connexion with early Boeotian trade routes, iv. 147), of Mr. Toynbee's reintroduction of the reading 'Sigynnae' into the text of iii. 90 and vii. 75, of Dr. Struck's description of the canal at Mount Athos; and only a passing allusion is made to Bury's *Ancient Greek Historians*. The same lack of finish recurs in some of the notes, in which a laudable striving after conciseness has led to indulgence or obscurity of expression. There is a curious discrepancy between the notes in the first volume, which repeatedly quote the extant fragments of the Περιήγησις as the genuine work of Hecataeus, and the Introduction, where they are pronounced a forgery of a later period. The derivation of the Sicans from Iberia (vii. 170) would appear since the researches of Sergi and Modestov to be an inversion of the true facts; the disposition of the combatants *across* the straits at Salamis (Appendix xxi.) seems hardly tenable in view of Macan's damaging criticisms; and it is a downright mistake to quote Thucydides ii. 7 as stating that the Athenians sent begging embassies to the king of Persia (vii. 151). But these evils are mere 'flea-bites in an ocean.' Taken as a whole, the present work is a sound and scholarly production, and as an introductory manual to the study of Herodotus it should render conspicuous service.

Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. By Sir J. E. Sandys. Revised edition. Pp. xcii+331. Macmillan, 1912. 12s. 6d.

The leading feature of the second edition of this well-known work is its close resemblance to the first. The text stands almost unaltered, except that the last six chapters have been more completely amended, so as to present a continuous narrative, and that most of the readings which in the 1893 edition were marked as tentative, but can now be regarded as consecrated by a *consensus editorum*, have been reprinted without encumbering brackets. The introduction and notes have been left substantially as before. Copious references have indeed been supplied to Wilamowitz' *Aristoteles und Athen* and to Busolt, but only in rare cases have the results of the latest research induced the editor to modify his conclusions substantially. The bibliography of the first edition, in itself an admirably complete piece of work, has been nearly doubled, but no mention is made of the following:—E. M. Walker's article on the 'Constitution of Athens' in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica; Busolt's *Staatskunde*; the second edition of de Sanctis' 'Ἀτθίς'; the dissertations by May, Sadl, and Kriegel, and the articles by Ledl (*Wiener Studien* vol. xxxii), Costanzi (*Riv. di Filologia* 1901), and Kahrstedt (*Forschungen*) on the Revolution of the Four Hundred: an article by B. Perrin on Theramenes (*American*

Historical Review, 1904); the Oxyrhynchus Historian and his chief expositors (on the division of the Βουλή of 411 B.C. into four rotating committees); the researches of Sandwall (Klio, *Beiheft* No. 4) on the constitutional practice of the fourth century.

The conservatism displayed by Sir J. E. Sandys in the revision of his earlier work should meet with general approval: δικαίως γὰρ ἀριστεύων. It is a tribute to the excellence of his first edition that after a lapse of twenty years it should bear reissue in an almost unchanged form, and that it should have every prospect of continuing for long to be a standard work.

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Translated by W. H. Schoff. Pp. 323. Longmans, 1912. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This new version of the Περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης is primarily intended to familiarise the general reader with the history of early commercial exploration in the eastern seas. Its chief feature accordingly consists in an elaborate commentary on the articles of traffic mentioned in the Περίπλους and the movement of trade indicated by it. Hellenic students will find comparatively little in the present volume that appeals to their special interests. The Greek text and most of the apparatus of classical scholarship are dispensed with, and no adequate discussion is provided of the specific part played by the Greek nation in discovering the East and opening up its trade. It will also be regretted by more than one class of reader that the geography of the text is not elucidated by any large-scale maps (*e.g.* sections of the charts published by the British or German admiralties), or by the sailing directions contained in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean Pilots. Nevertheless the book has a distinct value. The translation, save for an occasional slip, is trustworthy; the introduction contains some important new evidence, derived mainly from Asiatic records, on the date of the Περίπλους; and the commentary is replete (not to say overloaded) with well authenticated information on the fauna and flora of the regions described.

Corinto. By G. Ponzio. Pp. 85. Lecce: Giurdignano, 1908. L. 2.

I Cipselidi. By G. Ponzio. Pp. 302. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1912. L. 6.

Atene, Corinto, Pericle, e le cause della guerra Peloponnesiaca. By G. Ponzio. Pp. 196. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1911. L. 4.

The first two of the above mentioned books pass under review the history of Corinth in the days of its kings and tyrants respectively. Their object is to prove that the traditional account is a tissue of fabrications, mostly aetiological or pragmatic, and that the rationalising corrections which critics ancient and modern have introduced into it are a product of misplaced ingenuity. The success of Prof. Ponzio's arguments is various. He has little difficulty in exposing the hopeless divergence of ancient tradition, and is probably right in tracing much of it to court poets like Eumelus or to aprioristi of Isocrates' school. Moreover his criticism of scholars who make large play with hypotheses of racial conflict comes opportunely enough. On the other hand he carries scepticism to undue lengths in rejecting the Dorian invasion, which the excavations in Argolis and Sparta have placed beyond the reach of doubt, and in questioning the pedigree of the Bacchiads, who surely could remember their ancestry at any rate to the fifth generation. Still less justifiable is his disdainful attitude to the chronologists of Alexandria, who certainly had at their disposal the records of the great athletic festivals and by means of these must have been able to compute the dates of the Cypselids to a nicety. Curiously enough, too, Prof. Ponzio's cautiousness sometimes plays over into the dogmatism which he deprecates. From the fact that Corinth was subject to Argos in the days of Homer and of Pheidon he infers that it never was ruled by a native dynasty;

and in discussing the era of Periander he puts his faith to Herodotus, whose head for dates was notoriously weak.

The third volume is mainly concerned with reaffirming familiar conclusions about international politics in the fifth century. Its main thesis is that the Peloponnesian War was due neither to Spartan ambition nor to the selfish machinations of Pericles, but simply and solely to the dread of Athenian trade monopolies. The author's belief in the cash nexus is plainly carried too far when he argues that commercial interests formed the mainspring of policy in Sparta no less than in Corinth. A greater value attaches to his rehabilitation of Pericles, which he achieves by showing up forcibly the worthlessness of the adverse evidence. Prof. Porzio writes in a heavy style, which is unfortunately vitiated by an elaborate and gratuitous persiflage directed against other workers in the same field. The list of errata might be extended indefinitely.

Commune di Napoli. Annuario Storico. Part 1. Le Origini: Napoli Greco-Romana. Pp. 178. Napoli: Giannini, 1912.

In the first part of the book, Prof. Giulio de Petra, taking as his text the myth of the Sirens, examines the question of the three-fold foundation of the historical Naples. He decides in favour of a Rhodian settlement (Parthenope) in the eighth century B.C., a Cumaean Neapolis in the seventh century, and a large influx of Chalcidian colonists two hundred years later; these three cities, of which the two last had always been closely leagued, were by the *foedus Neapolitanum* of 326 united into a single state. In the succeeding section, which forms the bulk of the volume, Signor B. Capasso describes in detail the features of the Graeco-Roman city, his text forming a guide to the plan drawn up by de Petra. A full account, based where possible upon the results of excavations, is given of each building that can be identified, and of the cemeteries that lay outside the city. The writer has shewn great diligence in collecting his material from scattered sources, and it is a pity that he should have contented himself with presenting the results in a purely popular form: no references are given, and inscriptions are either suppressed or quoted only in translations. Presumably the book is meant to appeal primarily to those modern Neapolitans who are interested in the topography of their city; a more scientific treatment would have made it of far greater value to the student. The volume is richly provided with illustrations which have very little to do with the text; the publishers seem to have availed themselves of any half-tone blocks that they had in store, restorations of Pompeii, typical statues of deities, etc. De Petra's plan of Naples is so badly reproduced as to lose much of its value, and a tenth century Latin inscription is described as being in ancient Greek. De Petra's interesting essay and the careful work of Capasso are sadly disfigured by the form in which they are made to appear.

A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I. (A.D. 802-867). By Prof. J. B. Bury. Pp. x + 520. London: Macmillan & Co., 1912. 12s. net.

After more than twenty years Prof. Bury gives us a further instalment of his *History of the Later Roman Empire* (A.D. 395-800), of which, we are glad to learn, a new edition is in preparation. In the interval his maturing energy has been partly diverted—to our regret—into other channels, but he has never deserted his early love, which evidently still holds the chief place in his affections. Besides completing a fine edition of Gibbon, he has advanced our knowledge of Byzantine history by a variety of special studies, some of which were in the nature of pioneer work for this volume but are not all superseded by it. Meantime Byzantine studies as a whole have progressed by leaps and bounds, and times have changed since 1890 when the late Karl Krumbacher (to whose 'authors'

this volume is dedicated) had to lament in the Preface to his *History of Byzantine Literature*: 'it can hardly be doubted that the standpoint of most of our scholars is still that of the Doctor of Bonn, to whom it was unintelligible that people could busy themselves with a period in which ἀπό governed the accusative.' Hence it is natural that the present volume should be written on a far larger scale, even though it deals with a period not specially favoured. It covers only 85 years, whereas the 400 odd years that precede were compressed into two volumes of the same size. For this ampler treatment the serious student will be grateful. But one defect remains. Not only are there still no illustrations, which may be a luxury, but there is not even a map, which is a necessity. In this respect Prof. Bury's History lacks the attractiveness of M. Schlumberger's charming volumes. Nevertheless the new instalment is a valuable contribution to that reinterpretation of the history of the Eastern Empire which the advance of knowledge demands and which Prof. Bury alone, as it seems, is able to provide for English readers.

The internal history of this period is veiled in mist which research can only very partially lift. Of the rulers themselves we know very little. The materials for their portraits are wanting, as our author rightly maintains, and criticism can scarcely reach further than to say that they were mostly much better than they are represented by monkish opponents writing under the succeeding dynasty. So much we can judge from their actual policy, though the appraisement of their measures is often made difficult by our ignorance of the conditions. Of the important economic and administrative changes that were taking place our sources tell us nothing. As regards the former we are completely in the dark; we can only say with some confidence that the process, which is complete in the following century, was accelerated by the three years of devastating civil war that broke out at the end of A.D. 820. On the latter Prof. Bury's own investigations have shed some welcome light, but our knowledge remains very imperfect. We reach surer ground when we turn to the external history and survey the relations of the Empire with the Arabs in East and West, with the Western Empire, with Bulgaria and the Southern Slavs, and with the peoples of the North, among whom the Russians now begin to come into prominence. Here research has made great strides, and nowhere is the progress more striking than in the section dealing with the History of Bulgaria. This advance is due to the excavations conducted by the Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople at Pliska, which have uncovered the fortress and palace of the early Khans and revealed a number of inscriptions written in Greek—a significant fact—and containing the texts of treaties and other records. Prof. Bury's linguistic attainments enable him to make full, but always critical, use of the work of the Russian scholars, which is a sealed book to most of us, and he has many suggestions to make in regard to the interpretation of the documents. A complete text of the more important of them might well have been added in an Appendix.

With Prof. Bury's estimate of the period as a whole we are in substantial agreement. If it lacks the striking features of the preceding and succeeding epochs, we cannot justly call it an age of decadence. There was no retrogression or even stagnation but an appreciable, if slow, forward movement; and the well-marked revival of art and learning which took place under the Amorian rulers, and was directly fostered by them, was so pregnant with consequences for the future of civilisation that we cannot refuse to admit the claim of this period to what our author calls 'a distinct and co-ordinate place in the series of development.'

The Greek Genius and its Meaning to Us. By R. W. Livingstone. Pp. 250. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1912. 6s. net.

The charm of this book is its freshness both of thought and style; the value is its scrupulous devotion to the subject matter. The author is not the 'stilted Hellene' of popular

imagination, nor the narrow pedant fighting for his special cause; but he tries without prejudice to discover the essential qualities of Hellenism, and to express these in terms of modern culture. His method is the analysis of the Greek genius as it appears in the literature of the sixth and fifth centuries; this he defines in several 'Notes'—Beauty, Freedom, Directness, Humanism and others, all of which he would derive from the primary virtue of Directness. One might perhaps invert the order, and explain them all as various manifestations of Humanism. The book is in fact a sane but appreciative version of the Greek Gospel of Humanism, and in this lies its interest for the present age, which, as the author says, is consciously affecting a religion of humanity. The contrast of the ancient and the modern spirit is revealed throughout by illuminating quotations from the two literatures. An important chapter discusses the unhellenic 'proto-Christian' elements which appear in some Greek writers, notably Plato, and the influence of Orphism and the mysteries; and the rationalism of the fifth and fourth centuries is traced to the point where our own science flows from it. It may be objected that the author is not justified in arbitrarily limiting his material, and in rejecting as alien the qualities which do not fit his scheme; but here, as elsewhere, the critic is disarmed, for the author turns his pen upon himself; and the dissentients (of whom the reviewer is not one) must be content that their faces have neither been ignored nor misinterpreted.

The Legacy of Greece and Rome. By W. G. de Burgh. Pp. 192. London: Macdonald and Evans, 1912. 2s. 6d.

This little volume will be the docile tutor in the University of books. Its function is to help the student by directing what might otherwise be wide and disconnected reading, and with this purpose in view the author has appended a useful but not formidable bibliography to each chapter. The range is much wider than the title suggests: the course of civilisation is traced from the remotest antiquity through Greece, Rome and the Renaissance to the present day; but the broad view of history is never lost, and the necessarily brief sketch of political development does not degenerate into a bare catalogue of notable events. No aspect of ancient culture is neglected, and the relation of Christianity to Greece and Rome is ably indicated. Indebtedness and imitation are perhaps too lightly assumed in every instance where the modern would approximate to the ancient. It might rather be held that much of our apparent inheritance is an independent development, necessarily tending to similar results, or a superficial affectation of those elements in Hellenism which are least desirable, or even vicious. But the first stage in such an enquiry is a knowledge of the achievements of the ancient world, and so far the present work should form a useful guide. The four examples of amateur map-making, which disfigure the end of the book, are of surprising ugliness.

Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum. Vol. I. Archaic Sculpture. By Guy Dickins. Cambridge: University Press, 1912. Pp. viii+201; numerous cuts in the text.

The British School at Athens is to be congratulated on the appearance of the first volume of its catalogue of the Acropolis Museum. This volume deals with the archaic sculpture in marble; a second volume is promised to deal with the later marble sculpture and with the terracottas and architectural remains. Mr. Dickins's work is excellently done, and will prove useful not only to students and visitors in Athens, but also to all those who wish to keep abreast of the present state of knowledge as to early Attic sculpture. Full acknowledgment is made of the work of Schrader, Heberdey, and others; and in the introduction as well as in the description of the various sculptures the latest theories

and restorations are clearly stated and judiciously criticized; the references to previous publications appear to be very careful and comprehensive. Mr. Dickins's account of the development of early sculpture is clear and for the most part convincing, though there is room for difference of opinion on some matters—for instance, as to his class of early sculptures in Pentelic marble, going back to the seventh century and preceding the 'poros' sculptures. Some of his comparisons are also disputable, but his attempt to classify the various types and to suggest their relations to each other will prove of great service to future students. His discussion of such matters as dress, materials, and colour is also useful and judicious. The illustrations serve sufficiently for the identification of all the objects mentioned: most of them are published elsewhere, and these other publications will have to be consulted for matters of style and detail.

Die Praenestinischen Spiegel. Ein Beitrag zur italischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte. Von Georg Matthies. Pp. 150. 4to. Strassburg: Heitz, 1912. (*Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes*, Heft 95.) M. 12.

The 'Praenestine' mirrors appear as a distinct group among Italian bronzes of the later period. Many bear Latin inscriptions, the style of their engraving is peculiar, and the subjects are not drawn from an Etruscan source. Their origin is assumed from the discovery of the greater number in the neighbourhood of Palestrina. Working from these, Dr. Matthies attempts on the one hand to identify the beginning of the fabric, on the other hand to trace the influences which determine the peculiar style. He finds that in the archaic period, while the numerous examples from Palestrina point to a local fabric, it is not possible to separate the Praenestine style from the greater Etruscan art to which it belongs. During the fifth century the Etruscan power shrinks back to the north, and from about 400 B.C. the local bronze work develops on new lines. The link between the earlier and later groups of mirrors is furnished by the well-known Praenestine *cistae*, also named from their actual provenance. The designs engraved on these and on the mirrors are compared with those of the Italian vases and other monuments, and it is established that the dominating influence is the Greek art of South Italy. The inscriptions, and the details of form, technique and decoration are fully discussed, and the mirrors are classified stylistically and chronologically within the group. An introductory section deals shortly with the wider subject of Etruscan mirrors and their origin: it is to be hoped that the author will soon be able to offer the complete book, in which the present treatise would take its place as the last chapter.

Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie. Iscrizioni Greche e Latine. Per Evaristo Breccia. Pp. xxxi + 275. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1911. 65 francs.

This large and beautifully printed volume, forming the first instalment of the catalogue of the Alexandria Museum, comprises the Greek and Latin inscriptions collected in the Museum, 568 in number, with the exception of the Christian texts, which have already appeared in G. Lefebvre's *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes d'Égypte*, and of the *instrumentum domesticum*, which is reserved for a separate volume. In the Introduction three classes of inscriptions upon clay—those on the so-called 'sacrificial' vases of the queens of Egypt, on the Hadra vases, and on the Panathenaic amphorae—are carefully discussed. The catalogue itself is well arranged, provided with an adequate index, and illustrated by a series of sixty-one magnificent plates, besides numerous figures in the text. The inscriptions fall into two main classes, the first containing votive, honorary and public documents, the second comprising the epitaphs which form a considerable

proportion of the collection: each text is preceded by a brief account of the material, dimensions, and provenance of the stone, and followed by notes on its date and preservation and a full bibliography. Some of the inscriptions are of real interest, but almost all have been previously published, some of them many times over, and the great majority seem hardly to deserve republication. While fully alive to the value of the work, we cannot but ask ourselves whether the texts are worthy of their sumptuous setting and splendid illustration. Would not a much simpler, smaller, and less costly catalogue have satisfied all reasonable requirements and have ultimately proved of greater value to science?

On the whole, M. Breccia has performed a somewhat thankless task with admirable care and ability: typographical errors are, it is true, all too common, but we have noticed few mistakes which affect the sense. Two suggestions, however, may be made, since further volumes are to follow that before us. The tables of provenance and concordance would seem to be more in place at the end of the book, together with the Index, than in the position they now occupy, and the inscriptions illustrated on plates i–lix should bear, as do those on plates A and B, their catalogue-numbers, so as to facilitate reference from the plates to the text of the work.

Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland und Kleinasien. Festgruss des Archäologischen Seminars zum hundertjährigen Jubiläum der Universität Breslau; verfasst von Franz Heidenreich. (Breslau, 1912. Kommissions-Verlag der Koebner'schen Buchhandlung.) Pp. 58.

It is conceivable that a more interesting subject might have been selected by the Archaeological Seminar at Breslau for its *Festgruss* to the University on its centenary than a discussion of alphabetic and *astragalos* oracles, of which Kaibel remarked 'Sie haben sachlich ein nicht bedeutendes, sprachlich so gut wie kein Interesse.' The work summarises our knowledge concerning the methods of obtaining responses, and in the case of the *astragalos* texts attempts (sometimes with imperfect success) to reconstruct the original from which our varying copies are derived. A new impression of the Termessos stone enables the writer to correct the copy published by Lanckoroński, but there is no reference to Lanckoroński's work on the Adalia stone, and Woodward's version, published in 1910, is mentioned only in an appendix. The existence of the stone at Seraidjik in Lycia, though at present unpublished, should have been alluded to in a work of this nature. Further, the writer is misled (apparently by Kaibel's note 'ad Kolossae') into thinking that the fragment, discovered by Arundell at Yarishli and republished *C.I.G.* 20. 3956, is different from the more complete version published by A. H. Smith (*J.H.S.* viii. p. 260).

The bronze object published on p. 37, which is shaped like a *digamma* and inscribed on the side ΓΥΘΑΙΕΔΣ and on the end ϟ, is probably correctly brought into connexion with this kind of divination. If the object is really intended to represent a *digamma*, the combination of letter and number necessitates, as the writer points out, a system worked with ϛϹϡ, rather than δεκαεννέα. The object, however, is of considerably earlier date than the known inscriptions of this class, so that certainty is impossible.

Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language. By Joseph Wright. Pp. 384. Henry Frowde, 1912. 6*s.* net.

"This Grammar makes no pretence whatever of being an original and exhaustive treatise on the subject. In a book of this kind there is practically no scope for a display of either of these features, but I have contrived to bring within a comparatively small space a great deal of matter which will be new to students, and especially to those who are unable to

study the subject in works written in foreign languages. All that I have attempted to do is to furnish our countrymen with a systematic and scientific treatment of Comparative Greek Grammar based upon the philological books and articles of the best workers of the present day in the wide field of Comparative Philology. Specialists in the subject will accordingly find little that is new in the book."

Professor Wright thus describes the object of his Grammar, and the reviewer need say little of the general plan of the book but that this design is on the whole soberly and sensibly carried out. The author is remarkably successful in excluding the disputable matter which hangs on the fringe of almost every chapter of the subject, and which often hides from the beginner the solid mass of well established doctrine which science can now offer. For example, Sections 226 and 227 are models of judicious reticence in regard to the Spirants of the parent language.[1] If the advanced student is now and then rather discouraged by the blunt description of certain points as being 'unknown,'—a useful adjective which Professor Wright elevates almost to the rank of a technical term (for example on pp. 113, 228), even in some cases where a more enterprising writer might have been tempted to explain the rival merits of different theories,—for the beginner this is all to the good; and indeed for every one, in a book of this type, it is far better to have the line drawn thus sharply between certain and disputable matter.

The plan of the book is sound and well proportioned, and so far as the substance is concerned it may be said to provide a reasonably accurate account of what was the orthodox opinion in Greek Phonology and Morphology about ten years ago. It is mainly though not wholly, based on Brugmann, whose work however is generally cited from the *Grundriss*, only rarely from the more recent *Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik*.

This has a serious consequence in the Section dealing with Gender (p. 236) where, though it seems almost incredible, Professor Wright is evidently ignorant of Brugmann's brilliant explanation[2] of the process by which the *-ā-* and *-ī-* suffixes became attached to the female sex, though it has been discussed in English and was the basis of a note in the Report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Terminology (p. 24),—a document of which some 20,000 copies are in circulation. This is the most serious gap in knowledge which the book seems to show.

The scope of the Grammar does not include Syntax; and such references to meaning as are involved in questions of Morphology are scanty and rarely, if ever, connected with any quotations from Greek literature. On the other hand, the forms of the different Greek dialects are stated with some faithfulness.

Enough has been said to show that the book deserves a sincere welcome and is likely to be useful to serious students. Definite mistakes are rare. The worst of those that the present writer has noticed is the unfortunate miswriting 'vocal cords' instead of 'vocal chords' on p. 62. Students are only too apt to mistake the nature of the organs concerned even when the spelling is correct, and it is rather sad to find that the Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford is himself capable of passing such an error, to say nothing of the readers of the Clarendon Press. On p. 196 *Gaeumatios* should not have been marked with an asterisk since the form actually appears in the Forum inscription found in 1899. On the other hand, a star should have been added to "*decimus*" at the end of § 531. On p. 295 the statement as to the *agio*-class in Latin seems to be somewhat antiquated since it takes no account of the discovery made independently by Exon and Skutsch, which was in fact embodied in the last edition of Giles' *Handbook of Comparative Philology*.

The main weakness of the book must be briefly indicated, namely the curious style

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[1] The choice of the symbol *j* instead of *y* to represent the sound of the English and Sanskrit *y* and the German *j* is unfortunate, especially as it is applied even to Latin, where *i* might have sufficed. If the author thought it worth while to depart from the established symbols *i* and *u*, there is every reason for preferring the *y*, since in writing English and Sanskrit, not to mention French, *j* is used with quite a different meaning.

[2] Brugmann's *Kurze Vergl. Grammatik*, p. 361; cf. *Classical Review*, xviii. (1904), p. 413.

in which it is written. The author appears to think in German; his vocabulary is half way between German and English and sentence after sentence is unintelligible until it is translated back into German. For example, the phrase 'levelled out' in English means 'excluded by a process of levelling;' but it is here used to mean 'retained and imitated in parallel forms by a process of levelling' (e.g. on p. 102). 'At the same time' is used on p. 110 as a subordinating Conjunction, a fact which probably few readers will discover. 'As' is used in § 7 instead of 'for example,' with the result that the sentence states precisely the opposite of the author's meaning.

'The whole formation originally started out' (p. 324); 'fall together in' (*gerathen*), 'old-inherited'; 'seated'; 'doubtlessly', and 'already' instead of 'even,' are similar Germanisms. The form 'athematic' has been generally discarded by English teachers in favour of 'non-thematic.' 'Insomuch as' (p. 201) is used instead of 'in so far as' with havoc to the meaning.

'In this grammar *u*- and *i*- consonant are written *u* and *i* when they form the second element of a tautosyllabic diphthong (as in φεύγω λείπω); in all other positions they are written *w* or respectively *ŷ* and *j*' (p. 75).

The last sentence is, of course, not what Prof. Wright means, since consonant *i* is nowhere written *w*; the explanation is simply that he uses the English word 'respectively' as if it were equivalent to the German *respektive*, and has also been a little careless in omitting commas. An English student ignorant of German would never guess that all that was meant was '*w* (or in the Greek alphabet *ŷ*) and *j*.'

This list might be prolonged indefinitely, but enough has been said to show the drawback to the usefulness of the book which it implies, and also apparently the unhappy isolation in which the subject is left in the University of Oxford. Until some account of Greek Phonology can be drawn up with the brilliant clarity and brevity of Niedermann's *Handbook of Latin Phonetics* the ordinary student will certainly find his best help to the historical study of Greek in Dr. Giles' *Handbook* already mentioned, or Mr. John Thompson's *Greek Grammar*. On the other hand, Professor Wright's book contains a much larger quantity of illustrative material which will be of very great use to students who have mastered the subject far enough to be independent of the language in which it is presented to them; and for this reason it deserves and is sure to receive a grateful welcome from all English teachers of the subject.

Les Emprunts turcs dans le Grec vulgaire de Roumélie et spécialement d'Adrianople. Par le P. Louis Rouzevalle, S.J.—[Extrait du Journal Asiatique, 1911.] Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, MCCCCXII. Pp. 178.

This study of the Turkish loan-words in the spoken Greek of Adrianople is addressed to two classes of readers, the students of popular Greek and of popular Turkish, the latter for the pronunciation and meaning of Turkish words in a provincial town, the former for the condition to which a foreign influence has reduced the Greek language. This second point is also of general philological interest, and the extraordinary number of Turkish loan-words in this dialect makes the case typical and worthy of careful treatment, the Greek of Adrianople being in fact, the author tells us, incomparably fuller of Turkish words than that of Constantinople.

In the introduction we have a few pages on the Greek features of the dialect; these, if there at all, might well have been fuller, but in fact the Greek of Thrace is fairly well known through Psaltes' study of the dialect of Saránta Ekklesíes (Qyrq-Kilise).[1] Psaltes, however, interested as a Hellene in Hellenism, passes lightly over whatever Turkish element there may be in the dialect of Saránta Ekklesíes, and the present book and his are therefore to some extent complementary. The author's list of Turkish loan-words

[1] S. Psaltes, Φραντζῆ, Athens, 1905 (Βιβλιοθήκη Μαρασλῆ).

occupies 155 out of the 178 pages. He recognises rightly that all loan-words are not equally naturalised, and therefore divides his list into those words of which the Greek synonym is also in use, and those so fully at home that the corresponding Greek term has been lost. These latter are distinguished by an asterisk in the list, which is arranged in the order of the Turkish alphabet.

An examination of the book shows that of the 1418 loan-words collected 630 are of the latter class and 788 of the former, and one may suppose that, unless the old conditions are modified by Greek education, these 788 will tend to push out the corresponding Greek terms and pass over into the fully naturalised class. Of the whole list 1110 are substantives, 542 partly and 568 fully naturalised, and only 37 are verbs; the remaining 271 are adjectives and, in much greater numbers, interjections and adverbs or adverbial phrases. The rarity with which verbs are borrowed is further shewn by the fact that of the 37 only 11 have no Greek synonym in use. For the parts of speech other than verbs and substantives, the fully naturalised amount to 51, the others to 220, the excess of these latter being largely owing to the ease with which Turkish interjections and interjectional phrases are mixed with Greek speech. These figures would probably be repeated if any other Greek dialect full of Turkish loan-words were studied: the present writer has noticed the rarity of Turkish verbs in the dialect of Crete, which is full of Turkish substantives. The number of borrowed verbs is a measure of the strength of the Turkish element in some of the Greek dialects of Asia, and again of the Italianate character of the Greek of Calabria.

In drawing up his list of loan-words it should be noted that the author has included a few that are really borrowed by Turkish from Greek, and in the form in which they occur are purely Greek and not, as for example the Cappadocian *ἀναχτάρ* = *key*, taken back by Greek from Turkish. Such words are ἀχλαδί, γρανάρι, καπίδα, μαρσιλιὰ μαρσιλιὰ, τσοῦβα, φανάρι, φασολιὰ, none of which should have appeared in the list.

Enough has been said to shew that the book sheds valuable light on a side of Modern Greek which, either from a too exclusive patriotism or from an insufficient knowledge of Turkish, generally receives less attention than it deserves.

R. M. Dawkins.

Ruins of Desert Cathay. By M. Aurel Stein. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1912.

These two handsomely illustrated volumes form a preliminary record of the archaeological and geographical results of Dr. (now Sir) Marc Aurel Stein's second expedition to Chinese Turkestan, on which he was able to continue exploration for nearly a thousand miles east of the scene of his first expedition to Khotan. Setting out in 1906 through the ancient Gandhara and the ravines of the Hindu Kush to Kashgar, Dr. Stein turned eastward, skirting the Takhmakan Desert, into which numerous archaeological excursions were made to ancient sand-buried sites, notably that of Niya which yielded hundreds of Kharoshthi documents on wood, many of them with perfectly preserved clay sealings from intaglios of classical workmanship with such types as Pallas, Hercules, Zeus, helmeted heads, etc. At Miran, amid the windswept salt wastes of Lop-nor, a series of Buddhist shrines were excavated, revealing remains of numerous gigantic figures of Buddha, in which there could still be traced the influence of the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhara. The most interesting find at this site, however, was a series of frescoes with scenes from Buddhist legend, which in spite of certain Indian conventions are quite Hellenistic in style, the large straight eyes of the various figures having nothing of the elongated slanting look characteristic of Oriental painting. Beneath one series of frescoes was a dado of youthful winged figures, which are probably to be traced through the Gandharvas of Gandhara and Hindu mythology to representations of Eros; another dado contained a cycle of festive figures obviously western in origin. There can be no question of the direct influence exercised by classical art here on the very borders of China in the

early centuries of the Christian era, but striking proof is afforded by one of the brief inscriptions found here, which runs: 'This fresco is (the work) of Tita who, etc.' Tita can only be the Sanskrit or Prakrit equivalent of Titus, who, Dr. Stein suggests, was probably 'a sort of Roman Eurasian, half Oriental by blood but brought up in Hellenistic traditions.' Continuing his journey eastwards by the old pilgrims' road, Dr. Stein reached Tun-huang, where he found a vast ancient Buddhist library in the possession of a Chinese priest, who was at length prevailed upon to part with many of its treasures on the assurance that they would be much appreciated in the West. Here were obtained hundreds of Chinese Buddhist works, many lost Sanskrit works on Buddhism, a copy of the hitherto unknown Manichaean confession of faith, numerous works in the 'unknown' language of Turkestan, from which the key to it has since been obtained, etc., etc. With these manuscripts were numerous paintings on silk of the T'ang dynasty which Dr. Stein was able to rescue from oblivion and decay: the origin of these presents an interesting problem.

After investigating an ancient Chinese frontier wall and exploring and mapping the Nan-Shan range, the expedition turned northwards across the Pei-Shan desert via Turfan, the scene of Grünwedel's excavations, to Kara Shahr, which yielded a vast number of beautifully carved heads, busts and torsos, many of them as classical in expression as any found in Gandhara, notably those which are obviously copied from satyrs or the Gorgon's head on a shield. From the head of the Tarim river a southward dash was made across the waterless desert to Keriya, thence northward again via Khotan to Aksu. The expedition finally returned via Yarkand, across the Kun-Lun range which was explored and mapped; during the Arctic rigours of winter at a height of 20,000 feet the intrepid explorer was badly frost-bitten and only reached Leh and European medical attendance in time to have his life saved by the amputation of the toes of his right foot. European scholarship owes an immense debt to the enthusiasm displayed in Dr. Stein's expedition by the cultured mandarins through whose districts he passed, without whose co-operation progress would have been impossible, to his accomplished and tactful Chinese secretary, and to his two devoted Indian surveyors, one of whom died as a result of the hardships to which he had been exposed.

Roman Stoicism. By E. V. Arnold. Pp. ix., 468. Cambridge University Press. 1911.

I could wish that Professor Arnold had thought twice and thrice before committing himself to some of the positions taken up in the early part of this book (cc. 1-3) with a theory of the beginnings of philosophy in general and Stoicism in particular. All through his view is distorted by the fable (so often refuted only to rise again in new versions), of the non-Hellenic origin of Greek philosophy. At one time the favourite form of this legend was that which traced Platonic and Aristotelian science back to an 'Egyptian' source of which the genuine memorials of Egypt know nothing. Palestine and India have also been pressed into the service of the fable and have proved broken reeds. Professor Arnold's way of telling the tale is to see traces everywhere in Hellenism of the 'world-wide religion of Zoroaster', the Druids, too, are thrown in as a kind of tribute, one supposes, to the *genius loci* of Bangor. However as the author professes to know nothing definite about their influence or the channels through which it can have been exerted, his theory may be taken as really standing or falling with the supposed evidence for the Persian strain in philosophy. The reasoning seems to be as follows: Zoroastrianism was the religion of Persia; therefore the military campaigns of Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes were 'crusades' against idolatry, (pp. 37-38). Heraclitus, as an Ionian who attacked popular religion, must therefore have been influenced by the 'crusades' of Cyrus and Harpagus. His choice of Fire as the divine 'primary' body, in particular, reminds us of the Zoroastrian reverence for that 'element.' Socrates also died as

an enemy to the popular religion of Athens, and was apparently a monotheist. Therefore his offence was advocating the religion of our adversary of Persia (p. 46).

Now, in the first place, there is no evidence that the great campaigns of the early Persian monarchs were 'crusades,' nor, so far as I know, that any of them, with the possible exception of Darius, were narrowly Zoroastrian. Cyrus represents himself, in his own account of his victory over Babylon, as the legitimate successor of its native kings and the protected of Marduk and the other national gods. In the struggle with Croesus he was not even the aggressor, and there is no ground for thinking that his victory in any way affected 'religion.' The only Persian king who ever showed anything of the crusading spirit was Cambyses, who was put down by the general belief as either a madman or a drunkard. Darius and Xerxes showed no animosity against the Hellenic gods. The latter, indeed, thought of plundering Delphi and destroyed the temples on the Acropolis of Athens, but these were just ordinary operations of war, and Xerxes specially offered to restore the Athenian temples if his suzerainty was acknowledged.

Nor, again, is there any serious ground for supposing Heraclitus to have been influenced by Persian ideas about the sanctity of fire, even if he knew much about them. The choice of fire as the 'element' is sufficiently explained by the fact that to the ordinary man it looked to be something which kept up its existence by feeding on fuel and giving out smoke, etc., in turn. Its 'divinity' is a simple consequence of this character of being primary. Those who said 'water' or 'air' was the ἀρχή equally called *them* divine. If you *start* with the theological dogma 'fire is divine' there is no road to the much more important proposition 'fire is the primary body.' (So the 'four roots' of Empedocles are all equally 'gods,' because they are primary.) Still less is proved by the tale that the body of Heraclitus was torn by dogs (p. 38.) This has nothing to do with the *sun-bird* or the exposure of the dead bodies of Magians (the kings of Persia were buried, by the way). The tale is only one of a number of idle stories about the philosopher, and apparently based on his disrespectful sayings about corpses. The tradition most likely to be true is that preserved by Hermippus, who says that Heraclitus was *buried* in the *agora* of Ephesus, as a member of the noblest family in the city would be likely to be. The suggestion about Socrates is probably only half-serious. If 'lofty views of God' are proof of Persian influence, almost all Greek philosophers of note will be Zoroastrians, and as to the 'natural enemy' it is just one of the ugliest features of the age of the Peloponnesian war that from its inception both sides were steadily bidding against one another for Persian good will. 'Medism' was an obsolete offence long before Cimon entered the Persian service and Socrates aroused the hatred of the Athenian δημαγωγοί. (Cf. Thucydides ii. 67, iv. 50, and the opening scene of the *Acharnians*.)

One naturally asks what evidence Professor Arnold has to set against facts like these. His case seems to rest chiefly on the assertion that Greek philosophy acknowledged the debt. But what proof is there of this? Plato is absolutely silent. His admiration for Egyptian social conservatism is unconcealed, but he distinctly implies in the *Republic* that the Egyptians were a race of successful traders without any gift for theological and philosophical thought whatsoever. He has a great deal to say in the *Laws* of the Persian *system* of government, but not a word of Persian religion or philosophy. The author of the *Alcibiades I.*, (whether Plato or not,) merely mentions 'Zoroaster, son of Oromazes' as a teacher of a religious *cult* (θεῶν θεραπεία). Nor does Aristotle, who really thought gymnastry to be of Egyptian origin, ever say anything in his extant works of a 'barbarian' philosophy. Yet it is on a fragment doubtfully ascribed to one of his lost dialogues that Professor Arnold really has to rest his whole case. In the *Proem* to the work of Laertius Diogenes we are told that 'some' say that philosophy 'began' among 'barbarians,' for there were magi in Persia, Chaldaeans in Babylonia and Assyria, Gymnosophists in India, and Druids among the Celts and Gauls κατὰ φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ μαγικῷ καὶ Σωτίων. Also there was Ochus among the Phoenicians, Zalmoxis among the Thracians, and Atlas in Libya. On which it may be remarked (1) that it is not clear

how much of all this comes from the μαγικά, and that Sotion's statements are of no more weight than those of any other Alexandrian; (2) no authority attaches to the words of a compiler who supports his thesis by turning the mythical giant Atlas into an African astronomer; (3) even the statement, as it stands, says nothing of a derivation of Greek philosophical speculations from Ochus, Zalmoxis, Atlas, and the Druids; (4) the authorship of the μαγικά is not beyond a doubt. Suidas tells us that the work, which began with an account of Zoroaster as the first 'magus,' was also ascribed to an Athenian called Antisthenes, or to an unnamed Rhodian. Whoever wrote it, we can see what its allusions to barbarian philosophy meant from a second allusion in Diogenes, (i. 6–8). We are told there that the 'magians' had certain special forms of worship and prayer, and a peculiar theogony, rejected images, held discourses about διαστήματα, thought cremation lawful but incest harmless, (all this on the authority of Sotion,) laid claim to visions and revelations, practised asceticism in diet and wore a special dress, but, according to Aristotle's μαγικά, were not vulgar sorcerers. I infer that *if* Aristotle wrote the book, and *if* he made one of the interlocutors call the magians φιλόσοφοι—neither of which positions is quite established—he was using the word in its old Pythagorean sense of persons seeking salvation by a 'life under discipline' and maintaining a secret religious cult. That he ever ascribed any 'philosophy' in his own sense of the word to them is not stated, though, if he had done so, the later admirers of Eastern wisdom would have been only too glad to record the fact. The only religion which can be shown to have had any recognizable influence on Greek philosophy *before* Alexandrian times is Orphicism and this appears to have been a purely Hellenic development.

Professor Arnold seems to regard his theory as confirmed by the discourse on immortality which Xenophon puts into the mouth of his dying Cyrus (p. 70). But where is the proof that Xenophon took a word of this from Eastern sources? Careful comparison shows rather that its real source is the *Phaedo* (also drawn on in Xenophon's *Apologia*, and probably in the *Memorabilia*).

There remains only the alleged parallel between the δαίμονες of Hesiod and the Orphics and the Zoroastrian 'angels.' This, however, proves nothing, since the conviction that ancestral spirits can influence the fortunes of the living is too wide-spread to require derivation from Persia. And by what channels does Professor Arnold suppose the borrowing to have been effected as early as the age of Hesiod, before Persia had become of any special importance to the world? Zoroastrian influence could, in fact, only be proved by finding in Greek philosophy ideas *peculiar* to the Zoroastrian cult. There might be some case if we could produce a parallel for the veneration of the dog as an animal of Ahura Mazda, or to the existence of a being like Angra Mainyus. But this is just the sort of thing we cannot do.

An unfortunate consequence of the over-estimation of Eastern religion as a source of Greek philosophy is a corresponding undue depreciation of the importance of Plato and Aristotle for a right understanding of Stoicism. Whether Zeno had Eastern blood in him or not, (and the fact that he came from Citium proves nothing about it,) it is clear from the history of his school that his thought was shaped during his long years of pupillage at Athens. All through its later history, moreover, Greek Stoicism found itself developing under a continuous fire of Academic criticism, and its logic and physics remain to show that its natural bent was towards a coarsening and popularising of Aristotelian ideas. I am afraid Professor Arnold's Platonic and Aristotelian studies have been at best perfunctory. He should at least know better than to dismiss the Platonic account of εἶδος, as he does at p. 56, as a 'still-born' theory not accepted by Plato's own followers. If this were near the truth, how could Speusippus have written on the 'Numbers,' and Xenocrates commented on the *Timaeus*, and Aristotle have devoted a whole book of the *Metaphysics* to an attack on the εἰδητικοὶ ἄνδρες? Even the common account that after Xenocrates the Academy dropped its positive metaphysics and became merely 'sceptical' is probably false. The New Academy maintained a sceptical attitude to the dogmatic empiricism of the Stoics, and the defence of this attitude seems to have absorbed its literary energy. But the thorough-going Sceptics always denied that an

Academic was a real Sceptic, and it is hard, unless the positive doctrine was continuously taught within the school, to explain the excellence of the Platonic tradition as we find it, *e.g.* in Plutarch, Theon of Smyrna, Atticus, Aristocles, and the anonymous author of the recently discovered commentary on the *Theaetetus*. The true explanation of the absence of works on the εἶδος by the New Academy is more probably that they accepted the tradition of their predecessors and made no innovations on it.

If there is one Platonic dialogue which a student of later ethical theory ought to know thoroughly it is the *Philebus*. But if Professor Arnold has not forgotten what the *Philebus* is about, how comes he to write on p. 58 that Plato 'does not formulate an ethical ideal of the same precision that his predecessors used', and on p. 61 to ascribe to Aristotle the invention of the term εὐδαιμονία? The word is, in fact, Academic, and its precise definition had been essayed by both Speusippus and Xenocrates. This is what Aristotle means when he says that, so far as the name of the 'good for man' goes, the wise are agreed to call it εὐδαιμονία. His own special name is not εὐδαιμονία but ὁ ἄριστος βίος. Nothing but neglect of the Platonic text can explain the statement (p. 61) that Aristotle introduces 'a new point of view' when he speaks of the soul as subject to 'diseases.' The conception of the administrator as the physician of the sick soul comes from the *Gorgias* and *Republic*, and even in Plato it is not 'new.' The idea was familiar to the Pythagoreans, who used music as a 'purge' for the soul. Nor is it true that what Aristotle meant by the tragic 'purgation' of Pity and Fear was their 'complete expulsion' from the soul. (Could anyone ever have thought that tragedy should 'expel' Pity?) The effect of a 'purge' is not to expel a 'humour' from the body, but to drain off the excess of it, to restore the balance between the 'humours.' So the effect of a spiritual κάθαρσις is not the expulsion of emotions, but the pruning and chastening of them.

It may be said that these are matters which lie outside the main argument of a work on Stoicism. But the unfortunate thing is that neglect of accuracy about the Platonic-Aristotelian tradition must lead to misconceptions about the relation of Stoicism to its rivals. Thus acquaintance with the *Philebus* would show that the famous distinction between λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός comes from that dialogue; it is simply the contrast of the 'discourse of the soul with herself' and the 'uttered discourse,' and λόγος, in this phrase, as usually even in the Greek of early Stoicism, means 'discourse,' *not* 'reason.' So ὀρθὸς λόγος does *not* mean, as the author habitually translates, 'right reason,' but either 'true discourse,' (as when ὀρθὸς λόγος is said to be a κριτήριον,) or 'the right ratio.' And so also σπερματικὸς λόγος means simply 'generative ratio' or 'constitutive formula,' and we must not render by 'seminal reason' (which means nothing) or 'seminal word' (which means something wrong).

Turning to the chapters which give a digested account of Stoic doctrine, I may remark that with all their learning they often seem to me to imply a false perspective, due to inadequate appreciation of the close dependence of Stoicism on the earlier Platonic-Aristotelian developments. Thus, it should have been noted that the return to the crude cosmological views of the early Ionians begins, not with the Stoics, but with Aristotle. It is too often overlooked that in matters of 'science' Plato is *facile princeps* among the philosophers just because his personal connexions were with the line of greatest progress, the Pythagorean succession, whereas most of the reactionary positions of Aristotle, which so long delayed real progress in astronomy and physics, and even biology, are explained by the circumstance that his principles of physical explanation go back to the Milesians. Some of the most reactionary of these doctrines, such as that of a motionless earth, that of the heart as the centre of the sensori-motor system, that of the priority of the sensible over the geometrical properties of matter, were simply taken over bodily from Aristotle by Stoicism. The dependence of the Stoic logic on him is recognised by our author, who, indeed, hardly does justice to the work done by the school in this field. *E.g.* it is not pointed out that the whole traditional doctrine of the Conditional Syllogism is a Stoic creation. Even more credit is due to the Stoics for their subtle doctrine of the λεκτόν, which anticipates both Meinong and Russell. The significance of the doctrine is a little

obscured for Professor Arnold by his habit of rendering λεκτόν 'a phrase.' This is just what it does not mean. The λεκτόν was identical with the συμπερασμάτικον of a proposition, 'the objective,' to use Meinong's term, and distinct both from the 'phrase' or σημαῖνον, and the 'thing referred to' or τυγχάνον. Thus, when I say 'George V. is reigning,' the λεκτόν is neither this phrase nor the person of whom it is uttered, but the 'internal object' or 'meaning' conveyed, viz. 'the reigning-of George V.,' or 'that George V. is reigning.' This is why the Stoics regarded the λεκτόν, but not the σημαῖνον or τυγχάνον, as incorporeal.

With the exposition of Stoic cosmology there is not much ground for dissatisfaction. But I think the author, though he does his best for his heroes, fails to conceal the internal weakness of their theory of the πῦρ τεχνικόν and the currents of λόγοι in matter. A cosmology can only be got on their lines by sinking the dogmatic Monism of Stoic metaphysics and setting up a duality between the active divine 'fire' and the passive ἄποιος ὕλη, which is simply a revival in a cruder form of Plato's antithesis between the Demiurge and the ἀνάγκη or Aristotle's opposition of agent and matter. The inconsistency is inevitable in a philosophy which begins with the dogma 'what is is One,' and then tries to get the 'Many' of experience out of this 'One,' and it is evaded, rather than avoided, by Professor Arnold's rhetoric. The specifically Stoic attempt to run Monism and science in double harness may fairly be said to have been shattered once for all by the brilliant criticism of Plotinus.

In the chapter on psychology (c. 11), attention is properly called to the inconsistency between the theoretical Monism of the system, and its practical opposition of the 'flesh' to the 'spirit.' This latter, however, is specially prominent in the later Stoicism, which had been so Platonised as to lose its doctrinal consistency. The thought may therefore be traced back to the *Phaedo*, while the phraseology appears to come from Epicurus, with whom σάρξ is the regular word for the living body. I see no trace of 'Oriental associations,' (p. 229) in the absence from early Stoicism of the 'Hellenic cult of the body as displayed in art and gymnastics.' The remark is equally true of Greek φιλοσοφία of every type. And the cult of the 'athlete,' which does not seem to have ever been much in vogue at Athens except among the little group of high-born φιλαλέξανδροι, would have been curiously out of date in the third century. I must particularly protest against the *petitio principii* of repeated allusions to 'Persian' doctrines of judgment after death. The 'last things' form the central interest of the Orphic cults which show no trace of Persian influence. These imaginative forecasts of the soul's future belong to the Orphic strain in the Socratic-Platonic philosophy, and their persistence in Stoicism is accounted for when we remember that Zeno himself had been a pupil of Xenocrates, and that the later Stoicism absorbed for itself great 'chunks' of purely Platonic doctrine. (Would Professor Arnold find 'Persian influence' in Pindar or in *Odyssey* λ?)

Of the parts of the work which deal more specifically with the fortunes of Stoicism under Roman rule and on Italian soil I have said something in the *Journal of Roman Studies*.

A. E. Taylor.

Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Metaphysik des Aristoteles. Von Dr. Werner Wilhelm Jaeger. Berlin: Weidmann, 1912. Price M. 5.

Dr. Jaeger's Essay on the origin and formation of the collection of material which has come down to us under the title of Aristotle's Metaphysics occupies rather less than 200 not very lengthy pages. But, as Aristotle somewhere says, ὁ μικρὸς δεσπότης μείζων ὁ μεγάλου, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ σκόρδον ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ γίγνεται συκάμινον. And Dr. Jaeger's small book may well 'turn out a giant at the end.' At any rate it is certain that any future study of this or any other part of the Aristotelian corpus will have to give serious consideration to the arguments and conclusions here so lucidly and ably set forth.

The Essay is divided into two parts, of which the first is about twice as long as the second. In the first part the author examines in detail various passages in the Metaphysics which appear to duplicate one another, and also those books or passages which are out of connexion with what precedes and follows them. He further investigates the question how far, after the duplicates and insertions are removed, what remains forms a single continuous argument. The second part discusses the literary character and form of the Metaphysics, explaining the sense in which a work of this kind may be said to have been 'published,' and the meaning and value of the traditional division into books, concluding with an account, in the light of these enquiries, of the component parts of the Metaphysics and of the process by which they came together. The whole is prefaced (in the Aristotelian manner) by a statement of the views of earlier critics as to the character and formation of the Aristotelian corpus and, more particularly, of that part of it which bears the title Metaphysics. In the following paragraphs we attempt to give a free statement of the general position which emerges from these discussions.

The view of the Aristotelian corpus which Dr. Jaeger considers furthest from the truth is that which regards it as composed of single unitary works or treatises, in short, as a number of books, in the modern sense of that word. But this notion is, as he maintains, really the basis of most of the attempts that have been made to understand the composition of the corpus and of its parts. The attempted rearrangements of the books of the Politics proceed on this hypothesis; and modern critics of the Metaphysics, even after Brandis had suggested a truer view in his tract *de propriis Aristotelis libris* (1823), have often maintained either that it was a single 'work,' or that it was a conflation of two unitary 'works.' Brandis himself, though sounder in his method and truer in his results, still holds to the notion of a single work complicated by accretions and insertions; and, however keen his eye may have been for observing sequence or lack of sequence in the argument, he was prevented from reaching a satisfactory position by his failure to think out what is meant, in relation to writings of this kind, by terms such as 'work,' 'accretion,' 'insertion.' Subsequent criticism of the Metaphysics never advanced in principle beyond Brandis; but, in Dr. Jaeger's view, a most promising and important attempt to analyse the conditions of composition and other related questions was made in Richard Shute's *History of the Aristotelian Writings* (Oxford, 1888). This attempt, however, which was, of course, published after the writer's death, was so vitiated by want of method and system that it could hardly serve as more than a point of departure to subsequent investigators. The real work remained to be done, and the Essay before us is a first instalment of a criticism of the Aristotelian writings based on the hypothesis that they are in a special sense lecture notes, to which the principles of ordinary literary criticism are largely inapplicable. It is Dr. Jaeger's aim to lay down, in the instance taken, the first *axioi* upon which criticism of this kind of writing should proceed.

The hypothesis that the scientific, as opposed to the popular, writings of Aristotle are of the nature of lecture notes requires explanation. When we speak of lecture notes we think either of the somewhat rough notes of the lecturer, liable to alteration and expansion in delivery, or of the abstract made during their delivery by one of the audience. But the Metaphysics is neither the one of these nor the other. The text we possess is too carefully composed to suit the former alternative and too full to suit the latter. Modern lecture notes would, clearly, not have the transitions and cross-references written out in full as they are written out in our text of the Metaphysics. But the difference is fully accounted for by the difference between the conditions under which Aristotle worked and those of a modern university. The modern professor has an alternative to lecturing in publication: and the lecture is often the rough draft of what is afterwards published: to Aristotle lecturing was publication, and the only form of publication possible. The scientific works of the fourth century inherited the tradition, not of the great literary works, like the History of Thucydides, but of the Ionian λόγοι, i.e. of such discourses as that which Zeno had just finished reading when Plato's Parmenides begins. It will be remembered that Zeno read from a manuscript, which, he

explained, was a youthful composition of his which someone had stolen and thus compelled him to publish: καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τελέφρ γάρ ἔφην οὐδὲ δυνάμεθα ἐξεγένετο εἰς ἐμαυτὸν αὖτὸ εἰς τὸ φῶς εἶναι μή. The 'publication' thus forced upon him takes the form of reading it aloud to a philosophic audience. Dr. Jaeger gives other evidence of the prevalence of this practice which we must omit; but we think that his conclusion must be accepted that before Aristotle's death at any rate scientific works were seldom or never published in the sense in which literary works, like Plato's and Aristotle's dialogues, were. Anything that came into circulation would, as a rule, be a pupil's abstract of a λόγος, such as the abstract of a discourse of Lysias made by Phaedrus (Plato *Phaedrus* 228 d), or the βιβλίον from which Socrates heard the views of Anaxagoras (*Phaedo* 97 b). The philosopher himself, qua philosopher, dealt not with a bookseller but with an audience.

The Ionian λόγος was, as we know, comparatively short, and similarly the unit of Aristotle's composition would be a fairly short discourse upon a single subject. (As a determinant of length Dr. Jaeger often refers to the roll, but if we are to think of these discourses as read, would not the original determinant be rather the amount which can be delivered in one reading?) Thus the Metaphysics is divided by Dr. Jaeger into twelve discourses, the first five of which are respectively books A B Γ Δ E, the sixth (on the meanings of ὄν) was originally divided into three books, but, as we have it, consists of books Z and H, while the six remaining are Θ, I, K 1-8[1] (K 9-12 he regards as spurious), Λ, M, and N. The second book of our series (A ἔλαττον) Dr. Jaeger considers to be Aristotelian in substance but (with Bonitz) an introduction not to Metaphysics but to Physics. These discourses are not equally independent of one another. Some were obviously grouped together by Aristotle himself. An instance of such (called by Dr. Jaeger 'primary') grouping is the sequence formed by books Δ B Γ E of the Metaphysics; the conjunction of these books with Z H he regards as secondary (*i.e.* as due to Aristotle's immediate successors, who edited his papers), while the insertion of Δ would be tertiary, or due to a later generation. This grouping of λόγοι by the author, as well as the length of the λόγοι themselves, shows a considerable advance in systematic exposition upon fifth-century philosophical writings. The point is not clearly made by Dr. Jaeger; but it is plain that Aristotle's position is transitional, and that the notion of a single unitary work was struggling into existence. Anyhow, as a critical postulate, there is much to be said for the view which makes the λόγοι the unit, and regards a work like the Metaphysics or the Politics as a collection of more or less closely related λόγοι with groupings and sub-groupings among themselves. The view introduces a much needed flexibility into criticism. For if an obvious place for a given discussion cannot be found, it is no longer necessary to dismiss it as spurious. That some topics should happen to be relatively isolated is just what the method of composition would lead one to expect.

It is impossible to do justice, within the limits of a review, to the care and ingenuity with which Dr. Jaeger applies this hypothesis to the various problems presented by the Metaphysics; but some general types of application may be mentioned. According to the hypothesis a course of lectures would be formed by grouping together a number of related discourses. But discourses which can be grouped in one way can also be grouped in another; and for the re-grouping slight alterations may be necessary. Hence arise the short duplicated passages, such as Γ 1027 b 25-29 which is a revised version of 1027 b 29-28 a 3, as M 1078 b 32-80 a 11 (on the Platonic εἶδη) is a later version of A 990 b 2-91 b 8, or as A 10 is of A 7. The number of possible rearrangements is of course very great, and such passages are signs of the changes which they necessitated. Or again a discourse or group of discourses may be rewritten; thus K 1-8 is an alternative, designed for a shorter course, to Books B Γ E. This would account for the longer duplicates, *e.g.* (possibly) for the two discussions of pleasure in the Nicomachean Ethics. In many of

[1] Critics have rejected these chapters on grounds of form or on grounds of doctrine. Natorp's charge that the doctrine is Academic Dr. Jaeger refutes in detail; while if the form is peculiar, he is willing to suppose that they are a pupil's ἀνάμνησις of the master's doctrine.

the Aristotelian writings, again, it is not difficult to discover short discussions of special points, and other addenda or paralipomena, which break the connexion in their present position. Such passages would naturally be placed, whether by Aristotle or by an editor, at the end of the discussion with which they are most closely related. Dr. Jaeger finds appendices (Nachträge) of this kind at the end of five books of the Metaphysics, viz. Α Β Θ Κ Μ. Ζ 12 he considers also to be an addendum, for the place of which he accounts by supposing that Ζ, the longest book of the Metaphysics, was originally two books divided at chapter 11. Chapter 12 would thus be inserted, like the other five passages, at the end of a roll. The position of these fragments may, as we have said, be due either to Aristotle or to an editor; but Dr. Jaeger has no doubt that they were composed by Aristotle. Indeed nowhere but in the last four chapters of Κ will he admit the hand of an editor. A hypothesis which allows so much conservatism is very satisfactory.

Most critics of the Metaphysics have recognized a solid kernel, as it were, in the seven books Α Β Γ Ε Ζ Η Θ. Dr. Jaeger's position leads him to attach less value than they do to the discovery of such a central body of writing. In his view, however, the traditional acceptance of Ζ Η Θ as a sequel to Ε is ill founded. In the 'Hauptvorlesung,' which he tries to construct from the surviving material, he thinks that Ζ Η Θ are almost as plainly out of place as Δ or Λ. The original form of Ζ was a discourse in three rather short books on *οὐσία*, while Θ is a closely related discourse on *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια*. The questions set out for solution in Β are, he thinks, all answered, so far as they are answered, either in Γ and Ε or Ι Μ Ν and Ζ 13–17, but of these discussions the last makes no explicit reference to Β, and cannot therefore be considered to belong to the course. He is thus left with the series Α Β Γ Ε Ι Μ Ν. In this series Α Β Γ Ε are all introductory to the theory of *οὐσία*, which is the real business of Metaphysics; and the second part, Ι Μ Ν, is somewhat fragmentary and lacks its coping stone altogether. The *θεολογία* to which all the rest should be a prelude is, we must conclude, lost, and Λ was inserted in its present position to take its place. All these conclusions are based upon internal evidence, and the same evidence leads Dr. Jaeger to assign widely separated dates of composition to the various portions of the traditional kernel. Book Λ, he thinks, together with Λ, dates from the period when Aristotle was still practically a Platonist, lecturing, before he went to Macedon, to a group of Academics at Assos, while in Ζ Η Θ Aristotle has left Plato far behind him. He maintains, however, that on the whole Aristotle's metaphysical interest belongs to the earliest, rather than, as we often think, to the latest, period of his activity. Finally, it is worth noticing that in his treatment of the internal evidence Dr. Jaeger attaches great value to the cross references, of which he says that to ignore them or to treat them as spurious, either in the Metaphysics or in the Ethics or in the Politics, is 'to saw off the branch on which one sits.'

We are glad to read in the preface to this Essay that Dr. Jaeger intends as soon as he can to follow up this volume with a discussion of the problems presented by the Politics, the Meteorologica, and the Ethics. We can only hope that the time may not be long deferred. We regard a hypothesis of this kind as one that can only be proved or disproved by its success or failure in dealing with such particular problems; and it will be a great loss to Aristotelian scholarship if Dr. Jaeger is prevented by other work—a possibility at which the preface hints—from further developing his position. Dr. Jaeger combines sanity with independence of judgment, and when to that is added a mastery of the material and a gift of lucid and forcible exposition, there is the ideal equipment for work of this kind. In continuing his labours, Dr. Jaeger may be compelled to qualify or even retract here and there what he has already said, but much of it should stand against the most stringent tests of criticism. For this reason we have tried to recommend the book by explaining the position adopted instead of entering into a criticism of relatively unimportant details.

Kennt Aristoteles die sogenannte tragische Katharsis? Von HEINRICH OTTE. Berlin: Weidmann, 1912. Price M. 1.60.

This is an interesting pamphlet of some sixty pages, pleading for a reconsideration of the much vexed *κάθαρσις* problem. As the title suggests, the writer maintains that the famous definition of tragedy in Aristotle's Poetics was not intended by its author to contain any reference to a cleansing or purging effect produced by the spectacle upon the spectator. In the earlier part of the Essay the difficulties left unsolved by Bernays' celebrated interpretation are set forth with considerable acuteness. Here Dr. Otte is on more or less familiar ground and frequently acknowledges his debt to other critics of Bernays, especially to Kuoke's recent pamphlet and to the earlier (and, in his opinion, unduly neglected) work of Josef Egger, 'Katharsis-Studien' (*Jahresbericht über das K. K. Franz-Josef-Gymnasium*, Vienna, 1883). His main points are (1) the impropriety of defining tragedy by its effect on the spectator, (2) that the particular effect selected is by general admission badly selected, (3) that elsewhere in the Poetics when Aristotle does speak of an effect on the spectator which is proper to tragedy, he speaks of a ἡδονὴ οἰκεία; and that his analyses of the sources of this pleasure is irreconcilable with the Bernaysian view, (4) the well-known passage in the Politics betrays no knowledge on the part of Aristotle of a distinctively tragic *κάθαρσις*. Dr. Otte's exposition of the passage starts from the fact that *καθαίρων* in the definition is a conjectural alteration of the MS reading *μαθήμασιν*, which is not definitely corroborated (as editors assume) by the Arabic version. Instead of *καθαίρων* he suggests *τραγῴδων*. The definition would then run 'Tragedy is the artistic representation of a serious and complete action (i.e. the poetic transformation of a given or tradition material), effecting by means of pity and fear the cleansing (Reinigung) of such action.' The meaning of this last phrase is ingeniously explained. Passages are quoted to show that serious conduct and grievous events are not in themselves ἄλυπα and φοβερά; it is the achievement of the tragic poet to introduce pity and fear into such events, and, in so doing, to make them the material of tragedy. If he fails in this task the events represented will be, not ἄλυπα and φοβερά, but μιαρά. Now μιαρός stands in recognized opposition to *καθαρός* (cf. the opposition of *καθαραὶ ἡμέραι*, dies fasti, to μιαραὶ ἡμέραι, dies nefasti, the connexion of μίασμα with *καθαιρεῖν*, etc.); and therefore the work of the tragic artist might be said to be a work of *καθαίρειν*, since his art by arousing ἔλεος and φόβος, *clarifies* what, in its defect, is μιαρόν. So that, if we understand Dr. Otte rightly, the use of *καθαίρειν* in this passage is more closely related to its religious use in Plato's Phaedo than to the medical explanations of the *Problems*. In conclusion Dr. Otte suggests that his interpretation is not in any way impossible if the generally received text is retained, since *πάθημα* may mean 'experience' in general, as in the proverbial *πάθημα μάθημα*. (The marginal adscription of the proverb might, he suggests, account for the *μαθήμασιν* of the MSS.)

We do not think that this view, though very ingenious, will stand against criticism. There seems to be no clear case of the opposition of *καθαρόν* and μιαρόν in Aristotle; *καθαρός* is not an epithet applied by Aristotle to works of art; and it may be doubted whether the sense in which inartistic tragedy is μιαρόν has a close enough relation to the religious use of the word to justify the opposition to it of *καθαρόν*. But, if Dr. Otte is to fail, well, 'better men fared thus before him,' and we shall at least be able to thank him for a brilliant and instructive failure.

Aristoteles Über die Seele, neu übersetzt von ADOLF BÜSSE. Pp. 121. M. 2.80.
Aristoteles' Nikomachische Ethik, übersetzt von EUG. ROLFES. Zweite Auflage. Pp. xxiv. + 274. M. 3.80. Leipzig: Meiner, 1911.

These two translations are volumes 4 and 5 respectively of Meiner's Philosophische Bibliothek, a very cheap and useful series, which the publishers have the wisdom to provide bound for those who prefer a linen to a paper cover. Both volumes are equipped

with introductions and brief explanatory notes. In the former, reference is facilitated by printing in the margin the pages and lines of the Berlin text, but in the second for some reason only the pages are mentioned. This should be altered if another edition is called for. The translator of the de Anima does not confine himself to the work of translation. He takes the opportunity of expressing his views as to the text, which he thinks that Biehl has treated with too lenient, Torstrik with too drastic a hand. He wishes to expel from the work some half-dozen fairly lengthy passages as insertions, and makes some conjectural corrections of his own. The translation is careful and scholarly, but the introduction (on the history of psychology) seems to be of no value.

Dr. Rolfes' name is already known for his translations of Aristotle. The chief point of interest in his work is the use which he has made of the Commentaries of Thomas Aquinas, which he regards as of 'priceless value' for the interpretation of the doctrine. He seems to us to be, if anything, over-conservative, not attempting to correct Bekker's text even where the stopping or wording has been corrected with certainty. We are also sorry to see, at this time of day, ὀρθὸς λόγος consistently translated 'rechte Vernunft.' However, conservatism is not so common or so harmful that tears need be wasted over it. Dr. Rolfes' work deserves careful attention.

Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe: Italien, Frankreich, England, Deutschland. Von Georg Finsler. Pp. xiii+530. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912. M. 12.

The chief critical judgments passed upon Homer, the various theories of poetic derived, or supposed to be derived, from his practice, and the principal epics wholly or partly modelled on his example, during the last six centuries—to attempt a succinct account of all this in less than 500 pages of text is certainly no easy task, but the author has acquitted himself of it to admiration. The book is in every way most instructive and interesting, and in particular it brings home to the reader how much Homer has suffered from the ignorance and prejudice of his critics and how long it was before he came into his own. The section dealing with England is particularly appreciative, and indeed it is a record of which we may well be proud, while the author has evidently a close acquaintance with the writings of Lessing, Winckelmann, Herder and their generation, his lucid exposition and comment on them being specially valuable. There are full indices, but the misprints might have been less frequent.

Homerische Probleme. I. Die kulturellen Verhältnisse der Odyssee als kritische Instanz. Von Dr. E. Belzner. Mit einem Nachwort (Aristarches) von Dr. A. Roemer. Pp. 202. Leipzig: Teubner, 1911. M. 5.

An attempt to discover how far a knowledge of the growth of the Odyssey can be ascertained from the 'cultural relations' of the poem, and to fix the principles according to which these relations should be judged. Archaeology is used as an auxiliary in the investigation, but all purely archaeological considerations are ignored. The Odyssey is kept strictly apart from the Iliad. The author, at the end of a severely systematic study, comes to the conclusion that the so-called 'epic culture' never really existed, but is an arbitrary, ideal patchwork, the details of which have foundation in reality but belong to different epochs. The mass of this material belongs to the time of the bloom of the Ionic epos itself, and has been transferred by the poet to the epic period which he describes; the rest is due to reminiscences of an older time, or to pure invention. The author works systematically through all the 'passages,' but—perhaps owing to his

shyness of "das rein Archäologische"—does not seem to give as much attention as it deserves to the Cretan evidence. Dr Roemer's appendix is chiefly of a polemical character, but is of some importance to the study of the scholia.

Epistulae Privatae Graecae quae in Papyris aetatis Lagidarum servantur. (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana.) Editit Stanislaus Witkowski. Editio altera auctior. Pp. xxxvii + 194. 1 plate. Lipsiae: B. G. Teubner, 1912. M. 3.

The call for a second edition of this excellent little volume, first published in 1906, has enabled the editor to add to his collection a number of letters published since the appearance of the first edition, particularly from the Hibeh and Lille Papyri. The total number is now brought up to 72, exclusive of three letters on other materials than papyrus added in an appendix. The volume has been revised throughout and considerable additions have been made to the commentary. Private letters rarely, as in the case of No. 52, throw light on political history, but their value for social history and for linguistic study is immense, and this corpus of letters of the Ptolemaic period, with its ample commentary and indices, is deserving of a hearty welcome.

Göttinger Vasen, nebst einer Abhandlung ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΑΚΑ. By P. Jacobsthal. Pp. 76. 22 plates and 38 cuts. Berlin: Weidmann, 1912. M. 18.

Dr. Jacobsthal has rendered a useful service by bringing to light a little-known collection of Greek vases, that in the University of Göttingen. His work is not an exhaustive catalogue, but only a description of the more interesting examples, fifty-six in number, nearly all of which are reproduced in photographic plates. They include black- and red-figured, Etruscan, and Apulian vases, none of which, however, are of first-rate importance. The most interesting part of his work is the appendix on banquet-scenes, as depicted on Greek vases. He points out their invariable conventionality, and traces their origin to Assyrian reliefs. Some of the latter examples yield evidence that the couches at a banquet were arranged at an angle, two on one side and one adjoining.

Mesopotamian Archaeology: an Introduction to the Archaeology of Babylonia and Assyria. By Percy S. P. Handcock, M.A. London: Macmillan and the Medici Society, 1912. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Handcock's book is purely an *œuvre de vulgarisation*, compiled with commendable industry from the various authorities on the subject. It is not a very critical work, and offers hardly any new or original contributions to science. It will therefore be of most use to non-scientific readers, and as a popular general account of Mesopotamian antiquities it is adequate: the photographs are good, atoning for many of the line drawings, which are poor. The scientific archaeologist who peruses the book will be struck by the comparative rarity hitherto of real archaeology in the modern sense (as we know it in Egypt and in Greece) in the Mesopotamian lands. Mr. Handcock's book is necessarily rather a Description of the Antiquities than an Introduction to the Archaeology of Mesopotamia. The archaeologists are only just beginning to get to work there. Assyriology until lately has been purely literary, and the Assyriologists have cared for nothing but cuneiform tablets. The history of Mesopotamian ceramics is still unknown.

The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction. By SAMUEL LEE WOLFF, Ph.D. Pp. ix + 528. (Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature.) 1912. 8s. 6d.

The first 236 pages of this book are devoted to useful analyses of the three romances of Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius, together with a discussion of some of their chief characteristics. The rest of the volume deals with the influence exercised by these romances on the work of Lyly, Sidney, Greene, Nash, and Lodge, and here again the most valuable portions are the analyses of the Arcadia with its very complicated plot and of some of Greene's novels. The author remains throughout at a somewhat mechanical level of compilation, and his style is crabbed and prolix.

Geographisches Jahrbuch. Herausg. von H. WAGNER. XXXIV. Bd., 1911. Pp. x + 468. Gotha: Perthes. 1912.

We desire to call the attention of readers of this *Journal* to this particular volume of the well-known Jahrbuch which happens to be of special interest to students of antiquity. An important section (pp. 51–188) by Dr. Adolf Schulten deals with the historical geography of the Roman West, and is accompanied by a special article by Dr. Hülsen on the topography of the city of Rome (pp. 189–218). Pp. 328–448, again, are occupied by Dr. E. Oberhummer's report on the Länder- und Völkerkunde of the ancient Eastern world, including Greece. Thus the greater part of the volume either directly or indirectly concerns the archaeologist and historian of ancient Greece and Rome.

Hellenika. Eine Auswahl philologischer und philosophiegeschichtlicher kleiner Schriften. Von THEODOR GOMPERZ. 2ter. Band. Pp. 376, with a plate. Leipzig: Veit, 1912.

Dr. Gomperz's second volume (published just before his lamented death) follows close on his first; we need only indicate briefly its contents. Five articles on Herculaneum are followed by a number of short notes on Greek inscriptions, especially of poetical content, and a number of miscellanea (of which the most important deals with the wooden tablets in the collection of the Archduke Rainer inscribed with a portion of the Hekale of Kallimachos) and an appendix of short reviews of books. This presumably completes the first main section of Dr. Gomperz's Kleine Schriften, those of philological interest.

The Classical Papers of Mortimer Lamson Earle. With a memoir and portrait. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1912. Pp. xxix + 298. 12s. 6d. net.

The greater part of the work of Prof. Earle during his brief career (he died at the age of forty) was concerned with the critical study of the texts of the greater Greek and Latin authors; in fact, such subjects occupy 212 pages of this volume. His contributions to archaeology were slight: publications of a statue of Apollo or Dionysus from Sicyon, of some Sicyonian inscriptions, a paper on the names of the original letters of the Greek alphabet. An appendix contains a selection of poems and translations which, on the whole, had better have been omitted, unless it was desired to show how little the study of the classics can do to raise a scholar's style above the merest commonplace.

Untersuchungen über die Natur der Griechischen Betonung. Von Hugo Ehrlich. Pp. x + 275. Berlin: Weidmann. M. 8.

In default of a detailed notice of this elaborate work, for which it is not possible to find space in this *Journal*, we note that the author deals in five chapters with Greek Apokope, the history of Indogermanic inflexion, a law of diphthong-weakening in Greek dialects, sound-law of the expiratory accent in Greek, and word-form and verse; an appendix on two points connected with prosody and full indices complete the book.

Πελασγικὰ ἤτοι περὶ τῆς γλώσσης τῶν Πελασγῶν. ὑπὸ Ἰωαννίδου Θωμοπούλου, Ἐν Ἀθήναις Τύπ. Σακελλαρίου, 1912.

This is an elaborate work, designed to explain the 'Pelasgic' inscriptions of Lemnos and Praisos, the Etruscan language, and 'Hittite' by means of Albanian as a key. M. Thomopoulos uses Prof. Sayce's interpretation of the Hittite hieroglyphs. His speculations are interesting, but they are mere speculations.

Nord-griechische Skizzen. Von Otto Kern. Pp. 128. Berlin: Weidmann, 1912. M. 3.

Travellers in Greece will be glad to have in one volume these sketches by Prof. Kern, hitherto only accessible in periodicals or newspapers. They deal with Thessaly, Olympus and Helicon, Samothrace, and the Athos Monasteries; and those on Thessaly in its relation to Greek history and on Olympus and Helicon are not addressed to a merely popular audience, but are worth study.

CORRIGENDA.

Vol. xxxii p. 167. Miss Roberts regrets that in referring to Mr. Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals* in connexion with the Argei, she misrepresented him as saying the Argei were puppets made of clay.

P. 268. The reviewer of Mr. Woodward's *Index* regrets that by an error which he can only attribute to sheer carelessness, he wrongly accused the author of omitting the name of Damonon from both Indexes (whereas it is included in the Epigraphical), and that in suggesting that 'Niketes Patricius' was worth an entry he failed to state that the name is given in the Epigraphical Index under the corrupt form Nnaδτης.

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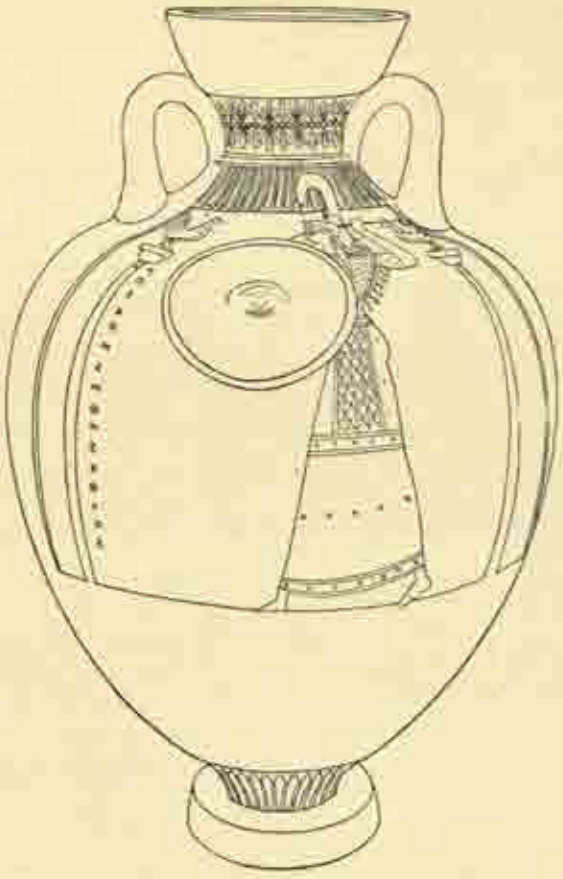

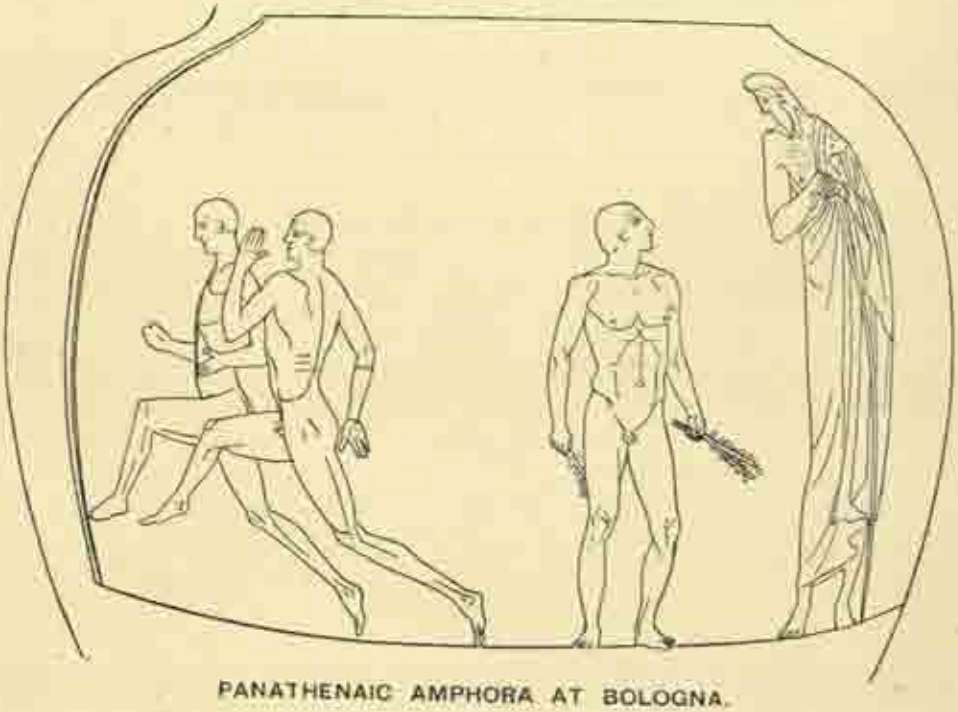

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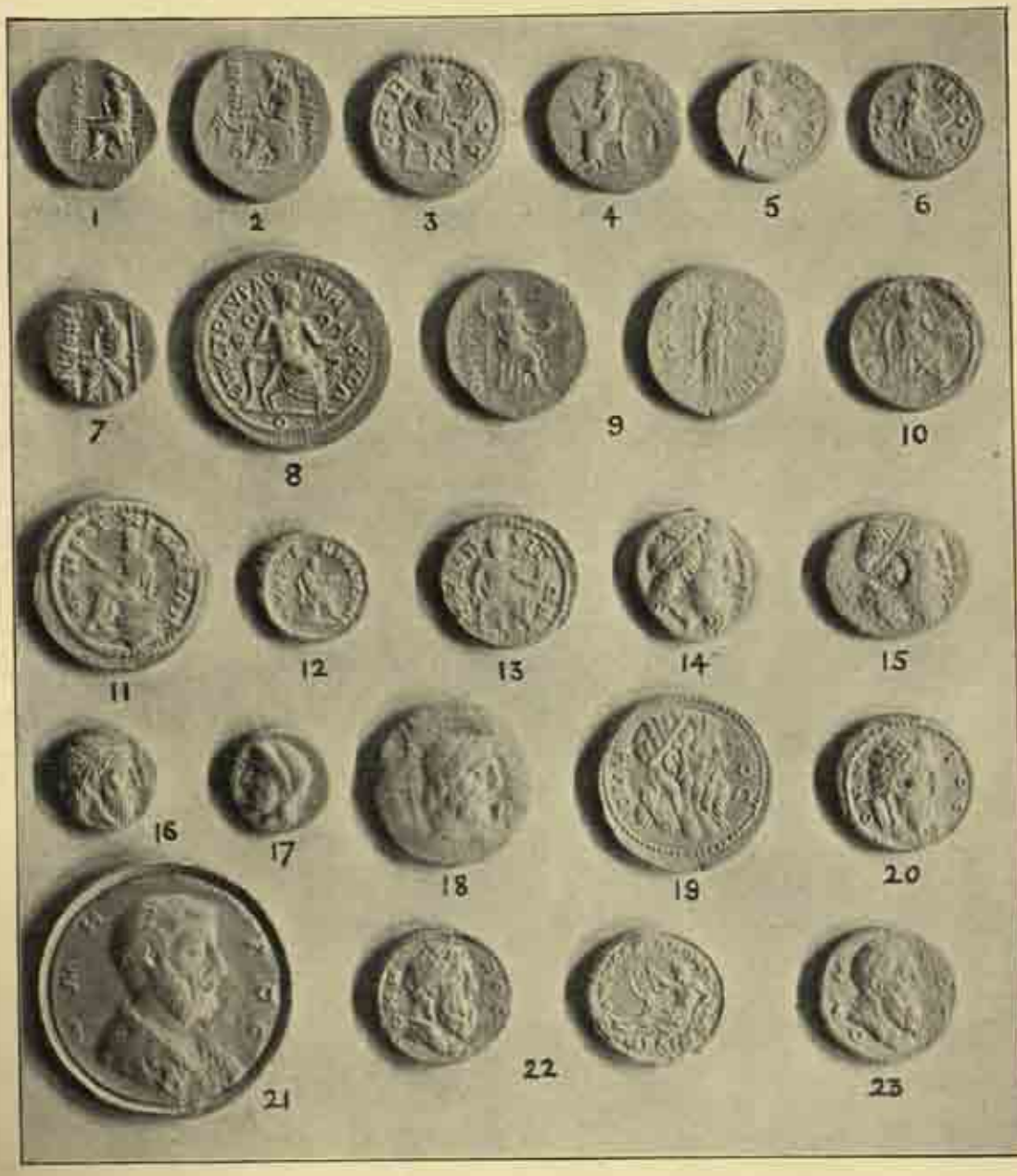

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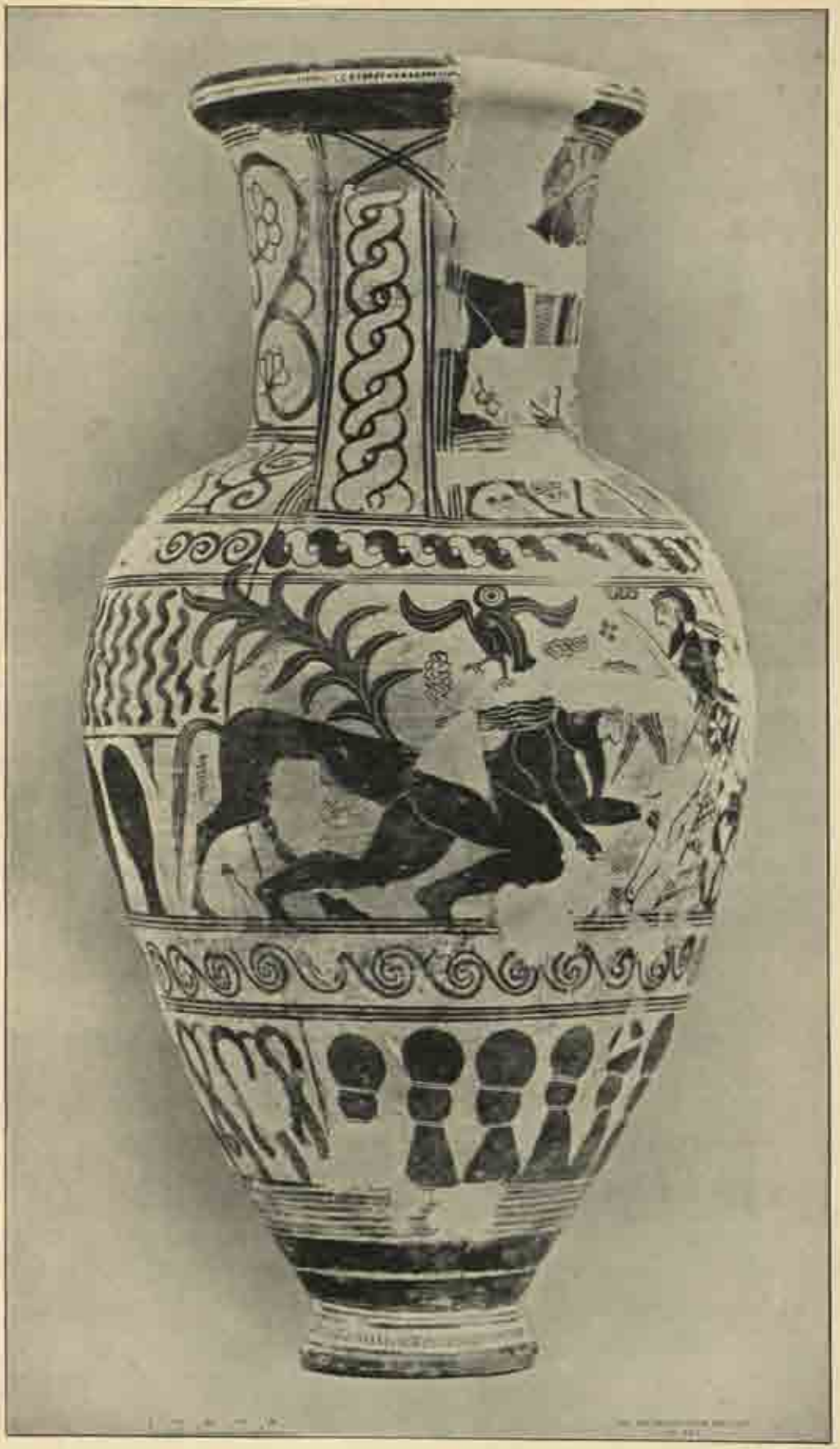

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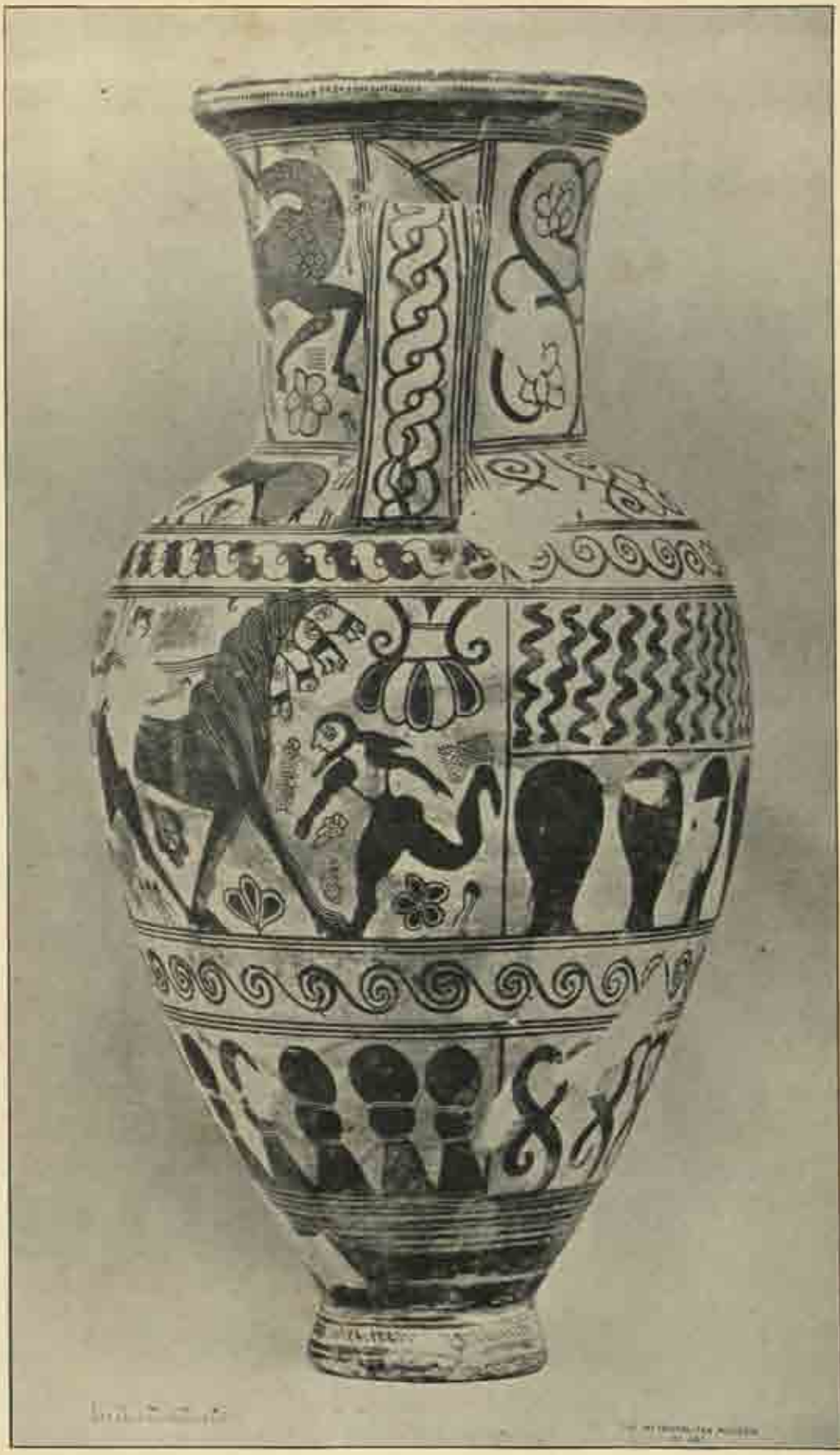

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